The Marcionite Research Library

Welcome to the Marcionite Research Library; a virtual library with numerous resources relating to the study of Marcion of Sinope, his teachings, his bible and his followers. Here you will find a wide range of articles and resources on these subjects, and links to relevant articles and books elsewhere on the internet.

The site was originally set up by Daniel Mahar; it was called "The Center For Marcionite Research: The Library" and was hosted on GeoCities. It was renamed and transferred here in 2009 when GeoCities closed and Daniel Mahar gave me permission to reproduce, maintain and develop the site. I am extremely grateful to Daniel for creating such a valuable site, and granting me permission to reproduce so much of his work. I am also extremely grateful to all the other authors who have given me permission to reproduce their work.

The Marcionite Research Library has recently been reorganised, and is now divided into sections by subject and author. My own articles have been moved to a separate site: www.Original-Bible.com

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Reconstructed Marcionite Texts

Reconstructions of the books of The Marcionite Bible

A reconstruction of Marcion's Antithesis

Theologians and Historians

Professor Adolf von Harnack

Dr Carroll R. Bierbower

The Marcionite Origin of the Fourth Gospel
English Translation of "Le Quatrieme Evangile"
by Henri Delafosse (Joseph Turmel).
Translated by Daniel Mahar

The History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred
by Charles B Waite

Orthodoxy and Heresy by Bauer

An Overview of Marcion by G.R.S. Mead.

F.D Kershner: "Marcion", from *Pioneers of Christian Thought* (excerpt).

Marcion, Possible Progenitor of Three Famous Christian Communities:Baptists, Catholics, Gnostics
By Ray Embry, Author of The Enigma About Divine Love and the Creation of Evil: The Lost Belief Among Early Christians About a God of Total Compassion

Marcion's Place in Early Christianity: a Political Powerplay
By Dr.Michael Conley

Primary Sources

Ephrem the Syrian, Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan
Translated by C.W. Mitchell (Williams and Norgate, 1912)

The Dialogues of Adamantius Against the Marcionites
Section I (excerpts)
Translated by D.J.Mahar (copyright April 2000)

Miscellaneous Articles

The Book We Call Holy by Gerard R. Patchen

Sinope: Some Thoughts Concerning Marcion's Geographical World (David Anderson)

Recommended Books

Links

Credits for Graphic Images

Site maintained by Melissa Cutler:
Melissa@Marcionite-Scripture.info

The Marcionite Bible

The Marcionite Bible was assembled by Marcion of Sinope, sometime in the early/mid second century; a full 200 years before the compilation of the Bible we now have. The Marcionite Bible was not divided into "Old" and "New" testaments like the modern Bible, and was dramatically shorter. It was divided into two parts, the gospel (or Evangelion) and the epistles of Paul (or Apostolicon). The Marcionites only recognized one gospel as legitimate; it was called *The Gospel of the Lord*, and it was similar to *Luke* but significantly shorter. The Marcionite version of the Epistles of Paul was also significantly shorter than the version found in conventional Bibles.

The documents that make up the Marcionite Bible have not physically survived to modern times; all known copies were destroyed by the religious authorities when the Catholics gained political power in the fourth century. In spite of this destruction, the Marcionite Scriptures can still be restored. Many ancient Christian writers quoted from the extensively, described the differences between them and the official version of the scripture, and even wrote commentaries on them. By using these quotations and descriptions we can reconstruct the Marcionite text. We do not have quotations or descriptions of every verse. But, in most places the Marcionite Bible was identical to the corresponding text in the conventional Bible, and the ancient writers who quoted from it focused their attention mainly on the controversial passages where there were significant differences between the two versions. This means that in places where the Marcionite text is not known, it was probably identical to text of the conventional Bible, and so text from the conventional Bible can be used to "fill in the gaps".

The reconstruction work is a painstaking process, and many sections of the Marcionite text are not yet available online. I am working hard to resolve this. Meanwhile, details of texts which are available can be found on this page.

Above: Marcion(left),with the Apostle John, to whom he "brought scriptures from the Pontic brethren..." (10th century miniature from the archives of the Cathedral St.Bravo in Ghent).

The Gospel of the Lord

"O Wonder Beyond Wonders,
Rapture, Power, and Amazement is it,
That one can say nothing at all
[About the Gospel]
Nor even conceive of it,
Nor even compare it to anything."
- Marcion of Sinope

A hypertext version of "The Gospel of the Lord" by James Hamlyn Hill (1891),based on the 1823 reconstruction by August Hahn. The version presented here is specially revised to also reflect the reconstruction done by Theodor Zahn (1888), from his work "Geschichte des n.t. Kanons", vol.II., which places in doubt some of the material which Hahn-Hill allowed into their reconstructions. In addition, the text has been hyperlinked to two of the major hostile witnesses utilized for its reconstruction, Tertullian's "Against Marcion" (*Adversus Marcionem*), Book IV, and Ephiphanius' *Panarion* sect.42, "Against the Marcionites" (Dindorfus' Greek text, presented via 15 .jpg files with a few English notes). The entirety of the Gospel is divided into 6 sections.

Section I (corresponding to Lk.3:1-7:50)
Section II (corresponding to Lk.8:1-10:24)
Section III (corresponding to Lk.10:25-13:17)
Section IV (corresponding to Lk.13:18-17:37)
Section V (corresponding to Lk.18:1-21:38)
Section VI (corresponding to Lk.22:1-24:47)

Galatians

Reconstruction and translation by D.J.Mahar:
Greek-English Interlinear (pdf)

English Translation & Notes (pdf)

1st and 2nd Corinthians

Reconstruction and translation by Stuart Waugh
1 Corinthians Interlinear (pdf)
2 Corinthians Interlinear (pdf)

key:
Greek Text:
Green: words attested in quotes of Marcionite text by heresiarchs
Blue: words that differ in Marcion from the received text, and were deemed by me to likely be correct
// Marcion's text as reported has as many variants and errors as any then contemporary manuscript and must be treated as such
Red: LXX quotes

Footnotes:
Blue: Greek words for clarity
Red: Latin words for clarity - specifically words that are quoting Marcion's text

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Romans

Partial reconstruction of *Romans* by Melissa Cutler
Greek-English interlinear with full set of reconstruction notes (pdf)
English translation with full set of reconstruction notes (pdf)
General purpose English translation (pdf)

1st and 2nd Thessalonians

Reconstruction of *Laodiceans* by Adrian Cozad:
I Thessalonians (pdf)
II Thessalonians (pdf)

Laodiceans (Ephesians)

Reconstruction of *Laodiceans* by Adrian Cozad:
Laodiceans (pdf)

Colossians

Reconstruction of *Colissians* by Adrian Cozad:
Colossians (pdf)

Philemon

Reconstruction of *Philemon* by Adrian Cozad:
Philemon (pdf)

Philippians

Reconstruction of *Philippians* by Adrian Cozad:
Philippians (pdf)

www.Marcionite-Scripture.info

The Gospel of the Lord

Section I

3:1/4:31- 37 The Arrival of Jesus at Capernaum
4: 16-30 The Synagogue in Nazareth
4:40-44 At the Setting of the Sun
5: 1-11The Lake of Gennesaret
5:12-16 Healing of the Leper
5:17-26 Healing of the Palsied
5:27-35 The Feast of Levi the Publican
5:36-38 The Old and the New
6:1-11 The Lord of the Sabbath
6:12-16 The Choosing of the Twelve
6:17-42 New Edicts of the New God
6:43-49 Good Fruit, Evil Fruit
7:1-10 Faith of the Centurion
7:11-17 Dead Corpse Rising
7:18-35John the Baptist
7:36-50 The Alabaster Box

[The Arrival of Jesus at Capernaum]

Adv.Marc.iv.7 ; Panarion 42
3:1/4:31 In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar,
Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea,
Jesus descended [out of heaven] into Capernaum, a city in Galilee,
and was teaching [in the synagogue] on the Sabbath days;
And they were astonished at his doctrine,
Adv.Marc.iv.7
for his word was in authority.
33 And in the synagogue there was a man,which had a spirit of an unclean devil,
and cried out with a loud voice, saying,
34 Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus ?
art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God.
Adv.Marc.iv.7
35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying,
Hold thy peace, and come out of him.
And when the devil had thrown him in the midst,
he came out of him, and hurt him not.
36 And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying,
What a word is this!
for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits,
and they come out.
37 And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about.

[4:38-39 unattested]

[The Synagogue in Nazareth]

Adv.Marc.iv.8
4: 16 And he came to Nazareth,
and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day,
and sat down.
21 And he began to speak to them,
and all wondered at the words which proceeded out of his mouth.
23 And he said unto them,
Ye will surely say unto me this proverb,
Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum,
do also here in thy country.

Zahn omits - relocated to 17:19:

[25 But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elijah,
when the heaven was shut up three years and six months,
when great famine was throughout all the land;
26 But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon,
unto a woman that was a widow.
27 And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet;
and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.]

28 And they were all filled with wrath in the synagogue,
29 And rose up, and thrust him out of the city,
and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built,
that they might cast him down headlong.
30 But he passing through the midst of them went his way.

[At the Setting of the Sun]

40 Now when the sun was setting,
all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him;
and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.
41 And devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying,

Thou art the Son of God.
Adv.Marc.iv.8
[-41c] And he rebuking them suffered them not to speak.
42 And when it was day, he departed and went into a desert place:
Adv.Marc.iv.8
and the people sought him,
and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them.
43 And he said unto them,
I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also:
for therefore am I sent.
44 And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

[The Lake of Gennesaret]

5: 1 And it came to pass, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,
2 And saw two ships standing by the lake:
but the fishermen were gone out of them,
and were washing their nets.
3 And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's,
and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land.
And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship.
4 Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon,
Launch out into the deep,
and let down your nets for a draught.
5 And Simon answering said unto him,
Teacher, we have toiled all the night,
and have taken nothing:
nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.
6 And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes:
and their net brake.
7 And they beckoned unto their partners, which were in the other ship,
that they should come and help them.
And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.
8 When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying,
Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.
9 For he was astonished, and all that were with him,
at the draught of the fishes which they had taken:
10 And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee,
which were partners with Simon.
And Jesus said unto Simon,
Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men alive.
Adv.Marc.iv.9
11 And when they had brought their ships to land,
they forsook all, and followed him.

[Healing of the Leper]

Adv.Marc.iv.9
12 And it came to pass, behold a man full of leprosy:
who seeing Jesus fell on his face, and besought him, saying,
Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.
13 And he put forth his hand, and touched him, saying,
I will: be thou clean.
And immediately the leprosy departed from him.
14 And he charged him to tell no man:
but go, and shew thyself to the priest,
and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded,
that this may be a testimony to you.
Adv.Marc.iv.9; Panarion 42

Zahn omits:

[15 But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him:
and great multitudes came together to hear,
and to be healed by him of their infirmities.
16 And he was withdrawing himself into the wilderness, and praying .]

[Healing of the Palsied]

Zahn omits:

[17 And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching,
that there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by,
which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem:
and the power of the Lord was present to heal them.]

18 And, behold, men brought in a bed a man that was palsied:
Adv.Marc.iv.10
and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before him.
19 And not finding what way they might bring him in
because of the multitude,
they went upon the housetop,
and let him down through the tiles with his couch
into the midst before Jesus.
20 And seeing their faith, he said unto him,
Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.
21 And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying,

Who is this which speaketh blasphemies?
Who can forgive sins, but God alone?
22 But when Jesus perceiving their reasonings, answered and said unto them,
What reason ye in your hearts?
23 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee;
or to say, Rise up and walk?
24 But that ye may know that the Son of man
hath authority upon earth to forgive sins,
Adv.Marc.iv.10;Panarion 42
(he said unto the palsied man), I say unto thee,
Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house.
25 And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay,
and departed to his own house, glorifying God.
26 And they were all amazed, and they glorified God,
and were filled with fear, saying,
We have seen strange things to day.

[The Feast of Levi the Publican]

Adv.Marc.iv.11
27 And after these things he went forth,
and saw a publican, named Levi,
sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him,
Follow me.
28 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.
29 And Levi made him a great feast in his own house:
and there was a great company of publicans and of others
that sat down with them.
30 But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying,
Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners?
31 And Jesus answering said unto them,
They that are whole need not a physician;
but they that are sick.
32 I came not to call the righteous,
but sinners to repentance.
33 And they said unto him,
Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers,
and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees;
but thine eat and drink?
34 And he said unto them,
Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast,
while the bridegroom is with them?
35 But the days will come,
when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them,
and then shall they fast in those days.

[The Old and the New]

Adv.Marc.iv.11
36 And he spake also a parable unto them;
No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old garment;
otherwise both the new maketh a rent,
and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.
37 And no man putteth new wine into old wineskins;
else the new wine will burst the skins, and itself will be spilled,
and the skins will perish.
38 But new wine must be put into new wine-skins;
and both are preserved.

[- v.39]

[The Lord of the Sabbath]

6:1 And it came to pass on the second sabbath after the first,
that he went through the corn fields;
and his disciples plucked the ears of corn,
and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.
2 And certain of the Pharisees said unto them,
Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days?
3 And Jesus answering them said,
Have ye not read so much as this, what David did,
when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him;
4 How he went into the house of God,
;Panarion 42
and did take and eat the shewbread,
and gave also to them that were with him;
which it is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone?
5 And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath.
Adv.Marc.iv.12;Panarion 42
6 And it came to pass also on another sabbath,
that he entered into the synagogue and taught:
and there was a man whose right hand was withered.
7 And the scribes and Pharisees watched him,
whether he would heal on the sabbath day;
that they might find an accusation against him.
8 But he knew their reasonings,

and said to the man which had the withered hand,
Rise up, and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth.
9 Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing;
Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil?
to save life, or to destroy it?
10 And looking round about upon them all, he said unto the man,
Stretch forth thy hand.
And he did so: and his hand was restored whole as the other.
11 And they were filled with madness;
and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus.

[The Choosing of the Twelve]

6:12 And it came to pass in those days,
that he went out into a mountain to pray,
and continued all night in prayer to God.
Adv.Marc.iv.13
13 And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples:
and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;
Adv.Marc.iv.13
14 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother,
James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,
15 Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus,
and Simon called Zelotes,
16 And Judas the brother of James,
and Judas Iscariot, which also became a traitor.

Panarion 42

[New Edicts of the New God]

17 And he came down among them, and stood in the plain,
and the company of his disciples,
and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem,
and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him,
and to be healed of their diseases;
Adv.Marc.iv.13
18 And they that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed.
19 And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him,
and healed them all.

Panarion 42
20 And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said,
Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.
Adv.Marc.iv.14
21 Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.
Adv.Marc.iv.14
Blessed are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.
Adv.Marc.iv.14;2nd occurance for v.21:Adv.Marc.iv.14
22 Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you,
and when they shall separate you from their company,
and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil,
for the Son of man's sake.
Adv.Marc.iv.14
23 Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy:
for, behold, your reward is great in heaven:
for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets.
Adv.Marc.iv.15;Panarion 42
24 But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
Adv.Marc.iv.15
25 Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger.
Adv.Marc.iv.15
Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
26 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you!
for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

27 But I say unto you which hear,
Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,
Adv.Marc.iv.16
28 Bless them that curse you,
and pray for them which despitefully use you.
29 And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other;
and him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not to take thy coat also.
30 Give to every man that asketh of thee;
and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.
Adv.Marc.iv.16
31 And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.
Adv.Marc.iv.16
32 For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye?
for sinners also love those that love them.
33 And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye?
for sinners also do even the same.
34 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye?
Adv.Marc.iv.17
for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.
35 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again;

and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest:
for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.
36 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.
37 Judge not, and ye shall not be judged:
condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned:
forgive, and ye shall be forgiven:
Adv.Marc.iv.17

38 Give, and it shall be given unto you;
good measure, pressed down,
and shaken together, and running over,
shall men give into your bosom.
For with the same measure that ye mete
withal it shall be measured to you again.
39 And he spake a parable unto them,
Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?
Adv.Marc.iv.17
40 The disciple is not above his master:
but every one that is perfect shall be as his master.
41 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye,
but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
42 Either how canst thou say to thy brother,
Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye,
when thou thyse lf beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye,
and then shalt thou see clearly
to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

[Good Fruit, Evil Fruit]

Adv.Marc.iv.17

43 For there is no good tree that produceth corrupt fruit;
nor corrupt tree that produceth good fruit.
44 For each tree is known by its own fruit.
For of thorns they do not gather figs,
nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.
45 The good man out of the good treasure of his heart
bringeth forth that which is good;
and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart
bringeth forth that which is evil:
for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.
46 And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?
47 Everyone that cometh to me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them,
I will shew you to whom he is like:
48 He is like a man building house, who digged and went deep,
and laid a foundation on a rock:
and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house,
and had no strength to shake it: for it was founded upon a rock.
49 But he that heareth, and doeth not,
is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth;
against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell;
and the ruin of that house was great.

[Faith of the Centurion]

Adv.Marc.iv.18

7: 1 Now when he had ended all his sayings in the ears of the people,
he entered into Capernaum.
2 And a certain centurion's servant was sick, and going to die;
and he was precious to him.
3 And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him elders of the Jews,
asking him that he would come and heal his servant.
4 And when they came to Jesus, they besought him earnestly, saying,
That he was worthy for whom he should do this:
5 For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.
6 Then Jesus went with them.
And when he was now not far from the house,
the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him,
Lord, trouble not thyself:
for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof:
7 Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee:
but say in a word, and my boy shall be healed.
8 For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers,
and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth;
and to another, Come, and he cometh;
and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
9 And when Jesus heard these things, he marvelled at him, and turned,
and said unto the people that followed him,
I say unto you, not even in Israel I have not found so great faith.
Panarion 42
10 And they that were sent, returning to the house,
found the sick servant whole.

[Dead Corpse Rising]

Adv.Marc.iv.18

11 And it came to pass the day after, that he was going into a city called Nain;
and many of his disciples were going with him, and a great multitude.
12 Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city,
behold, a dead man was being carried out,
the only son of his mother, and she was a widow:
and a considerable multitude of the city was with her.
13 And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her,
Weep not.
14 And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare him stood still.
And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.
15 And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak.
And he delivered him to his mother.
16 And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying,
That a great prophet is risen up among us;
and, That God hath visited his people.
17 And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judaea,
and throughout all the region round about.

[John the Baptist]

18 And the disciples of John told him of all these things.
And John was scandalized.
Adv.Marc.iv.18
19 And John calling unto him a certain two of his disciples
sent them to Jesus, saying,
Art thou he that cometh? or look we for another?
20 And when the men were come unto him, they said,
John Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying,
Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?
21 And in that same hour he cured many of infirmities and plagues
and of evil spirits; and unto many blind he gave sight.
22 Then Jesus answering said unto them,
Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard;
how that the blind see, the lame walk,
the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear,
the dead are raised,
to the poor have good tidings been announced to them.
23 And blessed is he, if he [John] shall not be offended in me.
Panarion 42

24 And when the messengers of John were departed,
he began to speak unto the multitudes concerning John.
What went ye out into the wilderness to gaze at?
A reed shaken with the wind?
25 But what are ye come out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment?
Behold, they which are in gorgeous apparel, and delicacy, are in kings' courts.
26 But what went ye out for to see? A prophet?
Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.
27 This is he, of whom it is written,
Behold, I send my messenger before thy face,
which shall prepare thy way before thee.
Panarion 42
28 For I say unto you,
Among those that are born of women
a greater prophet than John the Baptist,
there is none:
but he that is least in the kingdom of God
is greater than he.

Zahn omits:

[29 And all the people, when they heard it, and the publicans, justified God,
being baptized with the baptism of John.
30 But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God unto themselves,
being not baptized of him.
31 And the Lord said,
Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation?
and to what are they like?
32 They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace,
and calling one to another, and saying,
We have piped unto you, and ye did not dance;
we have mourned to you, and ye did not weep.
33 For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine;
and ye say, He hath a demon.
34 The Son of man is come eating and drinking; and ye say,
Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber,
a friend of publicans and sinners!
35 And wisdom was justified of all her children].

[The Alabaster Box]

Adv.Marc.iv.18 ;Panarion 42

36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him.
And he went into the Pharisee's house, and reclined to eat.

37 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner,
when she knew that he was reclining in the Pharisee's house,
brought an alabaster box of ointment,
38 And stood at his feet behind him weeping,
and began to wash his feet with tears,
and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet,
and anointed them with the ointment.
39 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it,
he spake within himself, saying,
This man, if he were a prophet,
would have known who and what manner of woman
this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.
40 And Jesus answering said unto him,
Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee.
And he saith, Teacher, say on.
41 A certain money-lender had two debtors:
the one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty.
42 And when they had nothing to pay, he forgave them both.
Tell me therefore, which of them will love him more?
43 Simon answered and said,
I suppose that he, to whom he forgave the more.
And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.
44 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon,
Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house:
water for my feet thou gavest not;
but she hath wetted my feet with tears,
and wiped them with the hairs of her head.
45 A kiss thou gavest me not:
but she since the time I came in hath not ceased kissing my feet.
Panarion 42

46 My head with oil thou didst not anoint:
but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.
47 For the sake of which I say unto thee,
Her sins which are many are forgiven;
[for she loved much:
but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little.
48 And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven.]
49 And they that were reclining with him began to say within themselves,
Who is this that even forgiveth sins ?
50 And he said to the woman,
Thy faith hath saved thee; go into peace.

SECTION II

The Gospel of the Lord

Section II

8:1-3 Women Ministers
8:4-10 Parable of the Sower
8:16-18 Parable of the Lamp
8:20-21 Thy Mother and Thy Brethren
8:22-25 The Storm on the Lake
8:26-39 Legion of the Gadarenes
8:40-56 Healing of the Woman / Jairus' Daughter
9:1-6 Twelve Disciples Bestowed Power
9:7-9 Herod the Tetrarch
9:10-17 Feeding of the Five-thousand
9:18-27 Disciples Reprimanded
9:28-39 The Transfiguration
9:37-45 Those Dopey Disciples (1)
9:46-50 Those Dopey Disciples (2)
9:51-62 Those Dopey Disciples (3)
10:1-24 Seventy New Disciples Appointed

[Women Ministers]

Adv.Marc.iv.19

8:1 And it came to pass afterward,
that he made his way through every city and village,
preaching and announcing as glad tidings the kingdom of God:
and the twelve were with him.
2 And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities,
Mary called Magdalene, from whom went seven demons had gone out,
3 And Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward,
and Susanna, and many others,
which ministered unto him of their possessions.

[Parable of the Sower]

4 And when a great multitude were coming together,
and they of every city were come to him,
he spake by a parable:
5 A sower went out to sow his seed:
and as he sowed, some fell by the way side;
and it was trodden down,
and the fowls of the heaven devoured it.
6 And other fell upon the rock;
and when sprung up, it withered away,
because it lacked moisture.
7 And other fell in the midst of the thorns;
and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it.
8 And other fell on the good ground,
and when sprung up, it produced fruit an hundredfold.
And when he said these things, he cried,
He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.
Adv.Marc.iv.19
9 And his disciples asked him, saying,
What might this parable be?
10 And he said,
Unto you it is given to know
the mysteries of the kingdom of God:
but to the rest in parables;
that seeing they may not see,
and hearing they may not understand.

[vv.11 - 15 unattested].

[Parable of the Lamp]

Adv.Marc.iv.19
16 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp,
covereth it with a vessel, or putteth it under a bed;
but setteth it on a lamp-stand,
that they which enter in may see the light.
17 For there is no secret thing , that shall not be made manifest;
nor hidden, that shall not be known and come into view.
18 Take heed therefore how ye hear:
for whosoever hath, to him shall be given;
and whosoever hath not,
[-19] even what he seemeth to have shall be taken away .

[Thy Mother and Thy Brethren]

Adv.Marc.iv.19;Panarion 42
20 And it was told him by certain [people] which said,

Thy mother and thy brethren stand without,
desiring to see thee.
21 And he answered and said unto them,
[Who is] My mother and my brethren?
My mother and my brethren are these
which hear My words, and do [them].

[The Storm on the Lake]

Adv.Marc.iv.20;Panarion 42
22 Now it came to pass on one of the days,
that he went into a ship with his disciples:
and he said unto them,
Let us go over unto the other side of the lake.
And they launched forth.
23 But as they sailed he fell asleep.
And there came down a storm of wind on the lake;
and they were filling with water, and were in jeopardy.
24 And they came to him, and awoke him, saying,
Teacher, Teacher, we perish.
And he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water.
And they ceased, and there was a calm.
25 And he said unto them, Where is your faith?
And they were frightened and wondered,
saying one to another, Who then is this?
for he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him?

[Legion of the Gadarenes]

Adv.Marc.iv.20
26 And they sailed down to the country of the Gadarenes,
which is over against Galilee.
27 And when he went forth to land,
there met him out of the city a certain man,
which had demons [a] long time, and wore no cloke,
neither abode in a house,
but among the tombs.
28 When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him,
and with a loud voice said,
What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high?
I beseech thee, torment me not.
29 (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man.
For oftentimes it had caught him: and he was kept guarded and bound
with chains and in fetters; and he brake the bands asunder,
and was driven of the demon into the deserts).
30 And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name?
And he said, Legion: because many demons were entered into him.
31 And they besought him that he would not command them
to go out into the abyss.
32 And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain:
and they besought him that he would allow them to enter into them.
And he allowed them.
33 Then went the demons out of the man, and entered into the swine:
and the herd ran violently down the steep place into the lake,
and were choked.
34 When they that fed them saw what was done, they fled,
and went and told it in the city and in the country.
35 Then they went out to see what was done; and came to Jesus,
and found the man, out of whom the demons were departed,
sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind:
and they were afraid.
36 They also which saw it told th em by what means
he that was possessed of the demons was saved.
37 Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about
asked him to depart from them; for they were holden with great fear:
and he entered into the ship, and returned back again.
38 Now the man, from whom the demons were departed,
besought him that he might be with him:
but Jesus sent him away, saying,
39 Return to thine own house,
and recount how great things God hath done unto thee.
And he went his way, publishing throughout the whole city
how great things Jesus had done unto him.

[Healing of the Woman / Jairus' Daughter]

Zahn omits:

[40 And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned,
the multitude welcomed him:
for they were all waiting for him.
41 And, behold, there came a man named Jairus,
and he was a ruler of the synagogue:
and he fell down at Jesus' feet,
and besought him that he would come into his house:
42 For he had one only daughter,

about twelve years of age, and she was dying.]

Adv.Marc.iv.20;Panarion 42
And as he went the multitudes thronged him.
43 And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years,
which had spent all her living upon physicians,
neither could be healed of any,
44 Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment:
and immediately her issue of blood stanched.
45 And Jesus said, Who touched me?
When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said,
Teacher, the multitude throng thee and press thee,
and sayest thou, Who touched me?
46 And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me:
for I perceived that power had gone out of me.
47 And when the woman saw that she was not hid,
she came trembling,
and falling down before him,
she declared unto him before all the people
for what reason she had touched him,
and how she was healed immediately.
48 And he said unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort:
thy faith hath saved thee; go into peace.

Zahn omits:

[49 While he yet spake,
there cometh one from the ruler of the synagogue's house,
saying to him, Thy daughter is dead; trouble not the Teacher.
50 But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying,
Fear not: believe only, and she shall be saved.
51 And when he came into the house, he suffered no man to go in,
save Peter, and James, and John,
and the father and the mother of the maiden.
52 And all were weeping, and bewailed her: but he said,
Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth.
53 And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.
54 And he put them all out, and took her by the hand, and called, saying,
Maid, arise.
55 And her spirit came again, and she arose straightway:
and he commanded something be given her to eat.
56 And her parents were astonished: but he charged them
that they should tell no man what was done.]

[Twelve Disciples Bestowed Power]

Adv.Marc.iv.21
9: 1 Then he called his twelve disciples together,
and gave them power and authority over all the demons,
and to cure diseases.
2 And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick.
3 And he said unto them,
Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip,
neither bread, neither money;
neither have two coats apiece.
4 And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart.
5 And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city,
shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them.
6 And they departed, and went through the villages in order,
announcing the glad tidings, and healing every where.

[Herod the Tetrarch]

Adv.Marc.iv.21
7 Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him:
and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some,
that John was risen from the dead;
8 And of some, that Elijah had appeared;
and by others, that a prophet, one of the original ones,
was risen again.
9 And Herod said, John have I beheaded:
but who is this, of whom I hear such things?
And he desired to see him.

[Feeding of the Five-thousand]

Adv.Marc.iv.21
10 And the apostles returned, and declared unto him all that they had done.
And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place
of a city called Bethsaida.
11 And the multitudes perceived it, and followed him: and he received them,
and spake unto them of the kingdom of God,
and healed them that had need of healing.
12 And when the day began to decline, and the twelve came,
and said unto him,
Send the multitude away,
that they may go into the towns and country round about,

and lodge, and fetch victuals: for we are in a desert place.
13 But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat.
And they said, We have no more but five loaves and two fishes;
except we should go and buy food for all this people.
14 For they were about five thousand men.
And he said to his disciples, Make them recline in companies by fifties.
15 And they did so, and made them all recline.
16 And he took the five loaves and the two fishes,
and looking up to heaven, he blessed them,
Panarion 42
and brake,and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.
17 And they did eat, and were all filled:
and there was taken up that remained to them of fragments twelve baskets.

[Disciples Reprimanded]

18 And it came to pass, as he was alone praying,
his disciples were with him:
and he asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am?
19 They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say, Elijah;
and others say, that one some prophet of the original ones is risen again.
20 He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am?
Peter answering said, The Christ of God.
Adv.Marc.iv.21
21 And he straightly reprimanded them,
and commanded them to tell none such a thing;
22 Saying, The Son of man must suffer many things,
and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes,
and be slain, and be raised the third day.
Adv.Marc.iv.21;Panarion 42

23 And he said to them all,
If any man will come after me, let him deny himself,
and take up his cross daily, and follow me.
24 For whosoever wishes to save his life shall lose it:
but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake,
the same shall save it.
Adv.Marc.iv.21
25 For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world,
and lose or forfeit his own self ?
26 For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words,
of him shall the Son of man be ashamed.
Adv.Marc.iv.21

Zahn omits:

[when he shall come in his own glory,
and in the glory of his Father's and of the holy angels.
27 But I tell you truly, there be some of those that stand here,
which shall by no means taste death, till they see the kingdom of God.]

[The Transfiguration]

Adv.Marc.iv.22
28 And it came to pass about an eight days after these sayings,
he took Peter and John and James,
and went up into a mountain to pray.
29 And [it came to past] as he prayed,
the appearance of his countenance was different,
and his raiment white, flashing like lightning.
30 And, behold, there stood with him two men, which were Moses and Elias,
31 seen in his glory.
Panarion 42

32 Now Peter and they that were with him were weighed down with sleep:
but when they were fully awake, they saw his glory,
and the two men that stood with him.
33 And it came to pass, as they departed from him, Peter said unto Jesus,
Teacher, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles;
one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias:
not knowing what he said.
Adv.Marc.iv.22
34 But while he said these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them:
and they feared as they entered into the cloud.
35 And a voice came out of the cloud, saying,
This is my beloved Son: hear him.
Adv.Marc.iv.22;Panarion 42andPan.42(4th file)
36 And when the voice came, Jesus was found alone.
And they were silent, and told no man in those days
any of those things which they had seen.

[Those Dopey Disciples (1)]

37 And it came to pass, that on the next day,
when they were come down from the mountain,
a great multitude met him.
38 And, behold, a man from the multitude cried out, saying,

Teacher, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is my only begotten.
39 And, lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out;
and it convulseth him with foam, and bruising him hardly departeth from him.
40 And I besought thy disciples to cast him out; and they could not.
41 And Jesus answering said, O faithless and perverse generation,
how long shall I be with you, and suffer you? Bring thy son hither.
Adv.Marc.iv.23;Panarion 42

42 And as he was yet a coming, the demon rent him, and convulsed him.
And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the boy,
and delivered him again to his father.
43 And they were all amazed at the majesty of God.
And as they all wondered at all things which Jesus did,
he said unto his disciples,
44 Take ye into your ears these sayings:
for the Son of man is going to be delivered into the hands of men.
;Panarion 42

45 But they understood not this saying, and it was hid from them
that they should not perceive it :
and they feared to ask him about that saying.

[Those Dopey Disciples (2)]

46 Then there arose a reasoning among them,
which of them should be greatest.
47 And Jesus, perceiving the reasoning of their heart,
took a child, and set it [next to] himself, and said unto them,
48 Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me:
and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me:
for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.
Adv.Marc.iv.23
49 And John answered and said,
Teacher, we saw one casting out demons in thy name;
and we hindered him, because he followeth not with us.
50 And Jesus said unto him,
Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you.

[Those Dopey Disciples (3)]

Adv.Marc.iv.23
51 And it came to pass, when the days of his taking up were being fulfilled,
he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,
52 And sent messengers before his face: and they went,
and entered into a village of the Samaritans, so as to make ready for him.
53 And they did not receive him, because his face was going to Jerusalem.
54 And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said,
Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven,
and to consume them, even as Elijah did?
55 But he turned, and rebuked them, and said,
Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.
56 For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.
And they went to another village.

57 And it came to pass, that, as they went in the way,
a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.
58 And Jesus said unto him,
Foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have lodging places;
but the Son of man hath not where he may lay his head.
59 And he said unto another, Follow me.
But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.
60 Jesus said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their own dead:
but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.
61 And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee;
but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my house.
62 And Jesus said unto him,
No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back,
is fit for the kingdom of God.

[Seventy New Disciples Appointed]

Adv.Marc.iv.24
10: 1 And after these things the Lord appointed other seventy also,
and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place,
whither he himself was about to come.
2 Therefore said he unto them,
The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few:
pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest,
that he may send forth labourers into his harvest.
3 Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.
4 Carry neither purse, nor wallet, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.
5 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.
6 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it:
if not, it shall turn to you again.
7 And in the same house remain,
eating and drinking such things as they give:
for the labourer is worthy of his hire.

Go not from house to house.
8 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you,
eat such things as are set before you:
9 And heal the sick therein, and say unto them,
The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
10 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not,
go out into the streets thereof, and say,
11 Even the very dust of your city, which clave to us,
we do wipe off against you:
notwithstanding be ye sure of this,
that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
Adv.Marc.iv.24

Zahn omits:

[12 But I say unto you,
that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom,
than for that city.
13 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida!
for if the powers had been done in Tyre and Sidon,
which have been done in you,
they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.
14 But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment, than for you.
15 And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven?
thou shalt be thrust down unto Hades.]

16 He that heareth you heareth me;
and he that despiseth you despiseth me;
and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.
17 And the seventy returned again with joy, saying,
Lord, even the demons are subject unto us through thy name.
18 And he said unto them,
I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven.
19 Behold, I give unto you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions,
and over all the power of the enemy:
and nothing shall by any means hurt you.
20 Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you;
but rather rejoice, because your names are written in the heavens.

Adv.Marc.iv.25;Panarion 42
21 In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said,
I thank thee, Lord of heaven ,
that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent,
and hast revealed them unto babes:
even so, Father; for so it was well-pleasing before thee.

Adv.Marc.iv.25
22 All things were delivered to me by my Father:
and no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son,
and who the Son is, but the Father,
and he to whomsoever the Son wishes to reveal him.
Adv.Marc.iv.25

23 And he turned him unto his disciples, and said privately,
Blessed are the eyes which see what ye see:
24 For I tell you, that prophets did not see what ye see.
Adv.Marc.iv.25

SECTION III

The Gospel of the Lord

Section III

10:25-28 To Inherit Long Life on Earth
10:29-37 The Good Samaritan
10:38-42 "Martha, Martha"
11:1-13 The Prayer for Holy Spirit
11:14-26 A House Divided
11:27-28 "The Womb that Bare Thee"
11:29 An Evil Generation
11:33-36 The Lamp of the Body
11:37-54 "Woe"
12:1-12 The Leaven of the Pharisees / "Fear Him"
12:13-21 Who Appointed Me a Judge ?
12:22-34 Seek Ye the Kingdom of God
12:35-48 The Faithful and Wise Servant
12:49-59 Fire on the Earth
13:10-17 Healing on the Sabbath

[To Inherit Long Life on Earth]

Adv.Marc.iv.25;Panarion 42
25 And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying,
Teacher, doing what shall I obtain life?
Cf.18:18-30
26 But he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?
27 And he answering said,
Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from all thy heart, and from all thy soul,
and from all thy strength, and from all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.
28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

[The Good Samaritan]

29 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus,
And who is my neighbour?
30 And Jesus answering said,
A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho,
and fell among thieves,
which stripped him, and beat him, leaving him just half dead.
31 And by chance there came down a certain priest in that way:
and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
32 And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and saw him,
and passed by on the other side.

33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came down to him:
and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
34 And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine,
and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn,
and took care of him.
35 And on the morrow when he departed,
he took out two denarii, and gave them to the host, and said unto him,
Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more,
when I come again, I will repay thee.
36 Which now of these three, seems to thee to have been a neighbour
unto him that fell among the thieves?
37 And hesaid, He that shewed mercy on him.
Jesus therefore said unto him,
Go, and do thou likewise.

["Martha, Martha"]

38 Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village:
and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.
39 And she had a sister called Mary,
which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.
40 But Martha was distracted about much serving, and came up to him, and said,
Lord, dost thou not care that my sister did leave me to serve alone?
bid her therefore that she help me.
41 And Jesus answered and said unto her,
Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things:
42 But there is need of one: and Mary chose that good part,
which shall not be taken away from her.

[The Prayer for Holy Spirit]

Adv.Marc.iv.26
11: 1 And it came to pass whilst he was in a certain place
praying to the Father,
when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him,
Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.
2 And he said unto them,
When ye pray, say,

Father, let thy Holy Spirit come upon us,
Adv.Marc.iv.26
Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come.
Thy will be done,
as in heaven, so on earth.
3 Give us day by day our bread for the coming day.
4 And forgive us our sins;
for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.
And lead us not into temptation.

Adv.Marc.iv.26;Panarion 42
5 And he said unto them,
Which of you shall have a friend,
and shall go unto him at midnight,
and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;
6 Since my friend is come unto me from a journey,
and I have nothing to set before him?
7 And he from within shall answer and say,
Trouble me not: the door is now shut,
and my children are with me in bed;
I cannot rise and give thee.
8 I say unto you,
even if he will not rise and give him,
because he is his friend,
yet because of his importunity he will rise
and give him as many as he needeth.

Adv.Marc.iv.26;Panarion 42
9 And I say unto you,
Ask, and it shall be given you;
seek, and ye shall find;
knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
10 For every one that asketh receiveth;
and he that seeketh findeth;
and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
11 But of which of you that is a father shall his son ask a loaf
he will give him a stone?
or a fish, and he instead of a fish
will give him a serpent?
12 Or if he shall ask an egg,
will he give him a scorpion?
13 If ye then, being evil,
know how to give good gifts unto your children:
how much more shall your Father from heaven
give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?
Adv.Marc.iv.26;Panarion 42

[A House Divided]

Adv.Marc.iv.26
14 And he was casting out a demon, and it was dumb.
And it came to pass, when the demon was gone out,
the dumb spake;
and the multitudes marvelled.
15 But some of them said,
He casteth out demons through Beelzebub the chief of the demons.
16 And others, tempting him, sought of him a sign from heaven.
17 But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them,
Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation;
and a house divided against a house falleth.
18 And if Satan also be divided against himself,
how shall his kingdom be established?
because ye say that I cast out demons in Beelzebub.
19 And if I in Beelzebub cast out demons,
in whom do your sons cast them out?
therefore shall they be your judges.
20 But if I with the finger of God cast out demons,
no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.
21 When a strong man fully armed keepeth his palace,
his goods are in peace.

Zahn omits:

[22 But when the stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him,
he taketh from him all his whole armour wherein he trusted,
and divideth his spoils.
23 He that is not with me is against me:
and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.
24 When the unclean spirit is gone out from the man,
he goeth through waterless places, seeking rest;
and finding none, he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out.
25 And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished.
26 Then goeth he,
and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself;
and they enter in, and dwell there:

and the last state of that man is worse than the first.]

["The Womb that Bare Thee"]

Adv.Marc.iv.26
27 And it came to pass, as he said these things,
a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice,
and said unto him,
Blessed is the womb that bare thee,
and the breasts which thou didst suck.
28 But he said,
Yea rather, blessed are they that hear [my word], and keep it.

[An Evil Generation]

Adv.Marc.iv.27
29 And when the multitudes were gathering thick together,
he began to say,
This is an evil generation: it seeketh a sign;
and there shall no sign be given it .
Panarion 42

[- vv.30-32]

[The Lamp of the Body]

33 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp,
putteth it into a secret place,
neither under the bushel, but on the lampstand,
that they which come in may see the light.
34 The lamp of the body is the eye:
therefore when thine eye is single,
thy whole body also is full of light;
but when it is evil,
thy body also is full of darkness.
35 Look therefore that the light which is in thee
be not darkness.
36 If therefore thy whole body be full of light,
having no part dark,
it shall be wholly full of light,
as when the lamp with its gleam doth give thee light.

["Woe!"]

Adv.Marc.iv.26
37 And as he spake, a certain Pharisee asked him to breakfast with him:
and he went in, and lay down.
38 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed
before the breakfast.
39 And the Lord said unto him,
Now do ye Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and the platter;
but your inside is full of extortion and wickedness.
40 Foolish ones, did not he that made the outside
make the inside also?
41 But give as alms the things in your power;
and, behold, all things are clean unto you.

Adv.Marc.iv.26;Panarion 42
42 But woe unto you, Pharisees!
for ye tithe mint and rue and every herb,
and pass over the calling and the love of God:
but these ought ye to have done, and not to leav e the other undone.
43 Woe unto you, Pharisees!
for ye love the first seat in the synagogues,
and the greetings in the markets.

44 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
for ye are as graves which appear not,
and the men that walk about over them know it not.

Adv.Marc.iv.26
45 Then one of the lawyers answering saith unto him,
Teacher, saying these things thou reproachest us also.
46 And he said,
Woe unto you also, lawyers!
for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne,
and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.
47 Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets,
but your fathers killed them.
Panarion 42

48 Truly ye are witnesses and consent to the deeds of your fathers:
for they indeed killed them, but ye build their sepulchres.
Adv.Marc.iv.26

[- 49 -51]Panarion 42

52 Woe unto you, lawyers!
for ye took away the key of knowledge:
ye entered not in yourselves,
and them that were entering in ye hindered.
53 And as he said these things unto them,
the scribes and the Pharisees began to press upon him vehemently,
and to provoke him to speak of more things:
54 Laying wait for him,
and seeking to catch something out of his mouth,
that they might accuse him.

[The Leaven of the Pharisees / "Fear Him"]

Adv.Marc.iv.28
12: 1 In the mean time, when there were gathered together
tens of thousands of the multitudes,
insomuch that they trode one upon another,
he began to say unto his disciples,
First be ye on your guard against of the leaven of the Pharisees,
which is hypocrisy.
2 For there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed;
and hidden that shall not be known.
3 Wherefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness
shall be heard in the light;
and that which ye have spoken to the ear in the chambers
shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.

Adv.Marc.iv.28;Panarion 42
4 And I say unto you my friends,
Be not afraid of them that kill the body,
and after this have not power to do anything further.
5 But I will show you whom ye shall fear:
Fear him, which after he hath killed
hath authority to cast into Gehenna;
yea, I say unto you, Fear him.
[- vv 6-7]
Adv.Marc.iv.28;Panarion 42
8 But I say unto you,
Whosoever shall confess in me before men,
in him shall the Son of man also confess before God:
9 But he that denieth me in the sight of men
shall be denied in the sight of God.

Adv.Marc.iv.28;Panarion 42
10 And every one, who shall speak a word against the Son of man,
it shall be forgiven him:
but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit
it shall not be forgiven.

Adv.Marc.iv.28
11 And when they bring you up before the synagogues,
and unto the rulers, and authorities,
be not anxious how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say:
12 For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in the same hour
what ye ought to say.

[Who Appointed Me a Judge?]

Adv.Marc.iv.28
13 And one out of the multitude said unto him,
Teacher, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me.
14 And he said unto him,
Man, who appointed me a judge or a divider over you?
15 And he said unto them,
Take heed, and guard yourselves from covetousness:
for not in a man's abundance consisteth his life out of his possessions.

Adv.Marc.iv.28
16 And he spake a parable unto them, saying,
The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully:
17 And he reasoned within himself, saying,
What shall I do, because I have not where to collect my fruits?
18 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater;
and there will I collect all my fruits and my goods.
19 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years;
take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.
20 But God said unto him, Foolish one, this night they require thy soul from thee:
and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be?
21 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.

[Seek Ye the Kingdom of God]

Adv.Marc.iv.29
22 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you,
Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat;
neither for the body, what ye shall put on.
23 The life is more than the food, and the body than the raiment.

24 Consider the ravens, that they sow not nor reap;
which have not storechamber nor barn; and God feedeth them:
how much rather do ye excel the birds!
25 And which of you with being anxious can add to his stature one cubit?
26 If ye then be not able to do even a very little thing,
why are ye anxious about the rest?
27 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, nor spin;
yet I say unto you, not even Solomon in all his glory
was arrayed like one of these.
28 [If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field,
and to morrow is cast into the oven;]
how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?
Adv.Marc.iv.29;Panarion 42
29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink,
neither be ye of doubtful mind.
30 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after:
but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.
31 Notwithstanding seek ye the kingdom of God;
and all these things shall be added unto you.
Adv.Marc.iv.29;Panarion 42
32 Fear not, little flock; for your Father is well pleased
to give you the kingdom.
33 Sell your possessions, and give alms;
make yourselves purses which grow not old,
an unfailing treasure in the heavens,
where a thief does not come near, nor a moth destroy.
34 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

[The Faithful and Wise Servant]

Adv.Marc.iv.29
35 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning;
36 And ye like unto men that wait for their lord,
when he shall return from the wedding-feast;
that when he cometh and knocketh,
they may open unto him immediately.
37 Blessed are those servants,
whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching:
verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself,
and make them to recline to meat,
and shall pass by and serve them.

Panarion 42
38 And if he shall come in the evening watch,
and find them so,
blessed are those servants.

Adv.Marc.iv.29
39 And this know, that if the master of the house had known
what hour the thief was coming,
he would have watched,
and not have left his house to be broken through.
40 Be ye therefore ready also:
for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

Adv.Marc.iv.29
41 Then Peter said unto him,
Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?
42 And the Lord said,
Who then is that faithful and wise steward,
whom his lord shall set over his household,
to give them their portion of food in due season?
43 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
44 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all his possessions.
45 But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth to come,
and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidservants,
and to eat and drink, and to be drunken;
46 The lord of that servant will come in a day when he expecteth not,
and at an hour when he knoweth not,
and will cut him in sunder,
and will appoint him his portion with the unfaithful.
Panarion 42

47 And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not,
neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.
48 But he that knew not, and did did things worthy of stripes,
shall be beaten with few stripes.
For to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required:
and to whom they have committed much, of him they will ask the more.

[Fire on the Earth]

Adv.Marc.iv.29
49 I came to cast fire on the earth;
and what will I, if it be already kindled?
50 But I have a baptism to be baptized with;

and how am I constrained till it be accomplished!
51 Think ye that I am come to give peace on earth?

Adv.Marc.iv.29
I tell you, Nay; but rather division:
52 For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided,
three against two, and two against three.
53 They shall be divided father against son, and son against father;
mother against daughter, and daughter against mother;
mother in law against her daughter in law,
and daughter in law against her mother in law.

54 And he said also to the multitudes,
When ye see the cloud rising up from the west, straightway ye say
There cometh a shower; and it cometh to pass.
55 And when ye see a south wind blowing, ye say,
There will be scorching heat; and it cometh to pass.

Adv.Marc.iv.29;Panarion 42
56 Ye hypocrites,
ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven;
but how is it that ye do not interpret this time?
57 Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?
58 For as thou goest with thine adversary before the magistrate,
on the way give diligence to be delivered from him;
lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer,
and the officer cast thee into prison.
59 I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means depart thence,
till thou hast paid the very last lepton.

[-13:1-9]Panarion 42

[Healing on the Sabbath]

Adv.Marc.iv.30;Panarion 42
13: 10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath days.
11 And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years,
and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself.
12 And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her,
Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.
13 And he laid his hands on her: and immediately she was made straight,
and glorified God.
14 And the ruler of the synagogue answered, being vexed,
because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day,
and said unto the multitude,
There are six days in which men ought to work:
in them therefore come and be healed,
and not on the day of the sabbath.
15 The Lord then answered him, and said,
Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath
loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering?
16 And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham,
whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years,
be loosed from this bond on the day of the sabbath ?
17 And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were put to shame:
and all the multitude rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

SECTION IV

The Gospel of the Lord

Section IV

13:18 -21 Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven
13:22-14:24 The Righteous in the Kingdom
14:25-33 Discipleship
15:1- 10 Joy in the Presence of God
16:1- 18 Steward of Unrighteousness/ God and Mammon
16:19- 31 Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom
17:1- 10 Occasions of Stumbling
17:11- 19 Ten Lepers
17:20-37 Kingdom Cometh Not with Observation

[Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven]

Adv.Marc.iv.30
18 Then said he, Unto what is the kingdom of God like?
and whereunto shall I liken it?
19 It is like a grain of mustard seed,
which a man took, and cast into his own garden;
and it grew, and became a great tree;
and the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches of it.

Adv.Marc.iv.30
20 And again he said,
Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God?
21 It is like unto leaven,
which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal,
till the whole was leavened.

[The Righteous in the Kingdom]

22 And he went through the cities and villages, teaching,
and making a journey unto Jerusalem.
23 Then one said unto him, Lord, are they few that are being saved?
And he said unto them,
24 Strive to enter in through the narrow gate:
for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

Adv.Marc.iv.30
25 When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door,
and ye begin to stand outside, and to knock at the door, saying,
Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you,
I know you not whence ye are:
26 Then shall ye begin to say, We did eat and drink in thy presence,
and thou didst teach in our streets.

Adv.Marc.iv.30
27 But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are;
depart from me, all ye workers of unrighteousness.
28 There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth,
when ye shall see all the righteous in the kingdom of God,
and yourselves thrust out and held back outside.
Panarion 42

[- vv.29-35]Panarion 42

14: 1 And it came to pass,
as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees
to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they were watching him.
2 And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy.
3 And Jesus answered and spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying,
Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?
4 And they held their peace.
And he took him, and healed him, and let him go;
5 And he answered and said unto them,
Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a well,
and will not straightway pull him up on the day of the sabbath?
6 And they could not answer him again to these things.

Adv.Marc.iv.31
12 Then said he also to him that bade him,
When thou makest a breakfast or a supper,
call not thy friends, nor thy brethren,
neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours;
lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee.
13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:
14 And thou shalt be blessed;
for they have no[thing] wherewith to recompense thee:
for it shall be recompensed to thee
at the resurrection of the righteous.

15 And when one of them that reclined with him heard these things,
he said unto him,
Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.

Adv.Marc.iv.31
16 But he said unto him,
A certain man made a great supper, and bade many:
17 And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden,
Come; for all things are now ready.
18 And they all with one consent began to make excuse.
The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground,
and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused.

19 And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them:
I pray thee, hold me excused.
20 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.
21 So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things.

Adv.Marc.iv.31
Then the master of the house being moved said to his servant,
Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city,
and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind.
22 And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou didst command, and yet there is room.
23 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges,
and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.
24 For I say unto you,
That none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

[Discipleship]

25 And there went great multitudes with him:
and he turned, and said unto them,
26 If any man cometh to me,
and doth not abandon his father, and mother, and wife, and children,
and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also,
he cannot be my disciple.
27 And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come behind me,
cannot be my disciple.
28 For which of you, intending to build a tower,
sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost,
whether he have the things for completion?
29 Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation,
and is not able to finish, all that behold it begin to mock him,
30 Saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish.
31 Or what king, when he is going to encounter another king in war,
sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand
to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?
32 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off,
he sendeth an embassy, and desireth conditions of peace.
33 So therefore, whosoever he be of you
that renounceth not all his possessions,
he cannot be my disciple.

[vv. 34-35 uncertain]

[Joy in the Presence of God]

Adv.Marc.iv.32
15: 1 Now all the publicans and sinners were coming near unto him,
to hear him.
2 And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying,
This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.
3 And he spake this parable unto them, saying,
4 What man of you, having an hundred sheep,
if he lose one of them,
doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness,
and go after that which is lost, until he find it?
5 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.
6 And when he cometh into the house,
he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them,
Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.
7 I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in the heaven
over one sinner that repenteth,
more than over ninety and nine righteous persons,
which have no need of repentance.
8 Either what woman having ten drachmas,
if she lose one drachma,
doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house,
and seek diligently till she find it?
9 And when she hath found it,
she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying,
Rejoice with me;
for I have found the drachma which I had lost.
10 Likewise, I say unto you,
there is joy in the presence of God
over one sinner that repenteth.

[- 15:10-32]Panarion 42

[Steward of Unrighteousness / God and Mammon]

Adv.Marc.iv.33
16: 1 And he said also unto his disciples,
There was a certain rich man, which had a steward;
and the same was accused unto him as wasting his property.
2 And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee?
render the account of thy stewardship;
for thou canst not be a steward any longer.
3 Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do?
for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship:
I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed.
4 I know what I will do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship,
they may receive me into their houses.
5 And he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first,
How much owest thou unto my lord?
6 And he said, An hundred baths of oil. And he said unto him,
Take thy bond, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.
7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou?
And he said, An hundred cors of wheat. And he said unto him,
Take thy bond, and write fourscore.
8 And the lord commended the steward of unrighteousness,
because he did wisely:
for the sons of this age are unto their own generation
wiser beyond the children of the light.

9 And I say unto you,
Make to yourselves friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness;
that, when ye leave, they may receive you into eternal habitations.
10 He that is faithful in a very little is faithful in much:
and he that is unrighteous in very little is unrighteous also in much.

Adv.Marc.iv.33
11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon,
who will entrust to you the real [mammon]?
12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another 's,
who shall give you that which is mine?
13 No domestic can serve two masters:
for either he will hate the one, and love the other;
or else he will hold to one, and despise the other.
Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

Adv.Marc.iv.33
14 And the Pharisees also, who were lovers of money,
heard all these things: and they sneered at him.
15 And he said unto them,
Ye are they which make yourselves righteous in the sight of men;
but God knoweth your hearts:
for that which is highly esteemed among men
is abomination in the sight of God.

Adv.Marc.iv.33; Panarion 42
16 The law and the prophets were until John:
since that time the kingdom of God
is announced as good tidings,
and every man forceth into it.
17 But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away,
even as the law and the prophets [have passed away],
than one tittle of my words to fail.

Adv.Marc.iv.34
18 Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another,
committeth adultery: and everyone that marrieth one that is put away from a husband
committeth adultery.

[Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom]

Adv.Marc.iv.34 Panarion 42
19 There was a certain rich man,
and he was clothed in purple and fine linen,
faring sumptuously every day:
20 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus,
which was laid at his gate, full of sores,
21 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs
which fell from the rich man's table:
but even the dogs came and licked his sores.
22 And it came to pass, that the beggar died,
and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom
: the rich man also died, and was buried.

23 And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off,
and Lazarus in his bosom.
24 And he cried and said,
Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus,
that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue;

for I am in anguish in this flame.
25 But Abraham said,
Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things,
and likewise Lazarus evil things:
but now he is comforted, and thou art in anguish.
26 And besides all these things,
between us and you there is a great gulf fixed:
so that they which wish to cross from hence to you may not be able;
neither can they from thence pass through to us.
27 But he said, I pray thee therefore, father,
that thou wouldest send him to my father's house:
28 For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them,
lest they also come into this place of torment.
29 Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets;
let them hear them.
30 And he said, Nay, father Abraham:
but if one from the dead went unto them,
they will repent.
31 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets,
not even if one from the dead arose,
will they be persuaded.

[Occasions of Stumbling]

Adv.Marc.iv.35
17: 1 Then said he unto the disciples,
It is inconceivable but that occasions of stumbling will come:
but woe unto him, through whom they come!
2 It were a gain if he had not been born,
or if a millstone were hanged about his neck,
and he were cast into the sea,
rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.
3 Take heed to yourselves:
But if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him;
and if he repent, forgive him.
4 And if he trespass against thee seven times in the day,
and seven times in the day turn again to thee, saying, I repent;
thou shalt forgive him.

5 And the apostles said unto the Lord,
Increase our faith.
6 And the Lord said,
If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed,
ye would say unto this mulberry tree,
Be thou plucked up-rooted,
and be thou planted in the sea;
and it would have obeyed you.

Zahn omits:

7 [But who is there of you,
having a servant plowing or keeping sheep,
that will say unto him, when he is come from the field,
Come straightway and lie down to meat?
8 And will not rather say unto him,
Make ready wherewith I may sup,
and gird thyself, and serve me,
till I have eaten and drunken;
and afterward thou shalt eat and drink?
9 Doth he thank that servant because he did the things
that were commanded him?
I think not.
10 So likewise do ye,
when ye shall have done all those things
which are commanded you.]

[- 10c]Panarion 42

[Ten Lepers]

Adv.Marc.iv.35; Panarion 42
11 And it came to pass, as he went to Jerusalem,
that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.
12 And as he entered into a certain village,
there met him ten men that were lepers,
which stood afar off:
13 And they lifted up their voices, and said,
Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.
14 And when he saw them, he said unto them,
Go shew yourselves unto the priests.
And it came to pass, that, as they went,
they were cleansed.
15 And one of them, when he saw that he was healed,
turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God,
16 And fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks:
and he was a Samaritan.

17 And Jesus answering said,
Were not the ten cleansed? but where are the nine?
18 There are not found that returned to give glory to God
but this alien?

Adv.Marc.iv.35; Panarion 42
+4:27 And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet,
and none of them was healed, but only Naaman the Syrian.
19 And he said unto him,
Arise, go thy way: thy faith hath saved thee.

[Kingdom Cometh Not with Observation]

Adv.Marc.iv.35
20 And when he was questioned by the Pharisees,
when the kingdom of God cometh,
he answered them and said,
The kingdom of God cometh not with observation:
21 Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there!
for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.

Adv.Marc.iv.35; Panarion 42
22 And he said unto the disciples,
The days will come, when ye shall desire to see
one of the days of the Son of man,
and ye shall not see it.
23 And they shall say to you, Lo here! , or, lo there!
go not away, nor follow after them.
24 For as the lightning,
that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven,
shineth unto the other part under heaven;
so shall also the Son of man be in his day.
25 But first must he suffer many things,
and be rejected of this generation.

Adv.Marc.iv.35
26 And as it came to pass in the days of Noah,
so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
27 They ate, they drank, they married,
they were given in marriage,
until the day that Noah entered into the ark,
and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
28 Likewise also as it came to pass in the days of Lot;
they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold,
they planted, they builded;
29 But in the day that Lot went out from Sodom
it rained fire and brimstone from heaven,
and destroyed them all.
30 According to these things shall it be in the day
when the Son of man is revealed.
31 In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop,
and his goods in the house,
let him not go down to take them away:
and he that is in the field,
let him likewise not return to the things behind.
32 Remember Lot's wife.

33 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it;
and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.
34 I say unto you,
in that night there shall be two [men] shall be on one bed;
the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
35 Two [women] shall be grinding upon the same stone;
the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
36 Two [men] shall be in the field;
the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
37 And they answered and said unto him,
Where, Lord? And he said unto them,
Wheresoever the body is,
there will the eagles be gathered together.

SECTION V

The Gospel of the Lord

Section V

18:1-8 God Will Right His Elect
18:9- 17 Pharisee and Publican / Suffer the Little Children
18:18- 30 To Inherit Eternal Life
18:35-43 Blind Man by the Roadside
19:1-10 Zacchaeus
19:11-48 A Certain Nobleman
20:1-8 By What Authority?
20:19-26 Tribute to Caesar?
20:27-40 Children of the Resurrection
20:41-44 Is Christ David's Son?
20:45-47 Beware of the Scribes
21:1-4 A Widow's Two Cents Worth
21:5-38 The "Little Apocalypse"

[God Will Right His Elect]

Adv.Marc.iv.36
18: 1 And he spake also a parable unto them
on the neccessity always to pray,
and not to faint; Saying,
2 There was in a city a judge, which feared not God,
and regarded not man:
3 And there was a certain widow in that city;
and she came unto him, saying,
Right me from my opponent at law.
4 And he would not for a time:
but afterward he said within himself,
Though I fear not God, and regard not man;
5 Yet because this widow gives me trouble,
I will right her,
lest by her coming to the end she weary me.
6 And the Lord said,
Hear what the judge of the unrighteous saith.
7 And shall not God perform the righting of his elect,
which cry unto him day and night,
though he be long suffering over them?
8 I say unto you
that he will perform the righting of them speedily.
Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh,
shall he find the faith on the earth?

[Pharisee and Publican/Suffer the Little Children]

Adv.Marc.iv.36
9 And he spake this parable unto certain
which trusted in themselves that they were righteous,
and accounted nothing of the rest;
10 Two men went up into the temple to pray;
the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.
11 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus:
God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are,
extortioners, unrighteous, adulterers,
or even as this publican.
12 I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I get.
13 And the publican, standing afar off,
would not lift up even his eyes unto heaven,
but smote upon his breast, saying,
God be propitiated to me the sinner.
14 I say unto you,
this man went down to his house made righteous
rather than that one:
for every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled;
and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

15 And they were bringing unto him also the infants,
that he should touch them:
but when the disciples saw it, they rebuked them.
16 But Jesus called them unto him, and said,
Suffer the little children to come unto me,
and hinder them not:
for of such is the kingdom of God.
17 Verily I say unto you,
Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God
as a little child
shall in no wise enter into it.

[To Inherit Eternal Life]

Cf.10:25-28

Adv.Marc.iv.36; Panarion 42
18 And a certain ruler asked him, saying,
Good Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?
19 And Jesus said unto him,
Why callest thou me good?
none is good, save one, even God the Father.

Panarion 42
[And he [the ruler]said,]
20 I know the commandments -
Do not commit adultery, Do not kill,
Do not steal, Do not bear false witness,
Honour thy father and thy mother.
21 All these have I have observed from my youth up.
22 But when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him,
Yet one thing is lacking for thee:
sell all things, as many as thou hast,
and distribute unto the poor,
and thou shalt have treasure in heaven:
and come, follow me.
23 And when he heard these things,
he became exceeding sorrowful: for he was very rich.

24 And when Jesus saw him become exceeding sorrowful, he said,
How hardly shall they that have riches
enter into the kingdom of God!
25 For it is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye,
than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
26 And they that heard it said, Who then can be saved?
27 And he said,
The things which are impossible with men
are possible with God.
28 Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee.
29 And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you,
There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren,
or wife, or children,
for the kingdom of God's sake,
30 Who shall not receive manifold more in this time,
and in the coming age eternal life.

[- 31-34] Panarion 42

[Blind Man by the Roadside]

Adv.Marc.iv.36; Panarion 42
35 And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho,
a certain blind man sat by the way side begging:
36 And when he heard the multitude passing by,
he asked what this might be.
37 And they told him, that Jesus passeth by.
38 And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
39 And they which went before rebuked him, that he might be silent:
but he cried so much the more, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
40 And Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be brought unto him:
and when he was come near, he asked him, saying,
41 What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee?
And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.
42 And Jesus said unto him,
Receive thy sight: thy faith hath saved thee.
43 And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God:
and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

[Zacchaeus]

Adv.Marc.iv.37
19: 1 And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.
2 And, behold, a man called by the name Zacchaeus,
and he was a chief publican, and he was rich.
3 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not from the multitude,
because he was little of stature.
4 And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him:
for he was going to pass through that way.
5 And when he came to the place,
he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him,
Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house.
6 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully.
7 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying,
That he was gone to lodge with a man that is a sinner.
8 And Zacchaeus stood still, and said unto the Lord;
Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor;
and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation,
I restore fourfold.
9 And Jesus said unto him,
[- 9b] This day is salvation come to this house,

10 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

[A Certain Nobleman]

Adv.Marc.iv.37; Adv.Marc.iv.39
11 And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable,
because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they supposed
that the kingdom of God was going to appear immediately.
12 He said therefore,
A certain nobleman went into a distant country
to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.
13 And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds,
and said unto them, Trade till I come.
14 But his citizens hated him, and sent his embassy after him, saying,
We do not wish this man to reign over us.

15 And it came to pass, that when he was returned,
having received the kingdom,
that he commanded these servants to be called unto him,
to whom he gave the money,
that he might know what trade every man had accomplished.
16 And the first came before him, saying,
Lord, thy mina hath wrought ten minas more.
17 And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant:
because thou wast faithful in a very little,
be thou holding authority over ten cities.
18 And the second came, saying,
Lord, thy mina hath gained five minas.
19 And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities.
20 And another came, saying,
Lord, behold, here is thy mina,
which I have kept laid up in a napkin:
21 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man:
thou takest up that thou layedst not down,
and reapest that thou sowest not.
22 And he saith unto him,
Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant.
Knewest thou that I was an austere man,
taking up that I laid not down,
and reaping that I sowed not ?
23 Wherefore then gavest thou not my money into the bank,
and I would have come and exacted it with interest?
24 And he said unto them that stood by,
Take from him the mina,
and give it to him that hath ten minas.
25 And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten minas.

26 For I say unto you,
That unto every one which hath shall be given;
and from him that hath not, even that he hath
shall be taken away from him.
27 But those mine enemies, that did not wish me to reign over them,
bring hither, and slay them before me.
28 And when he had thus spoken,
he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.

[- vv. 29-46]Panarion 42

47 And he was teaching daily in the temple.
But the chief priests and the scribes
and the chief of the people sought to destroy him,
48 And could not find what they might do:
for all the people were very attentive to hear him.

[By What Authority?]

Adv.Marc.iv.38
20: 1 And it came to pass, that on one of those days,
as he was teaching the people in the temple,
and announcing the glad tidings,
there came upon him the chief priests and the scribes with the elders,
2 And spake unto him, saying,
Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things?
or who is he that gave thee this authority?
3 And he answered and said unto them,
I will also ask you one word and tell me:
4 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?
5 And they reasoned with themselves, saying,
If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why then believed ye him not?
6 But if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us:
for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.
7 And they answered, that they knew not whence it was.
8 And Jesus said unto them,
Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

[- vv.9-18]Panarion 42

[Tribute to Caesar?]

Adv.Marc.iv.38; Panarion 42
19 And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour
sought to lay hands on him;
[-19c] and they feared the people.
20 And they watched him, and sent forth spies,
feigning themselves to be righteous men,
that they might take hold of his speech,
in order to deliver him up unto the rule and authority of the governor.
21 And they asked him, saying,
Teacher, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly,
and acceptest not a countenance,
but of a truth teachest the way of God.
22 Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?
23 But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them,
Why tempt ye me?
24 Shew me a denarius. Whose image and superscription hath it?
They answered and said, Caesar's.
25 And he said unto them,
Render therefore unto Caesar the things of Caesar,
and unto God the things of God.
26 And they were not able to take hold of his saying before the people:
and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

[Children of the Resurrection]

Adv.Marc.iv.38
27 And there came to him certain of the Sadducees,
they which deny that there is any resurrection;
and they asked him, saying,
28 Teacher, Moses wrote unto us,
that if any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die childless,
that his brother should take the wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.
29 There were therefore seven brethren:
and the first took a wife, and died childless.
30 And the second took her to wife, and he died childless.
31 And the third took her;
and likewise the seven also left no children, and died.
32 Last of all the woman died also.
33 In the resurrection, therefore,
whose wife of them does she become?
for the seven had her as a wife.

Adv.Marc.iv.38
34 And Jesus answered and said unto them,
The sons of this age marry, and are given in marriage:
35 But they whom God accounted worthy of that age,
to obtain the resurrection from the dead,
neither marry, nor are given in marriage:
36 Neither can they die any more:
for they are equal u nto the angels;
and are the sons of God,
being the children of the resurrection.

[- vv.37-38]Panarion 42

39 Then certain of the scribes answering said,
Teacher, thou hast well said.
40 And they did not any longer venture to ask him anything.

[Is Christ David's Son?]

Adv.Marc.iv.38
41 And he said unto them,
How say they that the Christ is David's son?
42 And David himself saith in the book of Psalms,
The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,
43 Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.
44 David therefore calleth him Lord,
and how is he then his son?

[Beware of the Scribes]

45 And when all the people were hearing him,
he said unto his disciples,
46 Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes,
and love salutations in the markets,
and the first seats in the synagogues,
and the first rooms at feasts;
47 Which eat up the houses of widows,
and for a pretext make long prayers:
the same shall receive greater condemnation.

[A Widow's Two Cents Worth]

21: 1 And he looked up, and saw the rich men

that were casting their gifts into the treasury.
2 And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two lepta.
3 And he said, Of a truth I say unto you,
that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all:
4 For all these did out of their super-abundance
cast in unto the offerings of God:
but she out of her want
hath cast in all the living that she had.

[The "Little Apocalypse"]

Adv.Marc.iv.39
5 And as some spake about the temple,
that it was adorned with goodly stones and offerings,
he said,
6 As for these things which ye behold, the days will come,
in the which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone,
that shall not be thrown down.
7 And they asked him, saying, Teacher, when then shall these things be?
and what shall be the sign, when these things are going to take place?

8 And he said,
See that ye be not led astray:
for many shall come in my name, saying, I am he ;
and the time is come near: go ye not therefore after them.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
9 And when ye shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified:
for these things must first come to pass;
but the end is not immediately.

10 Then said he unto them,
Nation shall rise against nation,
and kingdom against kingdom:
11 And great earthquakes shall be in divers places,
and famines, and pestilences;
and terrors and great signs shall there be from heaven.

12 But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you,
and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues,
and into prisons,
being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
13 And it shall turn out to you for a testimony.
14 Settle it therefore in your hearts,
not to meditate before how to answer:
15 For I will give you a mouth and wisdom,
which all those opposed to you
shall not be able to gainsay nor withstand.
16 And ye shall be delivered up
even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolks, and friends;
and they shall put some of you to death.
17 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

[- v.18]Panarion 42

19 In your patience possess ye your souls.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
20 But when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies,
then know that her desolation is come near.

[- vv.21-22]Panarion 42

Zahn omits:

23 [But woe unto them that are with child,
and to them that give suck, in those days!
for there shall be great distress in the land,
and wrath unto this people.
24 And they shall fall by the edge of the sword,
and shall be led away captive into all the nations:
and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by nations,
until the times of nations be fulfilled.]

Adv.Marc.iv.39
25 And there shall be signs in sun, and moon, and stars;
and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity;
the sea and waves roaring;
26 Men fainting for fear,
and for expectation of the things
which are coming on the world:
for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.
27 And then shall they see the Son of man coming
in a cloud with great power.
28 And when these things begin to come to pass,

then look up, and lift up your heads;
for your redemption draweth nigh.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
29 And he spake to them a parable;
Behold the fig tree, and all the trees;
30 When they already shoot forth,
ye see it, and know your own selves
that summer is already near.
31 So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass,
know ye that the kingdom of God is near.
32 [-32b] Verily I say unto you,
The heaven and the earth shall in no wise pass away,
till all things be accomplished
33 The heaven and the earth shall pass away:
but my words shall in no wise pass away.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
34 And take heed to yourselves,
lest at any time your hearts be weighed down
with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life,
and that day come upon you unawares.
35 For as a snare shall it come on all them
that dwell on the face of all the earth.
36 Watch ye therefore at every season, praying,
that ye may be accounted worthy
[-36c] to escape all these things that are going to take place.

Adv.Marc.iv.39
37 And every day he was teaching in the temple;
and at night he went out, and lodged on the mountain
that is called Olives.
38 And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple
to hear him.

SECTION VI

The Gospel of the Lord

Section VI

22:1-6 Judas Plots with the Religious Leaders
22:7-29 The Last Supper
22:31-34 Peter's Denial of Jesus Foretold
22:39-46 The Mount of Olives
22:47-53 Jesus Delivered to the Religious Leaders
22:54-62 Peter's Denial
22:63-71 Jesus Tortured and Interrogated
23:1-12 Jesus Before Pilate and Herod
23:13-25 Jesus Sentenced to Death
23:26-56 Jesus Crucified
24:1-12 The Empty Tomb
24:13-35 The Road to Emmaus
24:36-47 Finale

[Judas Plots with the Religious Leaders]

Adv.Marc.iv.40
22: 1 Now the feast of unleavened bread was coming near,
which is called the Passover.
2 And the chief priests and scribes were seeking
how they might kill him; for they feared the people.
3 Then Judas, who was surnamed Iscariot,
being of the number of the twelve, went away,
4 And communed with the chief priests and captains,
how he might deliver him up to them.
Panarion 42

5 And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money.
6 And he consented,
and was seeking opportunity to deliver him up to them
without tumult.

[The Last Supper]

7 Then the day of unleavened bread came,
when the passover must be sacrificed.
8 And he [said] unto Peter and [the rest],
Go and make ready that we may eat the passover.
Panarion 42

9 And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready?
10 And he said unto them,
Behold, when ye have entered into the city,
a man shall meet you, bearing a pitcher of water;
follow him into the house whereinto he goeth.
11 And ye shall say unto the master of the house,
The Teacher saith unto thee, Where is the lodging,
where I may eat the passover with my disciples?
12 And he shall shew you a large upper room furnished:
there make ready.
13 And they went, and found as he had said unto them:
and they made ready the passover.

Adv.Marc.iv.40; Panarion 42
14 And when the hour was come he reclined,
and the twelve apostles with him.
15 And he said unto them,
With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you
before I suffer:

[-v.16]Panarion 42

Zahn omits:

17 [And he rece ived a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said,
Take this, and divide it among yourselves:
18 For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine,
until the kingdom of God shall come.]

Adv.Marc.iv.40
19 And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it,
and gave to them, saying,
This is my body which is given for you:
this do for my remembrance.
20 And in like manner the cup after supper, saying,
This cup is the [new] covenant in my blood,
even that which is poured out for you.

Adv.Marc.iv.41

21 But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me
is with me on the table.
22 And the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined:
but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed!
23 And they began to dispute with themselves,
which of them it was that was going to do this thing.

24 And there was also a contention among them,
which of them is accounted to be greater.
25 And he said unto them,
The kings of the nations have lordship over them;
and they that have authority over them are called benefactors.
26 But ye shall not be so:
but he that is the greater among you, let him be as the younger;
and he that leadeth as he that serveth.
27 For whether is greater-
he that reclineth at meat, or he that serveth?
is not he that reclineth?
But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.
28 Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations.
29 And I appoint unto you even as my Father hath appointed unto me,
A kingdom.

[- v.30]

[Peter's Denial of Jesus Foretold]

Adv.Marc.iv.41
31 And the Lord said,
Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded you,
that he might sift you as wheat:
32 But I entreated for thee, that thy faith may not fail:
and once thou hast turned again,
establish thy brethren.
33 And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee,
both into prison, and to death.
34 And he said,
I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow at all to-day,
before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

[-vv.35;37]Panarion 42

[The Mount of Olives]

39 And he came out, and went according to his custom
to the mountain of Olives,
and his disciples also followed him.
40 And when he was at the place, he said unto them,
Pray not to enter into temptation.

Panarion 42
41 And he was separated from them about a stone's throw,
and he kneeled down, and prayed, saying
42 Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me:
nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.
43 And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven,
strengthening him.
44 And he became in an agony and prayed more earnestly:
and his sweat became as it were
great drops of blood falling down to the ground.
45 And when he rose up from prayer, he came unto his disciples,
and found them sleeping for sorrow,
46 And said unto them,
Why sleep ye? rise and pray,
that ye may not enter into temptation.

[Jesus Delivered to the Religious Leaders]

Adv.Marc.iv.41; Panarion 42
47 And while he yet spake, behold a multitude,
and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve,
went before them,
and came near unto Jes us to kiss him.
48 But Jesus said unto him,
Judas, with a kiss betrayest thou the Son of man?

[-vv.49-51]Panarion 42

52 And Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple,
and the elders, which were come against him,
Are ye come out, as against a robber, with swords and staves?
53 When I was daily with you in the temple,
ye stretched not forth your hands against me:
but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

[Peter's Denial]

54 Then they seized him, and led him,
and brought him into the high priest's house.
But Peter was following afar off.
55 And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court,
and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.
56 And a certain maid seeing him as he sat towards the light,
looked steadfastly upon him, and said,
This man also was with him.
57 But he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not.
58 And after a little while another, seeing him, said,
Thou also art one of them.
And Peter said, Man, I am not.
59 And after a space of about one hour
another confidently affirmed, saying,
Of a truth this fellow also was with him: for he is a Galilaean.
60 And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest.
And immediately, while he was yet speaking, the cock crew.
61 And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter.
And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him,
Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.
62 And Peter went out, and wept bitterly.
Adv.Marc.iv.41

[Jesus Tortured and Interrogated]

Panarion 42
63 And the men that held Jesus kept mocking and smiting him.
64 And when they had blindfolded him,
they kept striking him on the face, and asking him, saying,
Prophesy, who is he that smote thee?
65 And many other things they kept saying,
railing against him.

Adv.Marc.iv.41
66 And as soon as it was day,
the body of elders of the people,
and the chief priests and the scribes,
was gathered together,
and they led him away into their council, saying,
67 If thou art the Christ, tell us.
And he said unto them,
If I tell you, ye will not at all believe:
68 And if I also ask you,
ye will not answer me, nor let me go.

Adv.Marc.iv.41
69 From henceforth shall the Son of man be seated
on the right hand of the power of God.
70 And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God?
And he said unto them,
Ye say it, because I am.
71 And they said, What further need have we of testimony?
for we ourselves have heard of his mouth.

[Jesus Before Pilate and Herod]

Adv.Marc.iv.42; Panarion 42
23: 1 And the whole company arose,
and brought him before Pilate.
2 And they began to accuse him, saying,
We found this fellow perverting the nation,
and destroying the law and the prophets,
and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar,
and turning away the women and children,
saying that he himself is Christ a King.
Panarion 42

3 And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews?
And he answered him and said, Thou sayest.
4 And Pilate said to the chief priests and the multitudes,
I find no fa ult in this man.
5 And they were urgent, saying,
He stirreth up the people,
teaching throughout all Judaea,
having begun from Galilee to this place.

Adv.Marc.iv.42
6 But when Pilate heard of Galilee,
he asked whether the man were a Galilaean.
7 And when he knew that he was from Herod's jurisdiction,
he sent him up to Herod,
who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.
8 And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad:
for he was of a long time desirous to see him,
because he had heard many things about him;
and was hoping to see some sign done by him.

9 And he questioned him in many words;
but he answered him nothing.
10 And the chief priests and the scribes stood vehemently accusing him.
11 And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought,
and mocked him, and arraying him in a gorgeous robe,
sent him back to Pilate.
12 And Pilate and Herod became friends with each other that very day:
for before they were at enmity between themselves.

[Jesus Sentenced to Death]

13 And Pilate called together the chief priests
and the rulers and the people, and said unto them,
14 Ye brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people:
and, behold, I examined him before you,
and found no fault in this man of what ye charge against him:
15 No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him;
and, lo, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him.
16 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.
17 (Now he under a necessity to release unto them at every feast one).

Adv.Marc.iv.42
18 But they cried out all at once, saying,
Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:
19 (one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder,
had been cast into prison.)
20 Pilate therefore spake again to them, wishing to release Jesus.

21 But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him.
22 And he said unto them the third time,
Why, what evil hath this man done?
I have found no cause of death in him:
I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.
23 But they were urgent with loud voices,
asking that he might be crucified.
And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.
24 And Pilate gave sentence that their request should be done.
25 And he released unto them him that for insurrection and murder
had been cast into prison, whom they were sking for;
but Jesus he delivered up to their will.

[Jesus Crucified]

26 And as they led him away,
they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian,
that was coming out of the country,
and laid on him the cross, to bear it after Jesus.
27 And there followed him a great company of the people,
and of women, who also were bewailing and lamenting him.
28 But Jesus turning unto them said,
Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,
but weep for yourselves, and for your children.
29 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say,
Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that bare not,
and the breasts that gave not suck.
30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us;
and to the hills, Cover us.
31 For if they do these things in the green tree,
what shall be done in the dry?

Adv.Marc.iv.42; Panarion 42
32 And there were also two other, malefactors,
led with him to be put t o death.
33 And when they were come to the place, which is called the Skull,
there they crucified him, and the malefactors,
one on the right hand, and the other on the left.
34[-34c] Then said Jesus,
Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.
35 And the people stood beholding.
And the rulers also with them scoffed at him, saying,
Others he saved; let him save himself,
if this is Christ, the chosen of God.
36 And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him,
and offering him vinegar, and saying,
37 If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.
38 And a superscription also was written over him
in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew,
THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying,
If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.
40 But the other answering rebuked him, saying,
Dost not thou fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation?
41 And we indeed justly; for we receive things worthy of our deeds:
but this man did nothing amiss.
42 And he said unto Jesus,

Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.
43 And Jesus said unto him,
Verily I say unto thee, To day thou shalt be with me.
Panarion 42

Adv.Marc.iv.42
44 And it was about the sixth hour,
and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour.
45 And the sun was darkened,
and the veil of the sanctuary was rent in the midst.
46 And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said,
Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit:
and having said this, he expired.
Adv.Marc.iv.42; Panarion 42

47 Now when the centurion saw what was done,
he glorified God, saying,
Certainly this man was righteous.
48 And all the multitude that came together to this sight,
when they beheld the things which were done,
returned smiting their breasts.
49 And all his acquaintance,
and the women that followed him from Galilee,
stood afar off, seeing these things.

Adv.Marc.iv.42; Panarion 42
50 And, behold, a man named Joseph, who was a counsellor,
a good man, and a righteous
51 (he had not consented to their counsel and deed;)
[a man] of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews:
who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God:
52 This man went unto Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus.
53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth,
and laid it in a tomb that was hewn in stone,
wherein no man had ever yet lain.
54 And it was the day of the preparation, and the sabbath was dawning.
55 And the women also, which had come with him from Galilee,
followed after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid.
56 And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.
And on the sabbath day they rested according to the commandment.
Panarion 42

[The Empty Tomb]

Adv.Marc.iv.43
24: 1 But upon the first [day] of the week, at early dawn,
they came unto the tomb,
bringing the spices which they had prepared,
and some others with them.
2 And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb.
3 And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.

Adv.Marc.iv.43
4 And it came to pass, while they were perplexed about it,
behold two men stood by them in garments that flashed forth.
5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth,
they said unto them, Why seek ye him that liveth among the dead?
6 He is not here, but is risen:
remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying,
7 The Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men,
and be crucified, and the third day rise again.
Adv.Marc.iv.43; Panarion 42

8 And they remembered his words,
9 And returned from the tomb,
and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.
10 Now they Mary Magdalene, and Joanna,
and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them,
which told these things unto the apostles.
11 And their statements seemed in their sight as nonsense,
and they disbelieved them.
Adv.Marc.iv.43

12 But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb;
and stooping down, he seeth the linen bandages laid by themselves,
and departed, wondering to himself at that which was come to pass.

[The Road to Emmaus]

Adv.Marc.iv.43
13 And, behold, two of them went that very day
to a village called Emmaus,
sixty stadia distant from Jerusalem .
14 And they talked together of all these things
which had happened.
15 And it came to pass, that,
while they communed and questioned together ,

Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.
16 But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.
17 And he said unto them,
What words are these that ye exchange with each other,
as ye walk, and are sad of countenance?
18 And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas,
answering said unto him,
Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem, and not know the things
which are come to pass there in these days?
19 And he said unto them, What things?

And they said unto him,
The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth,
which was a prophet mighty in deed and word
before God and all the people:
20 And how the chief priests and our rulers
delivered him up to a sentence of death,
and crucified him.
21 But we hopeded that it had been he,
who is going to redeem Israel:
yea, and beside all this, to day is the third day
since these things occurred.
22 Yea, and certain women also of our company astonished us,
who had been early at the tomb;
23 And when they found not his body, they came, saying,
that they had also seen a vision of angels,
which said that he was alive.
24 And some of them which were with us went to the tomb,
and found it so, even as the women had said:
but him they saw not.

Adv.Marc.iv.43; Panarion 42
25 Then he said unto them,
O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe
in all that he spake to you.
26 Was it not neccessary for the Christ
to have suffered these things,
and to enter into his glory?
Adv.Marc.iv.43
[- 27]

28 And they drew nigh unto the village,
whither they were going:
and he made as though he would go further.
29 But they constrained him, saying,
Abide with us: for it is toward evening,
and the day has declined.
And he went in to abide with them.

Panarion 42
30 And it came to pass, as he reclined with them,
he took the bread and blessed it,
and brake, a nd gave to them.
31 And their eyes were opened, and they recognised him;
and he became invisible to them.
32 And they said one to another,
Was not our heart burning within us,
[-32c] while he talked with us in the way?

33 And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem.
And they found the eleven gathered together,
and them that were with them, saying,
34 The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.
35 And they rehearsed the things that happened in the way,
and how he became known to them
in the breaking of the bread.

[Finale]

36 And as they spake these things,
Jesus himself stood in the midst of them,
and saith unto them,
Peace be unto you.

Adv.Marc.iv.43
37 But they were terrified and affrighted,
and supposed that they had beheld a phantom.
38 And he said unto them,
Why are ye troubled?
and wherefore do reasonings arise in your hearts?
39 Behold my hands and my feet, that I am myself:
for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.
Panarion 42

[-40]

41 And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered,

he said unto them,
Have ye here anything eatable?
42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish,
and of an honeycomb.
43 And he took it, and ate before them.

Adv.Marc.iv.43
44 And he said unto them,
[-45] These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you,
46 that thus it was neccessary for the Christ to suffer,
and to rise again from the dead the third day:
47 And that repentance and remission of sins
should be preached in his name among all nations.

INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERLINEAR GREEK-ENGLISH RECONSTRUCTION TO MARCION'S TEXT OF GALATIANS

Daniel Jon Mahar

The limitations of where my zeal exceeds my actual knowledge and abilities with Greek will become painfully evident to actual trained scholars in this field, and for any errors and shortcomings in this attempt, I humbly apologize in advance.

This interlinear owes much to the reconstructions of Harnack and Zahn, and pursues the spirit of their maximalist approach, where all material and citations in the ancient literature relevant to discussions concerning Marcion is noted and utilized.

Signs and abbreviations (below) are used to indicate variant possibilities for a reading.

CRITICAL SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The signs employed in the Greek text of the United Bible Society are also applied to the reconstructed Marcionite text, but primarily to display the relationship of variants that exist in readings among the various sources used for the reconstructing Marcion's text, and *not* the larger textual tradition. For example, where a reading differs between Tertullian and Adamantius, the signs are used to indicate this difference. The closing bracket, ⟩, unlike the UBS text, is extended here to indicate the completion of both omitted *and* inserted words.

° = the single word that follows is *omitted*.
⌜ = the single word that follows is *replaced* with another word.

▫ = the few *words* or sentences which follow are *omitted*
⊤ = the few *words* or sentences which follow are *added* or *inserted*.
⟩ =marks end of *omitted* **or** *inserted* text.

? = following *any* sign -questionable or conjectural- no absolute certainty.

[ ] = Brackets enclose *conjectures*, or supply partial words or readings often needed to complete the sense of a reading that is otherwise unattested.
⟨ ⟩ = *the words* enclosed in this sign indicate *replacement* by other words.
⦗ ⦘ = the word or words enclosed are *transposed*
( ) = Paranthesis, which enclose verse numbers, indicate passages or sections for which no attestation exists.
[ ] = Bold brackets enclosing passage numbers indicate missing or deleted sections from the text.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ

1:1 Παυλος αποστολος ουκ απ ανθρωπων ουδε δι ανθρωπου
Paul apostle not of men nor by man
αλλα δια Ιησου Χριστου[1] του εγειραντος αυτον εχ
but by Jesus Christ Who raised himself from
6 νεκρων. [2] **(1:2-1:5)** Θαυμαζω οτι ουτως ταχεως μετατιθε–
(the) dead I-marvel that thus quickly ye-are-changed
σθε απο του καλεσαντος υμας εν ⊤την? ⌜χαριν ⊤αυτου?
from him-who called you in the grace his
7 εις ετερον ευαγγελιον,[3] ο ˢαλλο ⊤παντως? ουκ εστιν˨ [4]
unto [a] different gospel which another wholly not is
⊤κατα το ευαγγελιον μουˋ [5] ει μη τινες εισιν οι
according to gospel my but some [there] are who
ταρασσοντες υμας και θελοντες μεταστρεψαι ⊤υμας ?
trouble you and want to change you
8 ⌜εις ετερον ευαγγελιον του Χριστου [6] αλλα και εαν
unto [a] different gospel of Christ but even if
▫ ημεις ηˋ ? αγγελος εξ ουρανου αλλως ευαγγελιση–
we or [an] angel from heaven another gospel-proclaims

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[1] **Gal.1:1** (Tert.,AM V.1) : *apostolum ...non ab hominibus nec* [or*, neque*] *per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum.*

[2] **Gal.1:1b** ▫και θεου πατροςˋ Origen (by Hieronymus , *Commentary to Galatians*): "...in Marcion's *Apostolikon* not written is "and by God the Father" (*et per Deum patrem*) in order to expound, that Christ was not by God the Father, but of his own self awakened (*semetipsum suscitatum*)".

[3] **Gal.1:6** (Tert, AM V.2): *miror quod tam cito transferri ab eo, qui vos vocavit in gratiam, ad aliud evangelium.;* Dial I.6.11-13 (Rufin): supplied in paranthesis: (*Miror quod sic tam cito transferimini in aluid evangelium)*, w/ no parallel in Gk. txt. | ⌜χαριν ⊤αυτου *cf.* Ephr^{Molitor} (*Der Paulustext*, p.72): ... απο του καλεσαντος υμας εις την χαριν <u>αυτου</u> ; sy^{p} ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ = εν χαριν αυτου ; Harnack/Zahn ⌜χαριτι ; Manen: εις (την) χαριν for εν (την) χαριτι

[4] **Gal.1:7a** (Tert, AM V.2): *quod aliud omnio non est.*; (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: ˢουκ εστιν αλλο; Rufin: *quod non est aliud* . | Manen: ▫ αλλως παντωςˋ = ο ουχ εστιν sy^{p}

[5] **Gal 1:7b** (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: ουκ εστιν αλλο κατα το ευαγγελιον μου… ; (Chrysostom, *On the Epistle to the Galatians*, in his discussion of Gal.1:7):"[the marcionites'] explanation of the words, "*according to my Gospel* and the preaching of Jesus Christ," is sufficiently ridiculous...".

[6] **Gal 1:7c** (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: (ουκ εστιν αλλο κατα το ευαγγελιον μου) ει μη τινες εισιν οι ταρασσοντες υμας και θελοντες μεταστρεψαι εις ετερον ευαγγελιον του Κριστου |cf. Ephr^{Molitor} (*Der Paulustext*, p.72): θελοντες μεταστρεψαι <u>υμας</u> το ευαγγελιον του Κριστου [who would change you.." , and n.12 : + υμαζ = sy^{p} gg arm .

ται υμιν ⊤παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν` ? αναθεμα εστω.[7]
to you against that proclaimed to you accursed be.

9 [και παλιν λεγω?] ει τις υμας °αλλως ευαγγελισεται
and again I say if anyone to you another gospel-proclaims

▫παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν` αναθεμα εστω.[8]
against what we proclaimed to you accursed be

15a **(1:9 - 1:14)** [οτε δε ευδοκησεν ο θεος ο αφορισας με
be. when but was-pleased the God who separated me

εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου ?] [9] **(1:15b - 1:16a)**
from (the) womb mother my

16b [ου προσανεθεμην σαρκι και αιματι ?] [10] **(1:17- 1:24)**
not I conferred (with) flesh and blood.

2:1 δια δεκατεσσαρων ετων ανεβην εις Ιεροσολυμα
after fourteen years ascended-I unto Jerusalem

2 και ανεθεμην αυτοις το ⊤κανονος του` ευαγγελιον . . .
and set before them the canon of the Gospel

3 μη πως εις κενον τρεχω η εδραμον .[11] αλλ ουδε Τιτος
lest-somehow to vain I should be running or had run. But not-even Titus

ο συν εμοι Ελλην ων ηναγκασθη περιτμηθηναι
who with me [a]Greek being was-compelled to-be-circumcised.

4 δια τους παρεισακτους ψευδαδελφους οιτινες
Because [of] those brought in secretly pseudo-brethren who

παρεισηλθον κατασκοπησαι την ελευθεριαν ημων ην
arrived-undercover to spy out the freedom our which

εχομεν εν Χριστω ινα ημας καταδουλωσουσιν
we-have in Christ that us they might enslave

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[7] **Gal.1:8** (Tert., AM V.2), twice: (a) *licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizauerit, anathema sit.* (variant repeated in Tert. against Apelles, ch. 7, *On the Flesh of Christ*); (b) *sed et si nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizauerit.; cf. also* NHL (*Test.Truth* IX, 3, **73**.19-20)."They say [even if] an [angel] comes from heaven, and preaches to you beyond that which we preached to you, may he be anathema!" ; (Meg.)Dial.I.6.18-20: αλλα καν ημεις η αγγελος εξ ουρανου ευαγγελισηται υμιν παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα (Rufin): *Sed et si nos... aut angelus de coelo evangelizaurit vobis praeterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit* ; ⊤παρ ο ευ– ... ` text here questionable in view of Tert.'s earlier testimony.

[8] **Gal 1:9?** (Meg.)Dial.I.6.7/8 (Rufin) ...*secundum euangelium meum...Et iterum dicit* ["and a second time (or, again?) he says"] *Si uobis quis aliter euangelizauerit, anathema sit*. Rufin.'s testimony may indicate 1:9, if *iterum* actually meant "a second time" -but if "again", then 1:8 might have been intended ; less certain is the Gk. parallel: (κατα το ευαγγελιον μου, 1:7) . . . ιδε πως λεγει εν ειναι. και λεγει ει τιφ υμας ευαγγελισεται παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν, αναθεμα εστω., w/o αλλως but adding παρ ο ευηγ–..., omitted by Rufin.

[9] **Gal 1:15** (Ad.)Dial.IV.15.25/26: οτε δε ευδοκησεν ο θεος ο αφορισας με εχ κοιλιας μητρος μου. Though contained in Harnack's reconstruction, this is entirely uncertain due to the section of *Dial.IV* where it occurs. *cf.* NHL , Apoc.Paul, V,2,18.15; V,2,23.1-5.

[10] **Gal.1:16** Harnack (Beilage III, p 69-70): "According to Hieronymus, *Comm.in Gal*., has "the most part" [*plerique*] and also Porphyrius, of the words, (ου προσανεθεμην) σαρκι και αιματι ["(I conferred not) with flesh and blood"].

[11] **Gal.2:1** (Tert., AM V.3) But with regard to Peter and the rest of the apostles, he tells us that : (2:1) *ascendisse Hierosolyma post annos quattuordecim* ...(2:2*)conferret cum illis de evangelii sui regula, ne in vacuum annis cucurrisset aut curret*...".

5 ουδε προφ ωραν ειξαμεν τη υποταγη [12] **(2:6 - 2:8)**
not for an hour did we yield in-subjection

9 δεξιας εδωκαν εμοι Πετρος και Ιακωβος και Ιωαννης [
they gave [the] right to me Peter and James and John those

δοκουντες στυλοι ειναι] ινα εγω εις τα εθνη αυτοι δε εις
reputed pillars to be that I unto the nations they but unto

10 την περιτομην . μονον των πτωχων ινα μνημονευωμεν [13]
the circumcision. only the destitute that we should remember

11 Πετρος . . .κατα προσωπον αυτω αντεστην οτι κατεγνωσ–
Peter to the face [of] him I withstood because he-was-to-blame

12 μενος .[προ του γαρ ελθειν ¤τινας απο` ? Ιακωβον, μετα
before that For came certain from James with

των εθνων] συνησθιεν [οτε δε ⌜ηλθεν υπεστελλεν. . .]
the nations he-was-eating when but he-came he - withdrew

14 φοβουμενος τους εκ περιτομης .**(2:13)** ουκ ορθοποδουσιν
being afraid of those of [the] circumcision not- uprightly-they-walk

16 προς την αληθειαν του ευαγγελιου.[14] **(2:15)** ου δικαιουται
for the truth of the gospel not is-justified

ανθρωπος εξ εργων νομου εαν μη δια πιστεως [15]
man from works of law but by faith

18 ει γαρ α κατελυσα ταυτα παλιν οικοδομω [16] **(2:19)**
if for what I-cast-down these things again I build

20 ο δε νυν ζω εν σαρκι εν πιστει ζω τη του υιου του θεου
that but now I live in flesh in faith I-live that of the Son of-the God

3:1 του ⌜αγορασαντος με . [17] [Ω ανοητοι Γαλαται τις υμας
who ransomed me. O insensitive Galatians who you

εβασκανεν.] [18] [οις κατ οφθαλμους Ιησους Χριστος
fascinated ? Whose before eyes Jesus Christ

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[12] **Gal.2:3-5** (Tert., V.3): *sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi*), (4) *Ergo propter falsos, in superinducticios fratres, qui subintrauerant speculandam libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo. ut nos in subigerent seruituti*, (5) *nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni.*

[13] **Gal.2:9b-10** (Tert. AM, V.3):*...quod et dexteras Paulo dederunt Petrus et Iacobus et Iohannes et de officii distributione pepigerunt, ut Paulus in nationes,illi in circumcisionem, tantum ut meminissent egenorum.*

[14] **Gal.2:11-12,14** (Tert., AM V.3): *Sed reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii. Plain reprehendit, non ob aliud tamen quam ob inconstantiam uictus*,(2:12) *quem pro personarum qualitate variabat, "timens eos qui erant ex circumcisione"...de qua et aliis in faciem restitus* .cf. Gal.5:12 , Hieronymus (Zahn, p503): Secretly, they say, Peter lacerated (*lacerat*), of whom previously he wrote "to the face resisted"; **| 2:12,** ¤ τινας...` **,** van Manen: προ του γαρ ελθειν Ιαχωβε. . . .; (12b) ⌜ηλθεν ("he came") w/ ηλθον ("they came").

[15] **Gal.2:16** (Tert. AM V.3): *negan ex operibus legis iustificari hominem sed ex fide.*

[16] **Gal.2:18** (Tert.AM V.3): *merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit.*

[17] **Gal 2:20** (Ad.)Dial.V.22.13-15 : Rufinus: *Quod autem nunc uiuo in carne in fide uiuo Filii Dei, qui redemit me.* But the Gk.: ο δε νυν ζω εν σαρκι εν πιστει ζω τη του υιου του θεου του ⌜αγαπησαντος με . (...who loved me).

[18] **Gal.3:1a**:(Tert.,*Prescript.Haer*.27)- *O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit*? - with Marcion addressed in the context of that discussion.

2 προεγραφη εσταυρωμενος]. [19] [τουτο μονον θελω
was-openly-portrayed crucified ? This only I wish

11 μαθειν. . . ?] [20] **(3:3 - 3:5) [□3:6 - 3:9]** [21] Μαθετε οτι δικαιος
to learn Learn that the just

10 εκ πιστεως ζησεται . Οσοι γαρ υπο νομον υπο καταραν
from faith shall live. as-many for under law under curse

12 εισιν . [22] ο δε ποιησας αυτα ζησεται εν αυτοις . [23]
are. the[one] but who-did these-things shall-live in them.

13 Χριστος ημας εξηγορασεν [24] εκ της καταρας του νομου
Christ us ransomed from the curse of the law

γενομενος επι υπερ ημων καταρα [25] οτι γεγραπται
having-become for us [a] curse that as-was-written

14 επικαταρατος πας ο κρεμαμενος ξυλου .[26] ελαβομεν
Accursed all who suspends upon [a] tree we might receive

ουν την ευλογια του πνευματος δια της πιστεως . [27]
thus the blessing of the spirit by the faith

26 **[□ 3:15b - 3:25]** παντες γαρ υιοι εστε της πιστεως. [28]
all for sons are of the faith

28 . . .ουκ ενι αρνερ ουδε θηλυ . . .[29] **(3:29-4:2)**
not there is male nor female

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[19] **Gal.3:1b Gal.3:1** Hieronymus (Origien) VII, 4.18 (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p499): "to προεγραφε which he covers on the prediction of the OT" : *Interrogemus ergo hoc loco Marcionem, qui prophetas repudiat, quomodo interpretetur id quod sequitur* ("Thus we may question this place with Marcion, who repudiated the prophets, how he interpreted it as far as this") - namely, 3:1". pr oegr af e="openly-portayed", or "set-forth" -- construed by both Zahn and Harnack as attesting to *at least* the presence of this passage in Marcion's text (cf. Harnack, Marcion, p.*72).

[20] **Gal.3:2** cf. μαθειν w. Μαθετε in Gal.3:10.

[21] **Gal.3:6-9 MISSING!** Hieronymus (Origen) "From this place (Gal.3:6) up till this, where it is written "they who are of faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham" , Marcion has erased from his Apostle".

[22] **Gal 3:10** (Epiphanius, *Adv.Haer*.42): Μαθετε διοτι δικαιος εκ πιστεως ζησεται ... οσοι γαρ υπο νομον, υπο καταραν εισιν ; *cf.* Ep.Barn.6: "*Learn* trust" she says..."- alluded (or influenced) from Marcion's text?

Gal 3:10b (Tert, AM V.3) : *quia iustus ex fide vivit.*

[23] **Gal 3:12b** (Epip., Adv.Haer.42): ο δε ποιησας αυτα ζησεται εν αυτοις

[24] **Gal 3:13a** (Meg.)Dial.I.27.12 : Κριστος ημας εξηγορασε ; (Rufin.): *Christus nos redemit*.; Hieron.(Harnack, Beil.III, p73): "In this place Marcion concerning the power of the [cruel] creator...claimed we were ransomed by Christ (*nos redemptos esse per Christum*), who was the son of the other, good God.

[25] **Gal.3:13b**, Tert.(AM V.3): *cur autem Christus factus sit pro nobis maledictio...*

[26] **Gal.3:13c**(Tert., AM V.3): *maledictus omnis ligno suspensus.*

(Epip.,*Adv.Haer.* 42): Επικαταρατος πας ο κρεμαμενος επι ξυλου.

[27] **Gal.3:14b** (Tert., AM V.3): *accipiamus igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem* **.**

[28] **Gal.3:26b** (Ter., AM V.3): *omnes enim filii estis fidei* . But Harnack (Beil.III, p.51-52, 73) proposes that Tert.'s reading *filii fidei* ("sons of faith") is a common Latin *dittographie*, which should read *filii dei* ("sons of God").

[29] **Gal. 3:28**(Eznik, *De Deo* s.**413.288**): But, it is by reason of a greatest love of God, that of the good creatures of God they [marcionites] renounce; so that, to become equal to the Angels of God, where there is *neither male nor female* , they show, likewise on earth, this same perfection... |*cf.* NHL, *Trip.Tract*.I,5,132.

20-25, which is perhaps more a citation of Col.3:11.

3:15a Ετι κατα ανθρωπον λεγω . οτε ημεν νηπιοι υπο τα
Yet as [a] man I speak . when we were infants under the

4:3 στοιχεια του κοσμου ημεθα δεδουλωμενοι . [30] οτε δε
elements of the cosmos we were held in slavery when but

4 ηλθεν το πληρωμα του χρονου εξαπεστειλεν ο θεος τον
arrived the fullness of the time sent-forth the God the

5 υιον αυτου . [31] ινα τους υπο νομον εξαγοραση και ινα
Son His that those under law he-might-ransom and that

6 την υιοθεσιαν απολαβωμεν . [32] οτι δε εστε υιοι
the adoption we-might-receive. because- but ye are sons

εξαπεστειλεν ο θεος το πνευμα του υιου αυτου εις τας
sent - forth the God the spirit of-the Son [of] His into the

καρδιας υμων κραζον Αββα ο Πατηρ [33] **(4:7)**
hearts your crying Abba Father.

9a Ει ουν [γνοντες Θεον μαλλον δε γνωσθεντας υπερ Θεου]
Yet thus having-known God rather but having been known by God

8b τοις εν τη φυσει ουσιν θεοις δουλευετε . πωφ επιστρε
those in nature are gods ye serve. How do ye turn

9b φετε παλιν επι τα ασθενη και πτωχα στοιχεια . ημερας
again to the weak and beggarly elements ? Days

10 παρατηρεισθε και μηνας και καιρους και ενιαυτους [34]
ye-observe and months and times and years

⊤και σαββατα ως οιμαι και δειπνα καθαρα και νηστειας
and sabbaths as I-suppose and suppers meagre and fasts

19a και ημερας μεγαλας .` ? [35] τεκνια μου ους ωδινω παλιν [36]
and days great little-children my of whom I travail again

21 Λεγετε μοι οι υπο νομον θελοντες ειναι τον νομον ουκ
Tell me ye-who under law wish to be . the law not

22 ακουετε . γεγραπται γαρ οτι Αβρααμ δυο υιους εσχεν
do-ye-hear ? It was written for that Abraham two sons had

23 ενα εκ της παιδισκης και ενα εκ της ελευθερας . αλλ
one from the slave-maid and one from the free [woman] but

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[30] **Gal.3:15/Gal.4:3** (Tert.,AM V.4):*secundum hominem dico: dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad deseruiendum eis*.

[31] **Gal.4:4** (Tert, AM V.4): *cum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus Filium suum.* Missing : "made of a woman", according to Hieron., Gal4:4 (p431, Zahn) : *Diligenter adtendite, quod non dixit "factum per mulierem", quod Marcion et ceterae haereses volunt, qui putativam Christi carnem simulant, sed "ex muliere" ut non per illam, sed ex illa natus esse credatur.*

[32] **Gal.4:5a** (Tert., AM V.4): *ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret.* **Gal 4:5b** (Eph.1:5?) Dial.II.19.21 (Markus): oti eij uioqesian elhfqhmen, *to adoption we were called.*

[33] **Gal.4:6** (Tert., AM V.4): *misit spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater.*

[34] **Gal.4:8-10**(Tert. AM V.4): (8) *si ergo his, qui in natura sunt dei, servitis...*(9b) *ad infirma et mendica elementa...* (10) *dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos*. (An allusion to Genesis 1:14 ?).

[35] **Gal.4:10b?** (Tert., AM V.4):"...*et sabbati ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos*"; as proposed by van Manen ("Marcions Brief van Paulus ann de Galatiers", *Theologisch.tijdschrift* , vol.21, p.531).

[36] **Gal 4:19** (Tert. AM V.8):*filii mei, quos parturio rursus* .

ο μεν εκ της παιδισκης κατα σαρκα γεγεννηται ο δε εκ
the one from the slave-maid according-to flesh has been born he but from
24 της ελευθερας δια της επαγγελιας .[37] ατινα εστιν αλληγο–
the free[woman] by the promise which-things are allegorized
ουμενα αυται γαρ εισιν δυο ⌜επιδειξειξ μια μεν απο
these for are two manifestations one from
ορους Σινα εις συναγωγην των Ιουδαιων κατα τον νομον
mount Sinai unto [the] synagogue of the Jews according-to the law
26 γεννωσα εις δουλειαν ;[38] αλλη δε υπερανω πασης αρκης
(that) generates unto slavery the other but above every principality
γεννωσα και δυναμεως και εξουσιας και παντος ονομ–
generates and power and authority and every name
ατος ονομζομενου ου μονον εν τω αιωνι τουτω αλλα
that is named not only in this aeon this but
και εν τω μελλονται εις ην επηγγειλαμεθα αγιαν
also in the coming unto [the] promise [of the] holy
εκκλησιαν ητις εστιν υητηρ ημων. [39] (4:27-30 ?)
church which is Mother our .
31 Διο αδελφοι ουκ εσμεν παιδισκης τεκνα
Wherefore brethren not are we [of a] slave-maid children
5:1 αλλα της ελευθερας .[40] η ελευθερια [ουν] η Χριστος
but of the free . In the freedom therefore with Christ
ημας ηλευθερωσεν στηκετε και μη παλιν ζυγω
us made-free stand-fast and not again a yoke
3 δουλειας ενεχεσθε .[41] Μαρτυρομαι δε παλιν οτι
of slavery be held. I testify but again that

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[37] **Gal:4:22-23** (Tert.V.4), "the last mention of Abraham's name he left untouched" : (22) *si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera,* (23) *sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem* **Gal.4:23** (Epiph.): ο δε εκ της επαγγελιας, δια της ελευθεριας **.**

[38] **Gal.4:24-25** (Tert., V.4): *quae sunt allegorica : haec sunt enim duo testamenta (siue 'duae ostensiones'. sicut inuenimus interpretatum). unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum generans in servitutem*. cf. Lao.1:21. **Gal. 4:24** Hieronymus, VII.473 (Zahn, p.502):"Here Marcion and Manichaeus, where the apostle said "which is allegorical"(*quae sunt allegorica*) and the rest which follows, hesitate not to remove from their codices, thinking the opposite we bequeath, that it is obviously the law which is understood, what is written".

[39] **Gal.4:26/Eph.1:21** (Tert.V.4): *alium super omnem principatum generans uim dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aeuo sed et in futuro, in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam, quae est mater nostra.* The insertion of Eph.1:21 at this place is also also attested with Ephraem (*Comm.in Epistolas d. Paul*, p.135): *Hoe* vero fuerunt *symbola duorum testamentorum*. Una populi Judaeorum secundeum legem in servitute generans ad similitudinem ejusdem Agar. Agar enim ipsa *mons Sinai in Arabia*; est autem illa similitudo hujas Jerusalem, quia in subjectione est, et una cum filiis suis servit Romanis. Superior autem Jerusalem libera est, sicut Sara ; et eminet supra omnes potestates ac principatus. Ipsa est Mater nostra, Ecclesia sancta, quam confessi sumus.

[40] **Gal.4:31** (Tert.V.4): "by reason of which he adds in conclusion": *fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae*.

[41] **Gal.5:1** (Tert., AM V.4): *qua libertate Christus nos manumisit*,("the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,") *et merito non decebat manumissos rursus ingo servitutis, id est legis, adstringi*, (And it is properly unsuitable for those set free to turn back to slavery, that being to the law, "entangled").

ανθρωπος περιτετμηομενος οφειλετης εστιν ολον τον
[a] man circumcised [a] debtor he-is [the] whole [of] the

4 νομον πληρωσαι .[42] ⌉καταργειτε το σημειον της
law to fullfil Exempted is he with the brand-mark of

δουλειας⌉.?[43] [οιτινες εν νομω δικαιουσθε της χαριτος
bondage Whosoever in law are justified, of the grace

6 εξεπεσατε?]. εν γαρ Χριστω Ιησου ουτε περιτομη τι
ye have fallen. in for Christ Jesus neither circumcision any

ισχυει ουτε ακροβυστια αλλα πιστις δι αγαπης
is of impact nor uncircumcision but faith by love

9 ⌈επιτελειθαι ? [44] Μικρα ζυμη ολοντο φυραμα δολοι [45]
is perfected A little leaven whole the lump corrupts.

10b ο δε ταρασσων υμας το κριμα βαστασει οστις αν η. [46]
he but troubling you the judgment shall bear whoever he may be.

14 **(5:12-13)** ο γαρ πας νομος εν υμιν πεπληρουται.
the- for- whole law in you is fullfilled

αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον [47] **(5: 15 - 5: 18)**
You shall love the neighbor as yourself.

19 φανερα δε εστιν τα εργα της σαρκος ατινα εστι πορνεια
Manifest now are the works of the flesh which are fornication

20 ακαθαρσια, ασελγεια. ειδωλολατρεια φαρμακεια εχθραι
uncleanness licentiousness idolatry sorcery enmities

ερεις ζηλοι θυμοι εριθειαι διχοστασιαι αιρεσεις
strifes jealousies indignations contentions divisions sects

21 φθονοι μεθαι κωμοι [και τα ομοια τουτοις] α προλεγω
envyings drunkenesses revels and things like these against which-before I say

υμιν καθως και προειπον οτι οι τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντες
to you even as also I-before-said that they-who such things do

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[42] **Gal 5: 3** (Epip.) Μαρτυρομαι δε παλιν οτι ανθρωπος περιτετμημενος οφειλετης εστιν ολον τον νομον πληρωσαι.

[43] **Gal.5:4** (Tert., AM V.4*): De servitute igitur exemptos ipsam servitutis notam eradere perseverabat, circumcisionem...* ("All those, therefore, who had been exempted from the yoke of slavery he would earnestly have to obliterate the very mark of slavery, even circumcision..."). W.C.van Manen regarded Tert.'s statement here as reference to an actual passage from Marcion's version, contained in van Manen's 1888 reconstruction of Galatians ("Marcions Brief van Paulus ann de Galatiers", *Theologisch.tijdschrift* , vol.21, p.532).

[44] **Gal.5:6a** (Tert.) *cur etiam praeputiationem negat quicquam valere in Christo sicut et circumcisionem*? (why therefore uncircumcision if not anything availeth in Christ even as also circumcision?)
(**5: 6b**) *illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici* - ⌈επιτελειθαι for ενεργουμενη ("worketh") ?

[45] **Gal 5: 9** (Epiph.): Αντι του μικρα ζυμη ολον το φυραμα ζυμοι εποινσε δολοι Cf. Tert., AM, I.2.

[46] **Gal.5:10** (Tert.) *Qui autem turbat vos iudicium feret*. (But the one who troubles you shall bear his judgement). (Ad.)Dial.II.5.25: ο ταρασσων υμας βαστασει το κριμα οστις αν η . Rufin.: *Qui conturbat uos portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille*

[47] **Gal.5:14** (Tert.): *tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te.* ("For all" says he, "the law in you is fulfilled by this: 'Thou shalt love thy neighhour as thyself.' ")
(Epiph): Ο γαρ πας νομος υμιν πεπληρωται. αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον.

βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν [48] **(5:22 - 5:23)**
(the) kingdom of God not shall enjoy allotment .

24 οι δε του Χριστου την σαρκα εσταυρωσαν συν τοις
they but of the Christ the flesh have crucified with the

παθημασιν και ταις επιθυμιαις [49] **(5:25 - 6: 1)**
passions and the desires

6:2 Αλληλων τα βαρη βασταζετε και ουτως αναπληρωσατε
one-another's the burdens bear ye and thus fulfill

6 τον νομον του Χριστου . [50] **(6:3 - 6:5)** Κοινωνειτω δε ο
the law of the Christ. let share but him

κατηχουμενος τον λογον τω κατηχουντι εν πασιν
being-taught-in the utterance him teaching in all

7 αγαθοις .[51] [Μη] πλανασθε Θεος ου μυκτηριζεται ο γαρ
good. not be misled God is not derided for

εαν σπειρη ανθρωπος ταυτα και θερισει [52] **(6:8)**
whatsover may sow [a] man that also he-shall-reap.

9 το δε καλον ποιουντες μη εκκακωμεν καιρω δε ιδιω
that but well doing not we-should-lose-heart [in] time but due

10 θερισομεν . ως εχομεν καιρον εργαζωμεθα το αγαθον [53]
we-shall-reap as we have occasion we-should-work the good.

12 **(6:11)** [Οσοι θελουσιν ευπροσωπησαι εν σαρκι ουτοι
as many as want to make a fair show in flesh these

αναγκαζουσιν υμας περιτεμυεσθαι] . . . ⌜ διωκτους ?
compel you to be circumcised [they are] persecutors

[τω σταυρω ?] του Χριστου . [54]
of the cross of Christ

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[48] **Gal 5:19-21** (Epiph.) :Φανερα δε εστι τα εργα της σαρκος ατινα εστι πορνεια, ακαθαρσια, ασελγεια (20)ειδωλολατρια, φαρμακεια, εχθραι, ερεις, ζηλοι, θυμοι, εριθειαι, διχοστασιαι, αιρεσεις, 21) φονοι, μεθαι, κωμοι, α προλεγω υμιν, καθως και προειπον, οτι οι τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντες βασιλειαν θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

[49] **Gal 5: 24** (Epiph.): Οι δε του Χριστου την σαρκα εσταυρωσαν συν τοις παθημασι και ταις επιθυμιαις.

[50] **Gal.6:2** (Tert. AM V.4) *onera vestra inuicem sustinete, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi*.

[51] **Gal.6:6** (Hieronymus): "Marcion so interprets this place, reckoning this should speak of the faith and catechism together, that the master communicated to his disciples, which is indeed to be the maxim carried forth, in respect to that which follows: " In all good" (*In omnibus bonis*)".

[52] **Gal.6:7** (Tert.)*Eratis, Deus non deridetur...quae enim seminaverit homo, hoc et metet.*
(Ad.) Dial.II.5.30: α γαρ εαν σπειρη ανθρωπος τουτο και θερισει.
Rufin: *Quodcunque seminauerit homo hoc* et metet.

[53] **Gal.6:8-10**,(Tert.):(v8,alluded):*porro si retributionem praedicat, ab eodem et corruptionis messis et vitae*. (Again if he stated beforehand retribution, from the same also the harvest [or, the reaping] of corruption and life). (9) *bonum autem facientes non fatigemur... tempore autem suo metemus*.(10) *dum habemus tempus, operemur bonum.*

[54] **Gal.6:12b** (Tert.): *persecutores vacat Christi*, rebuked by Paul in 6:12-14. Cf. also "the others" in 6:17.
⌜ διωκτους for διωκωνται ? Such would seem possible if Tert.'s testimony is considered alone.

13 ουδε γαρ οι περιτετμημενοι αυτοι νομον φυλασσουσιν [55]
neither for they being-circumcised themselves law keep

14b μοι κοσμος εσταυρωται καγω κοσμω [56] **(6:15 - 6: 16)**
[to] me world has been crucified as I world.

17 Του δε ⌜αλλων ειση κοπους μοι μηδεις παρεχεσθω. [57]
the- but- others without troubles me no one let-give

εγω γαρ τα στιγματα του Χριστου εν τω σωματι μου
I for the marks of the Christ in the body my

βασταζω. [58] **(6:18)**
bear

December 28th, 2000 by Daniel J. Mahar, dmahar@snet.net .

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[55] **Gal 6: 13** (Epiph.): Ουδε γαρ οι περιτετμημενοι αυτοι νομον φυλασσουσι.

[56] **Gal.6:14** (Tert.):*Sed et mihi...mundus crucifixus est,...et ego mundo.*

[57] **Gal 6:17**(Ad.)Dial.V.22.15-17 : των δ αλλων [⌜αλλων for λοιπου] ειση χοπους μοι υνδεις παρεχεσθω. εγω γαρ τα στιγματα του Ιησου εν τω σωματι μου βασταζω.
Rufin.: *De caetero* ["the rest"= I oi pou] *nemo mihi molestus sit. Ego enim stigmata domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto*.

[58] **Gal.6:17b** (Tert.) *cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in corpore suo gestare se*.

English Reconstruction and Translation of Marcion's version of ***To The Galatians***

by Daniel Jon Mahar

Abbreviations are provided in the right margin to indicate the Patristic sources for passages, a system borrowed from Paul-Louis Couchoud which he utilised for his translation of Marcion's gospel (*The Creation of Christ*, p.318ff, Watts& Company, 1939).
The abbreviations which occur most often:

T.- Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, Bk.V.
E. - Epiphanius, *Adversus Haeresies*, Section.42.
A.- Adamantius, *Dialog* (Parts I, II, V).
Rufin - The Latin version of Adamantius.
O. - Origen
Hier.- Hieronymus, cited from the notes of Zahn/Harnack in their reconstructions.

In the left hand margin, **SyP** = variant reading from the Syriac Peshitta.

This translation was generated from the Greek-English Interlinear of the reconstruction. Some notes of possible interest are provided. The English translation itself is admittedly conjectural in places, as also are the notes.

One such creative liberty is the name for the Marcionite Savior, "Isu Chrestos" - "Isu" derived on the designation of Syrian Marcionites, the spelling for "Chrestos" (=the Good *one*) derived from an ancient inscription to a Marcionite synagogue.

TO THE GALATIANS [1]

Prologue

Galatians are Greeks. These accepted the word of truth first from the Apostle, but after his departure were tempted by false Apostles to turn to the law and circumcision. These the Apostle recalls to the faith of the truth, writing to them from Ephesus.

	1:1	Paul *an* apostle,	
		not of men nor through man,	T
		but through Isu Chrestos,	T
		who awakened *himself* from the dead; [2]	(Hier.)
	2b	To the assemblies of Galatia :	
	3	Goodness to you and peace	
		from God our Father and Lord	
		Isu Chrestos,	
	4	Who gave himself for our sins,	
		so that he might rescue us	
Syp		from this wicked Destiny, [3]	
		according to the pleasure	
		of God our Father.	
	6	I marvel that you are so quickly transferred	T
		from Him Who called you in His goodness	T
		unto a different gospel:	T

[1] Set first in Marcion's canon, Galatians contains ideas central to Marcion's theology, i.e., of Gospel vs. Law, of a true Apostle (Paul) vs. "false" apostles (Peter , James and John). This was proabaly the first pauline writing to which Marcion was exposed in his native Pontus . The first bishop of that region, Philologus (cf. Rom.15:15) - possibly Marcion's father - was reported to have been a personal friend of Paul's (p.vii, *The Gospel of the Lord*, James Hamlyn Hill).

[2] Christ raised himself from the dead, the first of many such modalistic expressions present in Marcion's text.

[3] **Gal 1:4** "that he might deliver (or, *extract*) us from this present evil aeon": Joseph Turmel (*Ecrits*, vol. III, p.82ff) sites the strong marcionite tendency underlying this passage, suggesting this was originally a marcionite redaction, yet without the "present aeon" (being a later catholic addition) to read: "that he might extract us from the Evil", or the "Evil one"(cf. Jn.17:15 Eph.6:13). The word "present" indeed stands unattested in the Syriac Peshitta text, but the suggestion that "aeon" is a later insertion is unneccessary if interpreted as a representation of the creator god as was by marcionites with 2Cor.4:4, Eph.2:2, rather than a literal "age". Turmel refers to Tertullian twice, AM I.23 ("Such a deliverer...kidnapper...is the character of Marcion's God, swooping upon an alien world, snatching away man from his God...") and AM I.25 : "...the good God, in coming to combat sin and death, is of neccessity indisposed against the creator God who is sovereign lord of sin and death, accordingly more so that the good God came to deliver man from the creator God. Thus the marcionite Christ came...to "extract" them...He is given "for our sins" because he delivered us from the death to which the Evil one had condemned us because of our sins..." (Turmel, ibid).

	7	Which is not *entirely* another	T/A
		according to my gospel ;	A/O/Chrys.
		but there are some who trouble you	A
Ephr.		and would change (you)	A
		unto a different gospel of Chrestos. [4]	A
	8	But even if an angel out of heaven	T
		should announce another gospel [to you],	T
		let him be accursed!	T
SyP	9	As I said before, so I say now again,	
		If any one announces another gospel to you	A(Rufin.)
		let him be accursed.	A(Rufin.)
	11	I make known to you, brethren,	
		the gospel -	
		that gospel announced by me,	
		that it is not according to man.	
	12	For I neither from a man received it,	
		nor was I taught,	
		but by revelation of Isu Chrestos.	
		(1:13 - 1:14)	
	15	But when the Supreme God	A.
		was well-pleased,	A
		having selected me	A
		from my mother's womb, [5]	A
		and having called *me* by His goodness,	

[4] **Gal 1:7** Origen, (*Comm. in John*, V.): " ...[When] the Apostle says: "According to my Gospel in Christ Jesus;" he does not speak of Gospels in the plural...".
Gal.1:7b, "and would change *you* unto a different gospel..." cf. Ephrem's text and *Dialogues* : (*Der Paulustext*, Molitor, p.72): You" in Ephr.'s text was the object of the "changing" or "perverting", not the gospel.

[5] **Gal.1:13-14** - Tertullian (AM V.1): "Even the book of Genesis promised me the apostle Paul...that Paul would arise out of the tribe of Benjamen, a voracious wolf...as a persecutor of the churches". But Tert. continues: "Should you disapprove of these types, the Acts of the Apostles...have handed me this career of Paul, which you *should not refuse to accept*. Thence *I demonstrate that from a persecutor he became an apostle...thence do I find reason* for *rejecting your defence* of him". Herein lies a possible implication that Marcion may not have accepted the portrayal of Paul as a former "persecutor" of the churches, a point which Tertullian is preoccupied to emphasize especially. Marcion either rejected or did not know the book of Acts, at least in the orthodox form which has come down to us. An interesting proposal was set forth by P.L. Couchoud and R.Stahl that *Acts* was the result of 2 authors, the premier edition consisting of the travels of Paul, occurring mostly in the 2nd half of the book - and the second edition, being the work of an orthodox redactor, who added the material about the 12 apostles (see "Les Deux Auteurs des Actes des Apotres", *Premier Ecrits du Christianisme*). A common theory is that the epistle to Galatians underwent orthodox re-editing to comply it to the history in *Acts.*

16	to reveal his Son in me,	
	in order that I might proclaim him	
	among the nations,	
	immediately I did not confer	
	with flesh and blood.	Hier.
17	Neither went I up into Jerusalem	
	to those who were before me apostles;	
	but I went into Arabia,	
	and again returned into Damascus.	

(1:18 - 1:20)

21	Afterwards I came into the regions	
	of Syria and of Cilicia.	
2:1	After fourteen years	T
	I went up to Jerusalem;	T
2	But I went according to revelation,	
	and I set before them	T
	the canon of the gospel	T
	but apart to those of repute,	
	fearing that I should go or had gone	(T)
	for nothing. [6]	(T)
3	But not even Titus,	T
	who was with me,	T
	being a Greek,	T
	was compelled to be circumcised:	T
4	But because of those who crept in	T
	to spy out this liberty of ours	T
	which we enjoy in Chrestos,	T
	so that they might enslave us -	T
5	To these not even for an hour	T
	we yielded in subjection,	
	That the truth of the gospel	
	might continue with you.	

[6] **Gal.2:2** Couchoud's rendering: *Do I run, or have I run in vain?* - not a statement of self -doubt by Paul insofar as his own ministry was concerned, but concerning the coarse of action he was pursuing in going to the Jerusalem apostles- would they be receptive to Paul's gospel? Or would Paul be wasting his time?

6	But from those reputed	
	to be something -	
	those of repute conferred nothing to me.	
7a	But against them,	
	when they had seen that I was entrusted	
	the gospel of the uncircumcision,	
9b	Peter, James and John , [7]	(T) Hier.
	who regard themselves pillars,	(T)
	gave to me the right of fellowship:	(T)
	- to me the nations	
	- to them the circumcision! [8]	
10	Only they would *have it*	
	that I should remember the poor;	
	which I had been cautious to do.	
11	Now when Peter came to Antioch	
	I confronted him to the face,	T
	because he was to be blamed.	(T)
12	Prior to certain ones coming from James,	
	he was eating with the nations;	
	But when they came,	
	He withdrew and segregated himself,	
	being afraid of those of the circumcision.	T
14	When I saw they walked not honestly	T
	according to the truth of the gospel,	T
	I said to Peter before all,	
	If you, being a Jew, live like the nations,	
	Why do you urge the nations	
	to be judaizing?	
16	A man is not justified	T
	by the works of the law,	T
	but by the faith.	T

[7] **Gal.2:9b-10** Hieronymous/ Ambrosiaster/Victorinus and some Greek texts (D,G) all attest to the order of the names, "Peter, James and John" (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p.499). Such a reading strongly suggests James, (of the triad "Peter, James and John" which appears throughout the synoptic gospels), the brother of John, who together comprise "the sons of thunder"; one legend has it that when James was executed by Herod in Acts 12, John was executed along with him. (see *Enigma of the Fourth Gospel*, chaps.15-16,pp.64f; Eisler). If this John was the actual writer of *Revelation*, then *Revelation* (at least in a more primitive form) dates back much earlier than assumed.

[8] Following Couchoud (*The Creation of Christ*, v.I, p.53), the sarcastic tone of 2:9b is in keeping with the sense of the context (2:6, "those reputed to be something", 2:9 those "who consider themselves pillars"), in which there is little justification for switching to a concilatory tone as so oft construed, so that Paul was solemnly bestowed the right hand of the Church. Note : "those reputed (δοκουντων) to be something"(v.6) = those reputed (δοκουντες) to be pillars (v.9, Peter, James, and John), "conferred *nothing to me*," aside from the empty gesture of the "hand of fellowship" .

	17	But if seeking to be made upright in Chrestos	
		we were actually discovered to be sinners,	
		is even Chrestos sin s servant?	
		May it not be!	
	18	Because if I build again those things	T
		which I overthrew, [9]	T
		I prove myself to be a law-breaker.	
Conj.	19	For myself, by *His* law to the law I died, [10]	
		so for God I may be living.	
	20	With Chrestos I was crucified.	
		I live but it is no longer I living	
		but Chrestos [s life] with me.	
		That life which I now live in the flesh	A
		I live by the faith of the Son of God,	A
		who ransomed himself for me. [11]	A
	3:1	O senseless Galatians -	(T)
		who bewitched you ?	(T)
		[Was it by one ?] before whose eyes	
		Isu Chrestos was crucified in plain view? [12]	(Hier.)
	2	This only I wish to learn of you :	
		Received ye the spirit by the works of the law,	
		or by the hearing of faith?	
	3	Are ye so mindless?	
		Having begun with spirit within,	
		now ye are being perfected by flesh?	
	4	Did ye suffer so much for nothing?	
		Because certainly, it is for nothing! [13]	

[9] **Gal.2:18** "[those things] which I pulled down" -what were those things which Paul "destroyed"? The church? -a very tempting possibility, which would resolve the question of authenticity concerning the portrayal of Paul as "persecutor of the churches" in Gal.2:13. Or may those things overthrown represent the OT law and it's commandments, replaced by the "law of Christ" (Gal.2:19; 6:2; Lao.2:15)?

[10] **Gal.2:19** - "by [His] law to the [OT] law" = "the law of Christ" (Gal.6:2). cf. Lao.2:15; Col.2:14 (SyP.).

[11] **Gal 2:20** Christ "gave himself" as the ransom-price- a doctrinal keystone with Marcion. Eznik (*Against Sects*): " [Jesus] took Paul and revealed to him the victory, and sent him to preach, that we were bought with a price, and that all who believes on Jesus, were sold by the Just [God] to the Good [God]".He bought us evidently as strangers, for no one ever purchases those who belong to him".

[12] **Gal.3:1b** Hieronymous VII,4:18 (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p499): "to προεγραφε which he covers on the prediction of the OT: "*Interrogemus ergo hoc loco Marcionem, qui prophetas repudiat, quomodo interpretetur id quod sequitur*", namely, 3:1". προεγραφε = *interpretetur*, "openly-portayed", or "set-forth".conjectural reading: "by those[or by one] whose before whose eyes" are those who saw Christ crucified" = the Jerusalem apostles.

[13] **Gal.3:6-9**: Hieronymus VII,4:22 (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p.499 "From this place all the way up to where it is written "they which are of the faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham" (v.9), Marcion erased from his apostle...". Tert., AM V.3: "...it becomes clear that what the heretic's industry erased was the mention of Abraham's name..." [thus missing was 3:6, 8, 9,14a, 16, 18, 29]; (AM V.4): "the last mention of

10-12	Learn that the righteous by faith	E.T.
	shall live. [14]	E/T
	All those under the Law	E
	are under a curse;	E
	and the one doing those things	E
	lives in them.	E
13a	The Chrestos ransomed us [15]	A/(Hier.)
	from the curse of the law	
	being made a curse for us;	(T)
13b	For as it has been written:	
	"Cursed is every one that hangeth	T/E
	on a tree".	T/E
14b	We receive therefore the blessing	T
	of the Spirit through faith,	T
26	For all, you are sons of God	T
	by the faith. [16]	

(Gal. 3:27 -28)

Abraham's name [4:22] he has left untouched".

[14] **Gal 3:11** Note the train of thought with 3:2 ,"This only I wish to *learn* of you", and 3:10, "*Learn* that (etc.).
the righteous by faith shall live". Tert, AM V.3 : *quia iustus ex fide vivit* (the just out of faith shall live).

[15] **Gal 3:13a** Hieronymus: (Harnack, Beil.III, p73): "In this place Marcion concerning the power of the [cruel] creator...claimed we were ransomed by Christ (*nos redemptos esse per Christum*), who was the son of the other, good God.

[16] **Gal.3:10-26** - On the "blessing of the spirit", Couchoud (*Le Premier Edition de Saint Paul*) writes: "The thought is clear. The Christ, hung at the tree and becoming an accursed object, took on the glory of the ancient curse. Immediately we arrive to a blessing which does not apply to the flesh but to the spirit, for in it consists of becoming spiritual sons of God...The [orthodox] edition brings into this passage the blessing given to Abraham (3:6-9).Then it attenuates, in the first line "all those who are under the law" with "all those who are under the curse of the law". Then it disassociates "the blessing" and "the spirit". The blessing becomes the one given to Abraham; the spirit becomes the Holy Ghost which descent is reported in Acts. Finally the theme of the blessing to Abraham is developed in eleven verses, to the conclusion."
Gal.3:21-28 - J.Turmel (*Ecrits de St.Paul*, v.III,p87) thought to see an incompatibility between those passages concerning"the blessing of Abraham" (3:6-9,14,15-18) and those where the Law served as a "pedagogue"(3:21-28) until the coming of faith, in that the conditions for becoming "sons of God" and "sons of Abraham" differed from one another: with one, the terms are based upon the blessing and promise made to Abraham's posterity in Genesis, while with the other, by virtue of a "faith to come" escorted by the accompaniment of transgression and Law. In fact, both lines of thought concerning the "blessing of Abraham" and the portrayal of the law as "pedagogue" seem to interrupt the clear train of those lines known to have stood with Marcion.
The pedagogual law passages may be a catholic expansion specifically designed to defuse the harsh "curse of the law" and the "elements of the cosmos"(4:3f) passages, to establish against Marcion the providence of the OT Law. It is tempting to believe that Marcion would have found much to use with 3:19 where the law is given by angels, but there's no indication that he even knew this, and again, 3:19 would interrupt the order of 3:10-12/13/14b/26. The orthodox insertion of the law given by angels (which shares a parallel in Heb.2:2 - the same redactor?) was originally intended in a positive sense, to convey that the law was only imperfect in the manner in which it was delivered and prescribed, via means of angelic overseers. Needless to say, this catholic interpolation backfired somewhat when the gnostics got a hold of it .

4: 3	As a man I say,	T
	when we were barely-born,	T
	we were enslaved	T
	under the elements of the cosmos. [17]	T
4	But when the fulness of the time came,	T
	God sent forth his Son, [18]	T/(Hier.)
5	That he might purchase those under law,	T
	and that we may receive adoption.	(A)
6	God sent forth the Spirit of his Son	T
	into your hearts, crying,	T
	"Abba, Father". [19]	T
8	How is it then, when ye knew not God, (T)	
	you served those which are nature- gods,	T
9b	that ye turn again	
	to the weak and beggarly elements,	T
	for which ye lust to slave again anew ?	
10	Ye observe days and months and times	T
	and years. [20]	T

[17] **Gal.3:15/Gal.4:3** (Tert.,AM V.4):*secundum hominem dico: dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad deseruiendum eis*. A natural opening to this section of chapter 4 , w/o vv.1-2.
The "Elements of the cosmos": In reference to angelic beings, evil "matter", or "rules". see next page.

[18] **Gal.4:4** (Tert, AM V.4): *cum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus Filium suum.*
Missing : "made of a woman", according to Hieronymus, Gal4:4 (p431, Zahn) : *Diligenter adtendite, quod non dixit "factum per mulierem", quod Marcion et ceterae haereses volunt, qui putativam Christi carnem simulant, sed "ex muliere" ut non per illam, sed ex illa natus esse credatur.*

[19] **Gal.4:6** (Tert., AM V.4): *misit spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater.*

[20] **Gal.4:8-10** An allusion to Genesis 1:14? -(proposed by David Anderson).

Gal.4:3-9, **THE ELEMENTS OF THE COSMOS** (στοιχηεαι του κοσμου) : How did Marcion Interpret this ? Possible interpretations:

a) **elements = spirit beings**: in both pagan and Jewish cosmologies the forces of nature were in some manner deified;
while asserted by some scholars that Gal.4:1ff is concerned only with former pagans, sufficient evidence exists via the OT peudepigrapha concerning angelic forces which govern natural forces to support including adherents of a Jewish background into the scope of Paul's discussion as well. In *Jubilees* (2:1f) we read of "the angels of the spirit of fire..of the wind...of the clouds of darkness...of hail and hoarfrost...of the abysses...of thunder and lightning", etc.; I Enoch 59:15,20-23, "the spirit of the sea...of the frost...of hail...of snow...of mist...of dew...of rain...". From II Enoch (16:7): "..and spirits, and *elements*, and flying angels" (also 12:1;15:1; 19:3; 23). Test. of Sol. (8:2):"We are heavenly *elements* (esmen stoicheia), rulers of this world of darkness". see p.969-70, n.8a. in *O.T.Pseudepigrapha*, v.1, Charlesworth. II Enoch (prologue): "...of the incorporal hosts, and of the ineffable ministrations of the multitude of the *elements*...". Hymn I (Qumran scrolls): "Thou hast created all the spirits and hast established a statute and law for all their works...the mighty winds...the stars...the clouds...the thunderbolts and lightnings...treasuries of snow and hail...". This concept of *elements* may also apply to the 7 angels in Rev.16, exercising God's wrath "upon the earth"(v2), "the sea" (v3), "the rivers and fountains of waters" (v4), "the sun...(v8), "the air" (v17) "thunders, and lightnings, and a great earthquake" (v18), "great hailstones out of heaven"; also "the angel of waters" (v5). This account in John's Revelation may be all the more pertinent if this circulated in a primitive redaction at the time Paul wrote Galatians, raising the possibility that he was replying to this work ; thus his warning against "another gospel", if even from "an angel from heaven"(Gal.1:6-8), precisely

11 I am afraid of you,
lest somehow for nothing
I have laboured for you.
19 My children, (T)
of whom I travail *in birth* again (T)
until Chrestos be formed in you -
21 Tell me, ye who desire to be under law:
do ye not hear the law?

---

the source of John's revelation (Rev.1:1;22:8). Note Jesus' rebuke of James and John ("the sons of thunder", so aptly named) in Lk.9:54-55.
Gal.4:8- "ye served those which are in nature (*natura*) gods" - "nature-gods"? The latin *natura* can also mean *element.*
Gal.4:9b- "weak and beggardly elements"-Due to the loss of their authority over the christian as a result of Christ's cosmic victory over them, the *elements* are likened to the souls of men which lose their power at death; a common Heb. name for ghosts is *rephiam*, "feeble ones" (p.237, L.B.Paton, *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity*, 1921).
b) **elements = evil matter**: Joseph Turmel (*Ecrits*, v.III, p74): "The cruel god who created the world had also made men the slaves of matter...the *stoicheai tou kosmou*...designates the material world which the dualistic philosophy held in horror". Tertullian many times sites the marcionites' disdain for the creator's works, but the best known:"To be sure" they say, "the world is a grand production, worthy of a god"(AM, I.13);"Even this handiwork of our God will please you, inasmuch as your own lord, that better god...for your sakes was at pains of descending from the third heaven to these *poverty-stricken elements*, and for the same reason was actually crucified in this sorry cell of the creator" (AM I.14). In the later marcionite myth reported by Eznik, the world was a joint production of both the Creator and Hyle (matter), and in their competition for worship, "Hyle filled the world with idolatry, so men ceased to adore the Lord of creation", resulting in the woes of the human race (pp 246-48, GRS Mead*, Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*). Cp. also Gal.1:4, "evil aeon".
c) **elements = rules, laws, rudimentary principles** : Tertullian (AM V.4): "By the Romans, however, the rudiments of learning are wont to be called elements. He did not seek, by any depreciation of the mundane elements, to turn them away from their God..(Gal.4:9b)...he censured the error of that of physical and natural superstition which holds the elements to be a God. He tells us clearly enough what he means by elements, even the rudiments of the law: "ye observe days, and months, and times, and years" - the sabbaths I suppose, and "the preparations", and the fasts, and the "high days"..."
Initially, one may receive the general impression that this is only Tertullian's own interpretation, rather than Marcion's .
Seemingly 4:9b ("gods") presents difficulty for this interpretation being *strictly* the case. Nonetheless, the interpretation of elements = rudiments, or laws, finds support elsewhere in the NT (Heb.5:12, "the elements of God's word"; Col. 2:8, "...human tradition, the elements of the cosmos...";Col 2:20 "since you died with Christ to the elements of the cosmos...why...do you submit to its rules?"; nonetheless there's much in this same section of Col. which would lend support for elements = spirit beings (Col. 2:15, "principalities and powers", and 2:18, "worship of angels").
Which interpretation did Marcion hold ? Given the strength of all three interpretations above, it is tempting to consider that "elements" may have encompassed all three. But the third, elements = rudiments, gains serious momentum on the basis of Marcion's reconstructed text. . 4:3-10 complements and even mirrors those ideas already expressed in 3:10/12 to 3:14b/26, which in turn, leaves little room for the "law delivered by angels/ law as pedagogue" (3:19-4:2) material; 4:1-2 (in agreement with Zahn, opposite Harnack), had to be missing, considering the combined 3:15/4:3 as it stood in the text. 3:19-4:2 is an orthodox interpolation, designed to water down the text's harsh portrayal of the law as a curse, by which all were enslaved all to it's precepts, and to re-assert the OT as imperfect only insofar as it's angelic system of delivery and execution was concerned, thereby preserving the Law's providence. When a marcionite read stoicheai tou kosmou , he/she understood "precepts of the creator-god", permitting that κοσμος is also a synonym for αιονος = OT god.

	22	For Abraham had two sons,	T
		the one by a slave-maid,	T
		the other by a free-woman.	T
	23	But he who was of the slave-woman	T
		was born after the flesh;	T
		but he of the free-woman was by promise. [21]	T/E
	24	This is allegorized: [22]	T/(Hier.)
		these are two revelations,[23]	T
		indeed the one from Mount Sinai	T
		is the synagogue of the Jews,	T
		giving birth, according to the Law,	T
		into slavery;	T
	26	The other gives birth into freedom,	T
Eph.		Above every Principality, Power, Dominion,	T
1:21		of every name that is named,	T
		not only in this destiny,	T
		but also in that which is to come- [24]	T
		the holy assembly promised to us,	T
		which is our mother .	T
	31	So then, brethren,	
		we are not children of the slave-woman,	T
		but of the free. [25]	T

[21] **Gal:4:22-23** (Tert.V.4), "the last mention of Abraham's name he left untouched" :

[22] **Gal.4:24-25** Hieronymus, VII.473 (Zahn, p.502):"Here Marcion and Manichaeus, where the apostle said "which is allegorical"(*quae sunt allegorica*) and the rest which follows, hesitate not to remove from their codices, thinking the opposite we bequeath, that it is obviously the law which is understood, what is written".

[23] "promises" - Harnack proposed "exhibitions" (Couchoud, "manifestations"); Zahn suggested "promises" (*Geschichte*, p.502: "επαγγελλεσθαι must set the basis for the *repromittere*, as επαγγελια = *repromissio*. It should recall with the Tanfgelubde to cf. Ignatius S.509of, Caspari, Quellen zu Gesch.d.Taufsymbols I.26;63".

[24] The insertion of Eph.1:21 at this place is also also attested with Ephrem (*Comm.in Epistolas d. Paul*, p.298), as noted by Clabeaux (p.3, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul*), though inconvieniently overlooked in Molitor's reconstruction of Ephrem.

[25] **Gal.4:31** (Tert.V.4): "by reason of which he adds in conclusion": *fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae*.

PL Couchoud, from *The Premier Edition de St.Paul*, notes the inconsistancies in the orthodox version of Gal.4:46-31: "[The Apostolikon version of 4:24-31] opposes, by two mystical plans, the synogogue of the Jews and the holy church. The [orthodox version] pretends to save the Jews. It replaces the two "manifestations"...radically different, by two "alliances" ["testaments"] and, in the end, with two Jerusalems. It confuses in striving to explain how Agar, mother of the pagan Arabs, nevertheless represents the Jews. Finally it is no longer the law and grace which are opposed, nor even two alliances, but the Jerusalem slave of the Romans and the Jerusalem on high described in the Apocalypse (Rev.). This perspective is completely warped....".

5:1	In the liberty wherewith	T
	Chrestos made us free,	T
	Stand firm -	
	and be not entangled again	(T)
	in the weight of slavery.	(T)
2	Behold, I Paul say to you,	
	that if ye be circumcised,	
	Chrestos shall gain you nothing.	
3	But I testify again that a man circumcised	E
	is a debtor to fulfil the whole law.	E
4	Nothing [comes] from Chrestos,	
	[for] whosoever in law are justified -	
	you have fallen from goodness.	
6	For in Chrestos neither circumcision	T
	makes any impact,	T
	nor uncircumcision;	T
	but faith perfected through love. [26]	T
7	Ye did run well; who hindered you	
	to not be yielding to the truth?	
8	This enticement comes not from him	
	Who calls you.	
9	A little leaven spoils the whole loaf.	E
10	But he distressing you	T/A
	shall bear the judgement,	T/A
	whosoever he is. [27]	A
11	But I, brethren,	
	if I still proclaim circumcision,	
	why yet am I persecuted?	
	Then abolished is the offence of the cross.	
12	I would also that they castrated themselves	(Hier.)
	who throw you into confusion ! [28]	(Hier.)
13	For ye were called for liberty, brethren;	
	only not liberty for the urging by the flesh,	
	but by love [to] serve one another.	
14	For all the law in you is fulfilled:	T/E
	love thy neighbour as thyself.	T/E
15	But if ye bite and devour one another,	
	take heed	

[26] **Gal.5:6a** (Tert.) *illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici* (that faith which he says by love is perfected).

[27] **Gal.5:10** (Tert.) *Qui autem turbat vos iudicium feret*. (But the one who troubles you shall bear his judgement).

[28] **Gal.5:12** , Hieronymus (Zahn, p503): Secretly, they say, Peter lacerated (lacerat), of whom previously he wrote to the face resisted.

	that ye be not consumed of one another.	
16	But I say, walk ye by spirit,	
	and in no wise should ye fulfil	
	the desire of flesh.	
17	For the flesh desires against the spirit,	
	yet the spirit against the flesh;	
	Now these are opposed to one another,	
	so that ye cannot do the things	
	that ye would.	
18	But if by spirit ye are led,	
	ye are not under law.	
19	Now manifest are the works of the flesh,	E
	which are fornication, uncleanness,	E
20	wantonness, idolatry, enchantment,	E
	enmities,strifes, jealousies, furies,	E
21	contentions, divisions, sects, envies,	E
	drunkenness, revels,	E
	[and things like these],	
	which I predicted to you	E
	as I also said before,	E
	that whoever does such things	E
	shall not be enjoying God's kingdom. [29]	E
22	But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace,	
	long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith,	
23	meekness, self-control :	
	against such things there is no law.	
24	But those of the Chrestos crucified the flesh	E
	together with the passions and desires. [30]	E

[30] **Gal 5: 24** It is tempting to consider the possibility that 5:19-21, attested by Epiphanius, as a later interpolation, in view of how well the order of passages (5:14/6:2) work together if following only Tertullian's witness: (5:14) *For all the law in you is fulfilled: love thy neighbour as thyself.* (6:2) *Bear ye one another's burdens, and thus fulfil the law of Christ.*
The problem, however, is that 5:19-21 may just as easily be considered a marcionite addition as a Catholic insertion. Indeed, such was Turmel's opinion (*Ecrits*, v.III, p.80ff), holding that 5:13-26; 6:7-10 was of marcionite origin, as indicated by "chastity" in v.23 (in view of the celibacy practiced by marcionites), and of the (heavenly) "Kingdom of God" (v.21) promised to the servants of the spirit - "eternal life" (6:8), but without a resurrection of the flesh. The internal, human qualities listed as fruit of the spirit would certainly be considered characteristically Pauline, in contrast to the external, heavy, violent, Holy Spirit characteristic of the Jerusalem apostles in Acts, as noted by Couchoud and Stahl (p.185, "Les deux auteurs des Actes", *Premiers Ecrits*).

6:2	Bear ye one another's burdens,	T
	and thus fulfil the law of Chrestos.[31]	T
6	Let him that is taught in the utterance	(Hier.)
	share with him that teaches in all good. [32]	(Hier.)
7	Be not deceived; God is not mocked:	T/A
	for whatsoever a man may sow,	T/A
	that shall he also reap.	T/A
8	For he that sows to his own flesh	(T)
	from the flesh shall reap corruption;	(T)
	but he that sows to the Spirit	(T)
	from the Spirit shall reap life eternal.	(T)
9	But let us not become weary in doing good:	(T)
	but in due season we shall reap,	(T)
	not fainting.	(T)
10	As we might have opportunity,	(T)
	let us do good. [33]	(T)
11	Behold with the large-sized letters	
	I have written to you with my own hand.	
12	As many as wish to make a fair show in flesh,	
	these urge you to be circumcised,	
	only they are persecutors	
	of the cross of Chrestos.	
13	For neither they	E
	who are themselves circumcised	E
	are maintaining law,	E
	but they would have you circumcised,	
	that in your flesh they might boast. [34]	
14	But may it not be for me to boast,	
	but only in the cross	
	of our Lord Isu Chrestos;	
	Yet also to me is the world crucified,	T
	and I to the world.	T

[31] **Gal.6:2** "The law of Christ": the body of those precepts declared in the "Sermon on the Mount"(Lk.6:17ff) abolished the creator's law: "Having abolished the law of commandments by His own precepts (δογμασι, Laod.2:15).

[32] **Gal.6:6** (Hieronymus): "Marcion so interprets this place, reckoning this should speak of the faith and catechism together, that the master communicated to his disciples, which is indeed to be the maxim carried forth, in respect to that which follows: " In all good" (*In omnibus bonis*)".

[33] **Gal.6:8-10**, Considering the frequency of the word "good" in this section (6:6, 9, 10), it is not difficult to see why Turmel (n.45) regarded these passages a marcionite addition !

[34] **Gal.6:13b** (also 6:12, 14; cp. Phil.3:18): Tertullian (AM V.4) makes mention of ."persecutors of Christ" (*persecutores vacat Christi*), which must allude those rebuked by Paul in 6:12-14. Cp. also 6:17.

15	For in Chrestos Isu	
	neither circumcision is of any impact,	
	nor uncircumcision,	
	but a new creation.	
17	As for all the others,	A
	not without reason	A
	I cause nuisance! [35]	A
	For I carry the scars of Chrestos	(T)/Theod/(Clem.)
	in my body.	A(T)
18	Brethren, the grace of our Lord Isu Chrestos	
	be with your spirit.	

Amen.

[35] **Gal 6:17** "the others" = the Jerusalem apostles : "The corrector lenified, by suppressing "cause" and by replacing "the others" with "the rest". "Henceforth I cause no one nuisance". -PL Couchoud, *Le Premier Edition de St.Paul*.

Marcionite 1 Corinthians Interlinear

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh 24 January, 2017 (Rev 4)

Πρὸς Κορινθίους Α
To the Corinthians 1

1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, [καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός,]
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God [, and the brother Timothy]:

1:2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ [1] τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τοῖς ἁγίοις σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, [2]
To the church being in Corinth, the saints with all those who are throughout Achaia:

1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη[3] ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [4]
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ.

1:4 Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, [5]
I give thanks to my God always concerning you, for the grace of God has been given to you in Christ Jesus.

1:10(b) … ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα, [6]
… that the same thing all of you speak, and not have divisions among you.

ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.
But may you be united in the same mind, and the same thought ("opinion").

1:11 ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν.
For it was shown to me about you, by those of Chloe that there are ~ quarrels among you.

1:12 λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει, ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ.
Now I say this, because each of you says, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas

1:13 μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;[7] μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;
Is Christ divided? (Surely) Paul was not crucified for you? Or were you in the name of Paul baptized?

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[1] After reviewing 11:16 it became clear that ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ is an expansion by the Catholic editor as 11:16 shows the Church Paul is addresses and the Church of God are separate entities. Thus τοῦ θεοῦ is a later expansion (see note 94 below). If there was a title to the Marcionites it was likely the church of the Saints ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων as in 14:33 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων (also Psalms 149:1).
[2] Reconstruction based upon 2 Corinthians and Marcionite Latin prologue. Both mention Achaia and Timothy; 2 Corinthians: καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ and the Latin prologue Corinthii sunt Achaei ... scribens eis ab Epheso per Timotheum while I am not convinced that Timothy is original, I have enclosed it in brackets. Sosthenes Σωσθένης is not mentioned. Also I removed κλητὸς as with Romans 1:1 as a later addition harmonizing to Acts 13:2 (note A D 1506^{txt} and 2 Corinthians also lack). 2 Corinthians closely resembles the Latin prologue.
[3] AM 5.5.1 Praestructio superioris epistulae ita duxit, ut de titulo eius non retractaverim, certus et alibi retractari eum posse, communem scilicet et eundem in epistulis omnibus. Quod non utique salutem praescribit eis quibus scribit, sed "gratiam et pacem", non dico.
[4] AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur.
[5] Verses 1:5-10a likely additions, with Catholic concerns, littered with post-Marcionite vocabulary. A bridge phrase is lost (…)
[6] Compare 1 Corinthians 1:10b-13 with AM 5.8.3 Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum poni
[7] DA 1.8 ἤκουσταί μου, φησίν , ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἔριδες εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν· ὃς μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν λέγει· ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κηφᾶ. μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; - verse. 1:11 Marcion, 629, Syr, Ephraim, Cop OL:I read εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν; Clabeaux rates secure and incorrect. Rufinus (DA) reads perlatum est enim mihi, inquit, de vobis ab his qui sunt Chloes quia contentiones sunt in vobis, et alius dicit: Ego sum Paulis, alius: Ego Apollo, alius: Ego Caphae, Diuisus est Christus? This only reflects – ἀδελφοί μου lacks support. Unmentioned by Clabeaux, without support, but I think correct– ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as it makes no sense that there would be such a sect against those of Paul (Marcionite), Apollos (speculatively Appelles or Cerinthius), and Cephas (Catholic) representing known camps, and unlike those you are baptized in Christ name, but not Paul, et al (verse 1:13b) – this point is made clear in AM 3.12.4 quoting Galatians 3:27, ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε· and Romans 6:3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν;

1:14 εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα, [8] 1:15 ἵνα μή τις εἴπῃ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβαπτίσθητε. [9]
I give thanks that I baptized none of you, lest anyone say you that in my name baptized.

1:17 οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι,
For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the Gospel,

οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
not by wisdom of words, lest be emptied the cross of Christ.

1:18 Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν,
For the word ("doctrine") of the cross to those perishing is ~ foolishness,

τοῖς δὲ σῳζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστιν.[10]
But to those of us being saved it is the power of God.

1:19 γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.[11]
For it is written, (Isaiah 29:14, LXX)
"I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the intellectuals I will disregard"

1:20 ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου;
Where's the wise [man]? Where's the scribe? Where's the sophist of this ~ age?

οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου; [12]
[Did] not God ~ make foolish the wisdom of the world?

1:21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν,
For since by the wisdom of God, the world through its own wisdom did not know God

εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας.[13]
It pleased God [to] through the foolishness of the proclamation to save those faithful.

1:22 ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν,[14]
Since the Jews ask for signs and the Greeks seek wisdom,

1:23 ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν, [15]
But we proclaim Christ having been crucified, to the Jews an offense, to the Gentiles foolishness,

1:25 ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν, [16]
Because the foolishness of God [is] wiser than than men,

καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

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[8] B p^{46} ℵ* 1739 6 424^{c2} omit τῷ θεῶ which was added for piety, while εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον was added by the Catholic editor to conform with Acts 18:for Κρίσπον and Γάϊον is suggested by Acts 19:29, 20:4, while Baptism by Paul in Acts 16:14-15, 33, 18:8, 19:5 (versus Baptism of John, 19:3-4)

[9] Verse 1:16 was added by the Catholic editor, ἐβάπτισα δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφανᾶ οἶκον here and 16:15, 17, 24, inspired by Acts, despite the illogic of the sequence, being that his Baptism would ironically be Saul's agreement with his stoning.

[10] AM 5.5.5 Ait crucem Christi stultitiam esse perituris, virtutem autem et sapientiam dei salutem consecuturis. "The cross of Christ," he says, "is to them that perish foolishness; but unto such as shall obtain salvation, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God." Apparently reading + σοφίᾳ lacks support, probably added by a scribe with 1:17 in view

[11] AM 5.5.5 Scriptum est enim, Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium irritam faciam.
Epiphanius: γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.
The LXX reads κρύψω here ἀθετήσω slight variant, the LXX means God will hide/sheath the intellectuals, here he'll disregard it.

[12] AM 5.5.7 Hoc sequentia confirmabunt, cum dicit, Nonne infatuavit deus sapientiam mundi?

[13] AM 5.5.7 Quoniam in dei sapientia non intellexit mundus per sapientiam dominum, boni duxit deus per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes. Boni duxit Deus, εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεός AM 2.2.5 Mundi autem habentes spiritum, non agnoscentes in sapientia dei per sapientiam deum ; this phrase is much looser in AM 2.2.5

[14] AM 5.5.8 Quoniam Iudaei signa desiderant, qui iam de deo certi esse debuerant, et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt, qui suam scilicet, non dei, sapientiam sistunt. Marcion p46 F G 323 syr^{P} OL:KDI Vg^{var} Clement – καὶ (Clabeaux rates secure, correct against UBS)

[15] AM 5.5.9 Etiam quod scandalum Iudaeis praedicat Christum

[16] AM 5.5.9 Quid est autem stultum Dei sapientius hominibus, nisi crux et mors Christi? Quid infirmum Dei fortius homine, nisi nativitas et caro Dei? AM 2.2.5 Sed nos scimus stultum dei sapientius hominibus, et invalidum dei validius hominibus. Tertullian is inconsistent in his translation here, except not including "est"

And the weakness of God [is] stronger than men,

[17] 1:27 ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς, [18]
But the foolish things of the world God choose, that he might shame the wise,

καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά, [19]
And the weak things of the world God choose, that he might shame the strong things,

1:28 καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός
And the low-born of the world and the things that are despised God choose,

τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ,
the things which are nothing, that those being something might be brought to nothing.

1:29 ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ
So that not any flesh may ~ boast,

1:31 ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. [20]
That as it has been written, 'The one boasting let him boast ~ in the lord.' (Jeremiah 9:24, 9:23 LXX loosely)

2:1 κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
And I having come to you, brothers,

ἦλθον οὐ καθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.
came not according to exalted words or announcing wisdom to you the mystery of God.

2:2 οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον.
For I choose not to know anything except Jesus Christ and this one (his being) crucified.

2:3 κἀγὼ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
And I in weakness and in fear and and in much ~ trembling came to you,

2:4 καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας [21] ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως,
and my word and my proclamation not in persuading wisdom but in demonstration of spirit and power,

2:5 ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ.
that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.

2:6 σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, [22]
But wisdom we speak among the perfected,

σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων· [23]
but wisdom not of this age nor the rulers of this age, those (who are) being annulled

2:7 ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην,
but we speak God's wisdom in mystery, that was hidden,

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[17] Verse 1:26 was added by the Catholic editor along with 1:24, and 1:30. In 1:24 the called can be either Jew (Catholic) or Greek (Heretic) before. In vers 1:26 they are ordinary intelligence rather than wise, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ and that is according to the flesh κατὰ σάρκα, which is not standard use by Marcion's Paul. Further they neither power ful nor well born. There is a clear misunderstanding of verse 1:28 of low-born things. Also the Catholic πολλοὶ is used;

[18] AM 2.2.5 Sed nos scimus stultum Dei sapientius hominibus, et invalidum Dei validius hominibus.

[19] AM 5.5.9 nec iam stulta mundi elegit Deus ut confundat sapientiam, nec infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia

[20] AM 5.5.10 ne glorietur omnis caro, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur (where is v30? SGW)

DA 1.22 ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃ ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμὸς καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. I am reasonably convinced DA is quoting a Catholic edition, as the verse is missing from Tertullian and it has some Lucan non-Marcionite features, such as τε καὶ and the verse stands to clarify 1:29a, 1:31 in a Catholic sense of redemption and uses wisdom in a manor different from the verses around. It is possible DA picked up verses 129b-1:30 through correcting scribes.

Epiphanius reads ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω

[21] UBS bracketed λόγοις on the strength of *p*46 F G 630 deleting; I removed it as secondary

[22] AM 5.6.1 Igitur per haec omnia ostendit cuius dei sapientiam loquatur inter perfectos

[23] Epiphanius τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων

ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, [24]
which God preordained before the ages for our glory;

2:8 ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν·
which none of the rulers of this age had known,

εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν. [25]
for if they had knew, they would not have crucified the lord of glory.

[26] 2:10 ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ.
But to us God revealed (them) through the spirit; for the spirit searches all things, even the depths of God.

2:11 τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ;
For who of men knows the things of a man except the spirit of a man that is in him?

οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔγνωκεν εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ. [27]
So also the things of God no one has known except the spirit of God.

2:12 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ,
Now we have not received the spirit of the world, but the spirit from God,

ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν·
that we may know the things gifted to us from God.

2:13 ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις
These also we speak not in words taught by human wisdom

ἀλλ᾽ ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.
but taught in (the) spirit, with spiritual things interpreting spiritual things.

2:14 ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, [28]
But a natural man does not receive the things of the spirit,

μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ δύναται γνῶναι, ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται·
for they are foolishness to him, and he is not able to know them, because they are interpreted spiritually;

2:15 ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει [τὰ] πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται.
Now the spiritual (man) discerns all [things], but he is discerned by know one.

2:16 τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;[29] ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.
For who knew the mind of the Lord, who will instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.

3:1 κἀγώ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς ἀλλ᾽ ὡς σαρκίνοις, ὡς νηπίοις ἐν χριστῷ.
And I, brothers, was unable to speak to you as spiritual men but as carnal men, as infants in Christ.

3:2 γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὔπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε,
I gave you milk to drink, not solid food, for you were not yet able, but neither are you now able,

3:3 ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε. [30] ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις,

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[24] AM 5.6.2 sed de significantiis obumbrata, in quibus sapientia dei delitescebat, inter perfectos narranda suo in tempore, proposita vero in proposito dei ante saecula

[25] AM 5.6.6 Sed quia subicit de gloria nostra, quod eam nemo ex principibus huius aevi scierit, ceterum si scissent nunquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent, argumentatur haereticus quod principes huius aevi dominum, alterius scilicet dei Christum, cruci confixerint, ut et hoc in ipsum recidat creatorem. Tertullian reads οὐδέποτε for οὐκ with Ephrem OL:KDI Vg (Clabeaux suspects a pious scribe)

[26] Verse 2:9 is unattested in Marcion, a quotation from Isaiah 64:4 which breaks the flow and does not fit the argument in place, rather it is a proof text to tie the content to the Old Testament; clearly an orthodox interpolation.

[27] A reference seems to be made in AM 2.2.4 Sic magis debuit, quasi cognoscat aliquis quae sint in deo nisi spiritus dei 'as if anyone knew what is in God, except the Spirit of God'

[28] AM 2.2.6 Quodsi a primordio homo animalis, non recipiens quae sunt spiritus; reading – τοῦ θεοῦ with Clement V 25.5; VI 166.3; 330 440 1506 1827 2400 2815

[29] Isaiah 40:13 LXX, τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν not cited, would be typical Pauline

[30] DA 1.9/810c γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὔπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε, ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε.

for you are still carnal. For since among you is jealousy and strife,

οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε;
are you not carnal and according to man walking?

3:4 ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις, ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἕτερος δέ, ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε;
For whenever anyone says, 'I am of Paul,' and another, 'I of Apollos,' are you not of man?

3:5 τί οὖν ἐστιν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δέ ἐστιν Παῦλος; διάκονοι δι᾽ ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἑκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν.
What then is Apollos? And what is Paul? Teachers through whom you believed, and as to each the lord gave.

3:6 ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ηὔξανεν·
I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave growth;

3:7 ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστίν τι οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ αὐξάνων θεός.
so that neither he planting is anything nor the one watering, but the one giving growth, God.

3:8 ὁ φυτεύων δὲ καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἕν εἰσιν, ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήμψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον.
Now the one planting and the one watering are one, and each receives their own reward according to their labor

3:9 θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί· θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε.
For God we are co-workers; God's husbandry, God's building you are.

3:10 κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα,
According to the grace of God given to me as wise architect, I laid a foundation,

ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλεπέτω πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ·
and another builds on it. But each one, let him be aware how he builds upon (it).

3:11 θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός. [31]
For another foundation no one is able to lay beside the one being laid, who is Christ.

[32] 3:16 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν; [33]
Do you not know that you are a sanctuary of God's and the spirit of God dwells in you?

3:17 εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον· [34]
If anyone attempts to destroy the sanctuary of God, this one will be destroyed;

ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἵτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.
for the sanctuary of God is holy; which is you.

3:18 Μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω· εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,
Let no one deceive himself; if anyone amongst you thinks they are wise in this age,

μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός.[35]
let him become foolish, that he may become wise.

3:19 ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστιν·[36] γέγραπται γάρ,
For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; for it has been written,

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[31] AM 5.6.10 Nam quod architectum se prudentem affirmat … Et numquid ipse tunc Paulus destinabatur, de ludaea, id est de Iudaismo, auferri habens in aedificationem Christianismi, positurus unicum fundamentum, quod est Christus?
Tertullian may be paraphrasing, for he reads – Ἰησοῦς with C* 365 618 1319 1505 1573 1738 2147 2495
[32] Verses 3:12-15 were not in Marcion, Tertullian confirms that test by fire is an attribute of the Creator God in AM 5.6.11
[33] AM 5.6.11 Nescitis quod templum Dei sitis, et in vobis inhabitet Spiritus Dei?
[34] AM 5.6.12 Tertullian paraphrases, mentions no variants: Quodsi templum Dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur, utique a Deo templi. ὁ θεός was added by the Catholic editor.
[35] AM 5.6.12 Stulti estote, ut sitis sapientes.
[36] AM 5.6.12 Sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est penes deum. Inexplicable variant ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ for παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστιν with Ephrem syr^{p} 547 629

ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν· [37]
'He catches the wise in their own cleverness;'

3:20 καὶ πάλιν, Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι. [38]
and again, 'The Lord knows the reasoning of the wise that they are vain.'

3:21 ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν, [39]
So let no one boast in men; for all things are yours,

3:22 εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Ἀπολλῶς εἴτε Κηφᾶς εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα·
Whether of Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or present things or future things;

πάντα ὑμῶν, 3:23 ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ. [40]
all things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

[41] 4:5 (b) ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν·
Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the reasons of the hearts;

καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἑκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. [42]
and then the praise to each one will be from God.

4:9(b) ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. [43]
that we became ~ a spectacle to the world and angels and men.

4:14 οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ[ν]·
Not (so as) to shame you I write these things, but as admonishing my beloved children;

4:15 (b) ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα. [44] [45]
for in Christ Jesus through the Gospel I begot you.

5:1 Ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία, [[καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]][46]
Commonly it is heard among you fornication, [[even such fornication not heard among the gentiles]]

ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν. [47]
so that one takes up with his father's wife.

[48] 5:5 παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός,

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[37] Epiphanius γέγραπται γάρ, ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν. AM 5.6.12 Si nihil nobis et ad hunc sensum pristina praeiudicaverunt, bene quod et hic adstruit: Scriptum est enim, Deprehendens sapientes in nequitia illorum; Job 5:13 very loosely quoted

[38] AM 5.6.12 et rursus, Dominus scit cogitationes sapientium, quod sint supervacuae; Epiphanius καὶ πάλιν, κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι. Reads ἀνθρώπων for σοφῶν adjusted to LXX Psalms 93:11 (94:11 MT) with 056 33 1 205 209 489 630 927 1245 1506 1646^{C} 1735 186 1874, reading both are 326 1837; thus incorrect. Wisdom is topic in 3:18-20

[39] AM 5.6.13 Ergo, inquit, nemo glorietur in homine, DA 2.19 ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν,

[40] AM 5.6.12 Habes in praeteritis, Omnia vestra sunt, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Cephas, sive mundus, sive vita, sive mors, sive praesentia, sive futura. DA 2.19 reads εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Κηφᾶς εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα· πάντα ὑμῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ. DA reads – εἴτε ἀπολλῶς with 1734 but against AM 5.6.12

[41] Verses 4:1-5(a) are not attested in Marcion, Tertullian skips over them quietly. These are concerned with judgement (κρίν*), and authority of the church, and also concern an office of steward to prtect the right mystery doctrine οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ. Also much of the vocabulary is from the Pastoral strata ὑπηρέτας, λογιζέσθ*

[42] AM 5.7.1 Et occulta tenebrarum ipse illuminabit, utique per Christum, qui Christum illuminationem repromisit, se quoque lucernam pronuntiavit, scrutantem corda et renes. Ab illo erit et laus unicuique a quo et contrarium laudis, ut a iudice. (Very loosely quoted)

[43] AM 5.7.1 Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et horninibus. Apparantly only 4:5(b) and this fregment stood, the rest of 4:1-13 was added by the Catholic redactor

[44] AM 5.8.6 In evangelio, enim inquit, ego vos generavi also eluded to in AM 5.7.2 with 4:14, 15b immediately after 4:9 with praesertim ad filios scribens, quos in evangelio generaverat,

[45] Verse 4:16-21 were added by the Catholic editor to build the my the of Timothy to support the Pastorals, as also in Acts 16:1-3. There is no other purpose. In Acts there is clear reference to the Greek (Pauline/Amrcionite) and Jewish (Catholic) split with Timothy.

[46] Deleted καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν as a Catholic addition. The phrase is not necessary and implies Paul and his congregation consider being gentile bad, the opposite of his position. Note the Catholic view Jewish priority, very similar to 12:2-3

[47] AM 5.7.2 Non defendo secundum legem creatoris displicuisse illum qui mulierem patris sui habuit.

[48] Verses 5:2-4 were added by the Catholic editor. verses are quoted in DA 2.5/8.24a-b, but by Adamantius reading the Catholic text

I delivered up this person to Satan for the destruction of the flesh,

ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου. [49]
that the (his) spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

5:6 οὐ καλὸν τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ;
Your boasting is not good. Do you not know that a little leaven, leavens all the mixture?

5:7 ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι· [50]
Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new mixture, as you are unleavened.

καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός. [51]
For indeed our paschal [lamb] was sacrificed, Christ.

[52] 5:13(b) ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. [53]
Remove the evil man from among yourselves.

6:13(b) τὸ [δὲ] σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι· [54]
[But] the body is not for fornication but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.

6:14 ὁ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ [55] διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.
but the one who raised up the Lord also will raise us up through his power.

6:15 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; [56]
Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?

ἄρας οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μὴ γένοιτο. [57]
Having taken up the members of Christ should I make them prostitutes? May it not be.

6:16 [ἢ] οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἓν σῶμά ἐστιν; ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν,
[Or] do you not know that the one joining himself to a prostitute is one body?

οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. [58]
For it says the two into one flesh will be.

6:17 ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἓν πνεῦμά ἐστιν.
But one joining himself to the Lord is (one) in the spirit.

6:18 φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν· πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν,
Flee fornication! Every sin whichever a man may do is outside the body,

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[49] AM 5.7.2 Sed cum eum damnat dedendum satanae, damnatoris dei praeco est. Viderit et quomodo dixerit, In interitum carnis ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini DA 2.8/825e παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ DA 2.21/833b παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον (Note in DA twice Markus says παρέδωκα for παραδοῦναι against Adamatius in 2.5/8.24a-b, quoting the recieved text) There is no Mss. Support; however compare 1 Timothy 1:20 which appears to be dependent on this specific usage ὧν ἐστιν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἵνα …"of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I delivered up to Satan that …"; the usage is quite different in 1 Corinthians 11:2, 11:23, and 15:3

[50] AM 5.7.3 Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi.

[51] Epiphanius καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστός DA 2.18/868a [τὸ] πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστός AM 5.7.3 Sic et pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus

[52] Tertullian's argument necessitates the removal of 5:8-13a, 6:1-13a; these concern a later time, and interrupt the argument here.

[53] AM 5.7.2 et auferri iubens malum de medio creatoris frequentissimam sententiam commemoraverit (loosely quoted); The Greek text is from Deuteronomy 17:7 LXX ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν which is not cited in typical Pauline/Marcionite style, which Tertullian apparently didn't recognize.

[54] AM 5.7.4 Corpus, inquit, non fornicationi sed domino, et dominus corpori,

[55] AM 5.7.4 Qui dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit. Marcion reads –θεὸς καὶ leaving vague who raised the Lord. Similarily in the Apostolikon as in Galatians 1:1 ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν and 2 Corinthians 4:14 which is almost certainly based on this verse, εἰ δότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦν ἐγερεῖ. The Cathlic editor added θεὸς for clarification (bracketed words of 2 Cor 4:14 based on AM 5.11.15). Marcion was not Modalist per se, but his Christ raised himself.

[56] AM 5.7.4 Et bene quod aggerat, Nescitis corpora vestra membra esse Christi?

[57] AM 4.34.5 Scilicet nec tuum apostolum sinere coniungi prostitutae membra Christi

[58] Epiphanius reads Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἓν σῶμά ἐστιν; ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

ὁ δὲ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει.
But the one fornicating sins against their own body.

6:19 ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν,
Or do you not know that your bodies are a sanctuary of the holy spirit in you,

οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν;
whom you have from God, and (that) you are not your own?

6:20 ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν. [59]
For you were purchased for a price; glorify then God in your bodies.

7:1 περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι·
But concerning the things you wrote, (it is) good (for a) man not to touch ~ a woman;

7:2 διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, καὶ ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω.
But because of fornication let each have his own wife, and each (woman) have her own husband.

7:3 τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρί.
To the wife let the husband render his conjugal duty, and likewise the wife to the husband.

7:4 ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀνήρ·
The wife does not have authority over her own body but rather the husband.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλὰ ἡ γυνή.
And likewise also the husband does not have authority over his body but rather the wife..

7:5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν,
Do not deprive each other, unless by agreement for a time,

ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε,
that you may devote (yourselves) to prayer and you may be together again,

ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν.
lest Satan temp you because of your lack of self-control ("non-celibacy").

7:6 τοῦτο δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην, οὐ κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν.
But this I say according to concession, not according to command.

7:7 θέλω δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν·
But I wish all men to be as myself;

ἀλλὰ ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως.
But each man has his own gift from God, one this, and another that.

7:8 λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ·
But I say to the unmarried men and the widows, it is good for them if they also remain as I am.

7:9 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι. [60]
But if they do not have self control, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to be consumed with passion.

7:10 τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσιν παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος, γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι
But to those having married I charge, not I but the lord, the wife not to be separated from her husband.

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[59] AM 5.7.4 Empti enim sumus pretio magno. AM 5.7.5 Ergo et Christus habuit quo nos redimeret, et si aliquo magno redemit haec corpora, in quae eadem committenda fornicatio non erit, ut in membra iam Christi non nostra, utique sibi salva praestabit quae magno comparavit. Iam nunc quomodo honorabimus, quomodo tollemus deum in corpore perituro? (Clabeaux, Marcion must have read ἄρατε for δὴ with ἄρα witnessed syr^{H} and ἄρα γε 1505* 1611 it is easy to see it become ἄρατε from ΑΡΑΓΕ to ΑΡΑΤΕ)
[60] AM 5.7.6 This section indicates that Tertullian knows of verses 7:7-9 and sees no controversy in their content, meaning they are substantially the same as the Catholic version he knows: Sequitur de nuptiis congredi, quas Marcion constantior apostolo prohibet. Etenim apostolus, etsi bonum continentiae praefert, tamen coniugium et contrahi permittit et usui esse, et magis retineri quam disiungi suadet. Plane Christus vetat divortium, Moyses vero permittit.

7:11 - ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἄγαμος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω - [61]
- but if indeed she is separated, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband –

καὶ ἄνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφιέναι. [62]
and the husband not divorce his wife.

[63] 7:25 περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω,
Now concerning the virgins, I have not a commandment of the Lord,

γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι ὡς ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι. [64]
but I give an opinion as mercy by the Lord to the Faithful.

7:26 νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, ὅτι καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι.
I consider then this to be good because of the present necessity, that that it is good for a man to so be.

7:27 δέδεσαι γυναικί, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός, μὴ ζήτει γυναῖκα.
If you are bound to a wife, do not seek separation; if you have been separated from a wife, do not seek a wife.

7:28 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃς, οὐχ ἥμαρτες· καὶ ἐὰν γήμῃ ἡ παρθένος, οὐχ ἥμαρτεν.
But if indeed you marry, do not sin; and if a virgin marries, she did not sin.

θλῖψιν δὲ τῇ σαρκὶ ἕξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῶν φείδομαι.
But affliction in the flesh such ones will have, but I am trying to have you abstain.

7:29 τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· [65]
But this I say, brothers, the season has shortened;

τὸ λοιπὸν ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσιν, [66]
from now on, that also those having a wife, may be ~ as not having,

7:30 καὶ οἱ κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες, καὶ οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες,
and those weeping as not weeping, and those rejoicing as not rejoicing,

καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες,
and those are buying as those without possession,

7:31 καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.
and those taking from the world as not taking from (it); For the present form of the world ~ is passing away.

7:32 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι. ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ·
But I want you to be carefree. The unmarried man cares for things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord;

7:33 ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῇ γυναικί,
But one who is married cares for the things of the world, who he may please his wife.

7:34 καὶ μεμέρισται. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου,
And he is divided. And the the unmarried ~ woman and the virgin care for the things of the Lord,

ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι·
that she may be holy in the body and the spirit;.

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[61] AM 5.7.7 Et bene quod aggerat, Atquin et Christus cum praecipit mulierem a viro non discedere, aut si discesserit mancre innuptam aut reconciliari viro?
[62] Verses 7:12-17 are concerned with matters from a much later time. The discussion is about marriage with non-Christian spouses, and whether the children produced in such marriages are considred members of the Church, and how to handle divorces. This is in direct contradiction to verse 7:11 where divorce is prohibited, revealing a later doctrine consistent with Orthodoxy.
[63] Verses 7:18-24 are a combination of Pauline pastiches (Galatians 5:6, 16, 1 Corinthians 6:20) with later theological interpretations, designed to address the issue of Jewish and non-Jewish Christians reconciling, per the debate in Acts 15:1-2. All these are secondary.
[64] ἠλεημένος represents a hapax legomen in Marcion's Paul, and the phrase ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω is theologically and stylistically a problem, being inconsistent with Marcion's Paul. I consider much of 7:25-40 suspect, but I have no grounds to remove
[65] AM 5.8.7 Quia tempus in collecto est.
[66] AM 1.29.4 ut et qui uxores habent sic sint quasi non habeant 'that those who have wives be as though they do not have'

ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ ἀνδρί.
but the married woman cares for the things of the world, how to please her husband.

7:35 τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σύμφορον λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα βρόχον ὑμῖν ἐπιβάλω,
Now this for your own profit (benefit) I say, not that I cast a noose upon you,

ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὔσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως.
but for what [is] honorable and constant devotion to the Lord in an undivided way.

7:36 εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει,
But if anyone thinks ~ to behave improperly toward his virgin (fiancé),

ἐὰν ᾖ ὑπέρακμος καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιείτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, γαμείτωσαν.
if she is overripe, and thus it has to be, let him do what he desires, he does not sin, let them marry.

7:37 ὃς δὲ ἕστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἑδραῖος, μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην,
But he who has stood firm in his heart, not having need,

ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ,
but has power over his concerning his own desires, and this he has determined in his own heart,

τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει·
to keep her, his woman (fiancé) a virgin, he does well.

7:38 ὥστε καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖσσον ποιήσει.
So then both the one marrying his virgin (fiancé) does well, and the one not marrying does better.

7:39 Γυνὴ δέδεται ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς·
A wife has been bound for so long a time as husband lives;

ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ. [67]
but if her husband ~ should pass away, she is free to marry whomever she desires, only in the Lord..

7:40 μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν. [68]
But blessed is she if she remains so, according to my opinion; and I consider I also have the spirit of God.

8:4 περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ,[69]
Therefore concerning the eating of idolatrous sacrifices, we know than an idols nothing in the world,

καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς.
and that there is no God except the one.

8:5 καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν λεγόμενοι θεοὶ εἴτε ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς, [70] ὥσπερ εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί,
For also there are many called gods either in heaven or on earth, even as there are many gods and many lords,

8:6 ἀλλ᾽ ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, [71]
but to us [there is] one God the father of whom [are] all things and we in him,

καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. [72]
and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him.

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[67] AM 5.7.8 Gerte praescribens tantum in domino esse nubendum,
[68] Verses 8:1-3 focus on wrong knowledge (Gnostics) heretics of later era. Also pastoral vocabulary γνῶσις, οἰκοδομεῖ is present.
[69] AM 5.7.9 Tertullian accounts for the whole of verse 8:4 when he mentions that Marcion brings up food offered to idols, then quotes the middle portion of the verse: De idolis enim coepit de idolothytis disputaturus: Scimus quod idolum nihil sit.
[70] AM 3.15.2 dicente apostolo, Nam et sunt qui dicuntur dii sive in caelo sive in terris. perhaps – εἴπερ (no support, vg, nam et si sunt); AM 5.7.9 Sed, Et si sunt qui dicuntur dei, sive in caelis sive in terris, apparet quomodo dixerit; non quasi vere sint, sed quia sint qui dicantur, quando non sint.
[71] AM 5.7.9 Creatorem autem et Marcion deum non negat; ergo non potest videri apostolus creatorem quoque inter eos posuisse qui dei dicantur et tamen non sint, quando, et si fuissent, nobis tamen unus esset deus pater. "To us there is but one God, the Father."
[72] Verses 8:7-13 were added by the Catholic editor, concerned with issues of idol sacrifices, which concluded in 8:4-6. It is concerned with differing opinions in the later church. Pastoral words οἰκοδομηθήσεται, συνείδησις, ἀσθενοῦσαν, σκανδαλίζει plus εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

[73] 9:7 τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις ποτέ; τίς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει;
Who serves as a soldier at any time by his own wages? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat its fruit?

ἢ [74] τίς ποιμαίνει ποίμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος οὐκ ἐσθίει; [75]
Or who shepherds a flock and does not drink the milk?

9:8 μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει;
Not according to man I speak these things, or also the Law says these things?

9:9 ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται, οὐ κημώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῶ;
For in the Law of Moses it was written, do not muzzle an Ox threading. It's not the oxen that matters to God.

9:10 ἢ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη, ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν, [76]
Rather because of us all he says? For because of us it was written, that one plowing ought to plow on hope,

καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν.
and one threshing on hope partakes.

9:11 εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;
If we sowed to you the spiritual things, [is it] a great thing if we will reap material (fleshy) things?

9:12 εἰ ἄλλοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐξουσίας μετέχουσιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ,
If others have this right [over] you, rather do we not [more]? But we made no use of this power,

ἀλλὰ πάντα στέγομεν ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. [77]
but all things we endure, lest any we should give hinderence to the Gospel of Christ.

9:13 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι [τὰ] ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν,
Do you not know that those performing the temple services eat [the things] of the temple,

οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται;

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[73] Verses 9:1-6 are not attested in Marcion. There is reason to suspect the entire section as a Catholic addition, or at least parts of it. In 9:1 οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑόρακα refers to Acts 9:3-17 of Catholic Saul seeing Lord Jesus. In 9:5 we have a reference to Paul having a wife as does Cephas (Peter); perhaps this could be an Apellean position or reference where Catholics priests marry but Marcionite priests don't and Apelles broke from Marcion in part over the marriage issue – this also runs counter to 7:7 on Paul's abstinence. Verse 9:6 is further Catholic assimilation of Paul with the Barnabas as a silent partner from Acts 13:2ff, just as he was added in Galatians 2:1, 9, 13; also possibly harmony with Acts 18:3, Paul as a tent maker by profession. 9:4 is out of place, as with verse 9:5 it is aimed to run counter to the encratic stance of Marcionites with respect to food. In 9:3 the word ἀπολογία which is found in Acts 19:33, 22:1, 24:10, 25:8, 16, 26:2, 24, the Catholic additions to Romans 1:20, 2:1, 15 and 2 Timothy 4:16, 1 Peter 3:15 (Philippians 1:7, 17 the usage is Paul's defense of the Gospel, which is still suspicious) making it unlikely, combined with the unique ending to 'examining' ἀνακρίνουσίν is strong evidence of more Catholic intrusion. The vocabulary in 9:2 also reveals another Catholic word σφραγίς, lends weight that the entire paragraph of 9:1-6 as being added to the Marcion's version by the Catholic editor.
[74] Per Clabaeux, the deletion of ἢ is a stylistic improvement, despite Mcn B 1739 D F G support (against א p46 A C*); so stays in
[75] For 9:7, AM 5.7.10 Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis exempla praemiserat militum pastorum rusticorum;
[76] DA 1.22/8.17b-c: τίς ποιμαίνει ποίμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος οὐκ ἐσθίει; μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται· οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῶ; ἢ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν. Rufinus: Quis pascit gregem et ex lacte eius non manducet? Numquid secundem hominem dico, an et lex haec dicit? In lege Moysi scriptum est: Non infrenabis os boui trituranti. Numquid de bubus cura est deo? An propter nos utique dixit? Propter nos enim scriptum est quia debet qui arat sub spre arare.
AM 3.5.4 cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ... ipsam legem indulgentem bubus terentibus os liberum, non de bubus sed de nobis interpretetur; AM 5.7.10 "Sheppard" mentioned concerning 9:7, then Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis exempla praemiserat militum pastorum rusticorum; sed divina illi (5) auctoritas deerat. Legem igitur opponit creatoris ingratis, quam destruebat; sui enim dei nullam talem habebat. Bovi, inquit, terenti os non obligabis, et adicit, Numquid de bubus pertinet ad dominum? etiam de bubus propter homines benignum? Propter nos enim scriptum est, inquit (5.7.11 Propter nos enim scriptum est.)
Epiphanius 1 Co 9:9, 8 Instead of καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει he says εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως ταῦτα οὐ λέγει. But this is a comment not a quote, Μωϋσέως is not the text here, but rather the next sentence; 1 Co 9:9 μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῶ;
Variants, 9:7b – ἢ support B C D F G Ψ 104 330 630 999 1505 1611 1827 1854 2147 2400 2412 2464 2495; 9.7c – τῆς ποίμνης support p^{46}[also D* F G 323 796 945 1352 1448 1827 1241^{S} ⌐αὐτης] Greek (not reflected in Rufinus) 9:8 + οὐχὶ support K L P 056 most miniscules; 9:9 ⌐φιμώσεις for κημώσεις support all except the best, B D* F G 1739; 9:10 Rufinus deviates from the Greek text reflecting ὅτι ὀφείλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἐφ᾽ ἐλπίδι ἀροτριᾶν (debet qui arat sub spre arare; vulgate's debet qui arat sub spre arare) probably a Latinism of Byzantine reading
[77] 'the Gosepl of Christ' is Marcionite terminology; the catholic redactor of Romans wrote 'the Gospel of God' (Romans 1:1)

those attending the alter have their share with the alter?

9:14 οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουισν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν. [78]
So also the Lord appointed those proclaiming the Gospel from the Gospel to get their living.

9:15 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κέχρημαι οὐδενὶ τούτων. οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα ἵνα οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἐμοί·
But I have not made use of any of these things. I do not write these things that it might be so with me;

καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἤ – τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει. [79]
For [it is] better rather for me to die than no one will make empty my boasting.

9:16 ἐὰν γὰρ εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστιν μοι καύχημα· ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι ἐπίκειται·
For if I preach the gospel, there is nothing [for] me to boast; for it is necessarily placed upon me;

οὐαὶ γάρ μοί ἐστιν ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίσωμαι.
for woe to me if I should not preach the gospel.

9:17 εἰ γὰρ ἑκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι.
For if I willingly do this, I have reward; but if unwillingly, I have been entrusted with stewardship.

9:18 τίς οὖν μού ἐστιν ὁ μισθός; ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
What then is my reward? That preaching the gospel I may make the Gospel without cost,

εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρήσασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.
so as not to make full use of my power in the gospel.

9:19 ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω·
For being free from all men, to all men I enslave myself, that I might gain more;

9:20 καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω·
And I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews;

τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω·
to those under the law as under the law, that I might gain those under the law;

9:22(b) τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως σώσω. [80] 9:23(a) πάντα δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. [81]
to all men I became all things, that by all means I might save. All things I do because of the Gospel.

9:24 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν,
Do you not know that those running in a race all indeed run (race),

εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.
But one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it.

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[78] AM 5.7.11 Tertullian refers to the contents of 9:13-14: ergo et legem allegoricam secundum nos probavit, et de evangelio viventibus patrocinantem, "therefore both the law is in accordingly allegorical concerning us, and concerning the Gospel by which we make our living defending (Preaching)"; this looks like a reference to Luke 10:7-8, hinting the Apostolikon is after the Gospel

[79] AM 5.7.11 Hoc ad gloriam suam retulit, quam negavit quemquam evacuaturum

[80] AM 5.3.5 ut apostolo consonent profitenti factum se Iudaeis Iudaeum ut Iudaeos lucrifaceret, et sub lege agentem propter eos qui sub lege agerent, sic et propter superinductos illos, et omnibus novissime omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur. AM 4.3.3 Et tamen cum ipse Paulus omnibus omnia fieret, ut omnes lucraretur, AM 1.20.3 postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur, Iudaeis quasi Iudaeus, et eis qui sub lege tanquam in lege . This is a surprising gaff by the Catholic editor to leave Paul's statement that 'to the Jews I became as a Jew' and 'to those under the Law I became as one under the Law' completely obliterating the Catholic fiction from Acts and additions to the Apostolikon that Paul was a Jew. The Latin only clearly deletes-τινὰς in 9:22 (support D F G Latin), which in form only agrees with the Catholic Romans 11:14 (and similarily Jude 22-23) and runs counter to the concept of trying to save all. That the verse quoted is a continuous arguement against the presense of 9:22-23a about those not under the Law and the weak, and also the qualifying phrase of Paul not being under Law, a redundancy anyway. Additionally the verses are a continuation of 9:19 ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα where Paul declares that he is free of all man, but he willingly accepts his enslavement ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω to gain more. There is no sacrifice in not being under Law, showing that verse 9:21 doesn't fit. The 9:22(a) is less certain, but I also removed it since it was not attested by Tertullian.

[81] The phrase ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένωμαι downplays Paul's stature with respect to his preaching. It is from the Catholic editor. The word is compound of the pastoral nature (see Romans 11:17, Revelations 1:9, 18:4) and is not attested in Marcion, only found in suspect passages such as Ephesians 5:11 and Philippians 1:7, 4:14. I left standing the first part of the verse as transitional.

9:25 πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται,
And everyone competing in all things exercises self-control ("celibacy")

ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον.
so that they may receive a perishable wreath, but we for an imperishable.

9:26 ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων·
So I therefore run not run with uncertainty, so I box not as beating the air;

9:27 ἀλλὰ ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μή πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.
But I mistreat my body and make it my slave, lest to others preaching I should disqualify myself.

10:1 Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί,
For I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers,

ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, [82]
that all our fathers were under the cloud and all passed through the sea,

10:2 [καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϊσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ] [83]
[and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea]

10:3 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον, [84]
and all ate the same spiritual food,

10:4 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας,
and all drank the same spiritual drink; for they were drinking from the spiritual rock that followed [them],

ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. [85]
and the rock was Christ.

10:5 ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν ηὐδόκησε. [86]
But he found no pleasure with the majority of them.

10:6 ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν. [87]
These things happened as examples for us, for us not to desire evil things, as they also desired.

10:7 μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν· ὥσπερ γέγραπται,
Neither should you become idolators, as some of them; as it has been written,

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[82] AD 2.18 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, Rufinus Patres nostri omnes sub nube fucrunt, et omnes mare transierunt Epiphanius Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, Epiphanius reads – πάντες but neither DA Greek not Rufinus Latin reflect this

[83] AD 2.18 This may be Catholic since it comes from Adamantius and he doesn't identify it as Marcionite: καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, Rufinus et omnes in Moysi baptizati sunt in nube et in mari

[84] AD 2.18 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον, Rufinus et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt, Epiphanius καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα, incorrectly transposing βρῶμα ἔφαγον (support A 33 330 1175 2400); DA Greek reads βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον for νευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον (support א C* D F G K L Ψ 056 majority) Rufinus does not reflect this, agreeing instead with UBS and vulgate.

[85] AM 3.5.4 cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ... et petram potui subministrando comitem Christum adleget fuisse; AM 5.7.12 Ecce enim et in petram offendit caecus Marcion de qua bibebant in solitudine patres nostri. Si enim petra illa Christus fuit, Epiphanius καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός. DA 2.18 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός, Rufinus et omnes eundem potem spiritalem biberunt, bibebant enim de spiritali sequenti petra, petra autem erat Christus? DA Greek has the variant ⌐ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον for πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα (support D F G K L Ψ 056 *maj* OL:DI Ephraim Cop Arm Goth, against p^{46} B א A C P 1739 33) Epiphanius does not and Rufinus does not reflect this, agreeing with UBS and vulgate

[86] Epiphanius reads ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν ηὐδόκησε, substituting ⌐ ηὐδόκησε for εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (support for ηὐδόκησεν B* A C Clement 104 507 1175 1448 1505 1611 1735 2495, none for deletion of clause). The longer version is a catholic edition emphasizing the role of God a punisher of wrongs, the Just God of the Jews, so clearly post-Marcion.

[87] AM 5.7.12 Nam et reliquum exitum populi decursurus praemittit, Haec autem exempla nobis sunt facta. Epiphanius ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν Two wrong variants, ⌐ πρὸς for εἰς no support ⌐ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι for κακεῖνοι support p^{46} F G

Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν. [88]
The people sat down to eat and drink and stood up to play (dance). [LXX Exodus 32:6]

10:8 [μηδὲ πορνεύ ωμεν, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρνευσαν καὶ ἔπεσαν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εἴκοσι τρεῖς χιλιάδες.] [89]
[Neither let us fornicate as some of then fornicated and twenty-three thousand ~ fell in one day]

10:9 μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλλυντο. [90]
Neither let us temp Christ, as some of them were temped, and under by serpants were destroyed.

10:10 μηδὲ γογγύζετε, καθάπερ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν, καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ.
Neither let us mummer, as some of them murmured, and were destroyed by the destroyer.

10:11 ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν,
And these things happened to them as examples, but it was written for our admonition,

εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν. [91]
to whom the end of the ages have come.

[92] 10:14 διόπερ, ἀγαπητοί μου, φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας.
Therefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry.

10:15 ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω· κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὅ φημι.
As to thoughtful men I say; you judge what I say.

10:16 τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ;
The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a sharing of the blood of Christ?

τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; [93]
the bread which we break, is it not partaking in the body of Christ?

10:17 ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.
Because the one bread, we are many in one body, for we all partake in the one bread

10:18 βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα· οὐχ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσίν;
Look at Israel according to the flesh; are not those eating the sacrifices partakers of the alter?

10:19 τί οὖν φημι; ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν;
What then am I saying? That an idol sacrifice is anything? Or that idols are anything?

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[88] Epiphanius reads μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται· ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν. Note, variant ¬ ὡς for ὥσπερ with C D* F G P several miniscules; LXX Exodus 32:6

[89] Epiphanius quotes verse 10:1-9 without 10:8; while possible HT on μηδὲ it is likely not in Marcion, since it implies Christ slew 23,000, and the story is not from Exodus which was quoted. In verse 10:9 destruction to the revelers comes by way of the serpent who represents Satan, who is one and the same as the creator God in the Marcionite cosmology. I left in because of Marcionite celibacy

[90] Epiphanius μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν

[91] Epiphanius: ἕως ὅπου λέγει «ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ ἡμῖν» καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. AM 5.7.14 Denique et in clausula praefationi respondet. Haec autem quemadmodum evenerunt illis, scripta sunt ad nos commonendos, in quos fines aevorum decucurrerunt. DA 2.18 (Adamantius says) ταῦτα μὲν τύπος συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν / Haec autem omnia in typo contingebant illis, scripta autem sunt propter nos. (Marcus retorts) ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν / Haec sine typo contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem ad commonitionem; Tertullian seems to reflect the entire verse without variance, certainly the ending phrase which agrees with the vulgate. Epihanius matches the critical text (A B 1739) except lacks πρὸς νουθεσίαν perhaps paraphrasing, as the others all reflect it. DA is difficult to evaluate, but it does appear to be an invention of the DA writer, first with τύπος for τυπικῶς with the majority, then an artificial antithetical ἀτύπως from Markus based upon the first error. That the text is based on Catholic majority is also reflected in Rufinus Latin translation adds πάντες to Adamantius' version. Conclusion, there are probably no variants in this verse, Adamatius is completely unreliable.

[92] Verses 10:12-13 appear to come from the Catholic editor, as the subject has changed from Christ to God, and God is shown both to offer temptation and escape from this test. This is impossible for Marcion's God. In verse 10:12 the admonition is to 'you' singular an not to 'us' of the prior verses.

[93] DA 2.20 τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, ἤδικα ἂν λέγῃ, τὸν τε ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, τοῦ αἵματος σώματος τοῦ κυρίου εἶναι κοινωνίαν the Latin is lacking; and is a paraphrase, doesn't match any Greek mss. That Rufinus lacks this verse casts great doubt on its validity. The one variant that can be detected is κυρίου for Χριστοῦ support D* F G 1735; but there is no evidence this affects Marcion's text.

10:20 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ· [94]
Rather that which they sacrifice, is to demons and not God;

οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι.
I do not want you to become partakers with demons

10:21 οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κυρίου πίνειν καὶ ποτήριον δαιμονίων,
You are not able to drink the cup of the lord and the cup of demons,

οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων. [95]
You are not able to partake of the lord's table and the table of demons.

10:31 εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε. [96]
Therefore whether you eat or you drink or whatever you do, all things do to the glory of God.

11:3 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, [97] κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ, [98]
But I want you to know that Christ is the head of every man, and the head of a woman is the man,

11:4 πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ·
Every man praying or prophesizing having anything over his head shame his head;

11:5 πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς·
and every woman praying or prophesizing with her head uncovered shames her head;

ἓν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ.
for it is one and the same as being shaved.

11:6 εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω·
For if a woman is not covered, also let her be shaved;

εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω. [99]
and if it is shameful for a woman to be shaved, let her be covered.

11:7 ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν,
For a man indeed ought not to be covering the head,

εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστιν. [100]
being the image and glory of God; be woman is the glory of man.

11:8 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός·
For man is not of woman, but woman of man;

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[94] Epiphanius Τί οὖν φημι; ὅτι ἱερόθυτον τί ἐστιν ἢ εἰδωλόθυτον τί ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσι, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ, Epiphanius reads – πάντες; The deletion ἢ ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν of is supported by p^{46} A C* Ψ 6 33 1874 1881; No support to add ἱερόθυτον τί ἐστιν ἢ This looks like two variants occurred, first εἴδωλόν was transposed with εἰδωλόθυτον then ἱερόθυτον replaced εἴδωλόν and the second ὅτι was dropped to make sense. The UBS text is almost certainly the same as the original Marcionte.
[95] AM 5.7.14 Magnum argumentum dei alterius permissio omnium obsoniorum adversus legem. "A great argument for another god is the permission to eat of all kinds of meats, contrary to the law." Apparently the material from 10:22-30 was not in Marcion. There are pastoral compound words present as well, as pointed out by Munro p169, verse 10:23 οἰκοδομεῖ, 10:28 ἱερόθυτόν, 10:30 εὐχαριστῶ
[96] Verses 10:32-11:2 were added by the Catholic editor to bridge the inserted material. The concept of traditions παραδόσεις being received so that he could pass down by Paul is inconsistent with Marcion's depiction of Paul receiving his teaching by revelation.
[97] AM 5.8.1 Caput viri Christus est. "The head of man is Christ." Did Tertullian simply leave out omnis as unnecessary for his argument, or is παντὸς which was often added elsewhere, a Catholic addition to the text? I lean toward the former argument
[98] The phrase κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός was not likely present in Marcion. There is a subject change from describing man from Christ and woman from man to describing the relationship of father and son. The phrase strikes me as having Arian origins
[99] AM 5.8.11 ceterum prophetandi ius et illas habere iam ostendit, cum mulieri etiam prophetanti velamen imponit "however they already have the right of prophesying, and shows that a veil imposed on a woman prophesying" - refers to 1 Corinthians 11:5-6
[100] AM 5.8.1 Vir enim non debet caput velare, cum sit dei imago Epiphanisu Panoranion 42 ἀνὴρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν θεοῦ ὑπάρχων DA 5.23 (Greek only, questionable validity as Marcionite) ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων; Epiphanius reads δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν for εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα no mss, support, ditto κομᾶν for κατακαλύπτεσθαι which Tertullian disagrees caput velare, so probably "long hair" was suggested by verse 14-15 and found it's way into Epiphanius

11:9 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. [101]
for indeed man was not created because of the woman, but woman because of the man.

11:10 διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. [102] [103]
Because of this the woman ought to have power (authority) on the head because of the angels.

[104] [105] 11:17 Τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρεῖσσον ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἧσσον συνέρχεσθε.
But in giving this following charge I give no praise because it's not for the better but the worse that I come to you.

11:18 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω.
For first indeed when you come together in church, I hear divisions among you exist, and partly I believe it.

11:19 δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα [καὶ] οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν. [106]
For it is also necessary for sects among you, that [also] the approved ones may be manifest among you.

11:20 Συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν·
Therefore your coming together in one place is it not to eat the Lord's Supper;

11:21 ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει.
for each one takes first his own supper to eat, and one [goes] hungry, and one is drunk.

11:22 μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; [107]
For do you not have homes in which to eat and drink?

καὶ καταισχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας; [τί εἴπω ὑμῖν; ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.]
and do you shame those without? [What should I say to you? Will I praise you? I dont praise you in this.]

[108] [109] 11:33 ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε.

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[101] AM 5.8.2 Si quia ex viro et propter virum facta est, Tertullian sums up verse 11 :9, not an exact quote
[102] AM 5.8.2 Sed et quare mulier potestatem super caput habere debebit?
[103] τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ similar to 11:3 as clarification and inclusion of women (could have come in at the Apellean stage, pre-Catholic) The phrase "all things are of God" contradicts 11:7 where man is the image and glory of God, and seems a clarification to include women. In Marcionite/heretical theology the soul of man belongs to God, but the things of the world belong to the demiurge. This alerts us that the discussion of the relationship of woman to man has changed to that of the following verses with respect to God and nature itself, contradicting the strictly exegetical LXX explanation in the prior verses, so these more equal footing form a bridge
[104] Winsome Monroe, appendix B page 157 identifies the common theme between 1:14 οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ διδάσκει and Romans 1:26, where nature shows/teaches expected behavior. She also notes that κομᾷ 'hair' is unique these two verses. The judgment in 1:13 refers to nature and a woman's hair, so must also be added – Marcion's Paul does not delegate, this is from a later era.
[105] Winsome Monroe identified φιλόνεικος 'strife/contentious' as a compound word from the Pastoral stratum, (also showing contact with Luke 22:24 – possibly related to contact in verses 11:24-25 contact with Luke 22:19-20) which along with the rest of the verse is concerned with heretical movements following contradicting traditions within the church concerning women, an issue largely later than Marcion. This is also out of place coming before the concept of heresy/division is broached in 11:18. The term συνήθειαν 'customs' is rare (John 18:39) and only occurs here and suspect verse 8:7, another Pastoral identifier. Finally the verse shows an interesting idea that o Paul's followers and the Church of God as separate enities; this has led to some amazing exeegitical gymnastics about Paul using "we" means in an effort to avoid the more straight forwad conclusion that the Catholic Church of ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ is distinct from the group Paul is thought to represent when this was written. This verse is evidence of expansion to ἐκκλησίαι to be ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ in the Pauline opening verse of 1 & 2 Corinthians and 1 & 2 Thessalonians thus identifying the Church. This is a subtle difference with the Marcionites, as with the Gospel, which the Catholics refer to as εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ (Romans 1:1) and Marcion's Paul refers to as εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Galatians 1:7, also 1:12; compare Mark 1:1). These subtleties seem silly to us today, but the Arain controversy led to very nasty persecution.
[106] AM 5.8.3 Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum poni / We have often shown before now, that the apostle classes heresies as evil among "works of the flesh," (1 Corinthians 11:19) – english translation rather inaccurate
[107] ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε defends the Church as an institution; καταφρονεῖτε is pastoral (Romans 2:4, 2 Peter 2:10)
[108] Verses 11:23-27, 30 are all part of a later post Marcion stratum. The concept of Paul receiving a tradition παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου as opposed to revelation (Galatians 1:12 παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) is impossible in Marcion, even coming from the Lord. The tradition which follows in verse 11:24-25 is lifted entirely verbatim from Luke 22:19-20. While this material in Luke is attested in Marcion's Gospel (AM 4.40.4) it is unique that the Gospel would be quoted in Paul, and a rather later version at that; the reading includes ⌐ ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον for καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως (all mss. except B p^{75} א U 579)which indicates this came back into 1 Corinthians later. The other problem is this passage is concerned with sacrament in the Church, a concern independent of the early Christian feasts of the surrounding text. This point is apparent in 11:28 when the meaning of the sacrament as a method to separate orthodox from heretic is stated in terms of worthiness, an issue of prominence against Gnostics. In verse 11:26 the concern is with not only the meaning of the sacrament, but also the second coming of

So then, my brothers, when coming together to eat wait for one another.

11:34 εἴ τις πεινᾷ, ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα συνέρχησθε.
If anyone hungers, let him eat in his home, lest you come together for judgment.

Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι.
And the remaining matters whenever I come I will set in order.

12:1 περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν, [110]
Now concerning spiritual things,

[111]12:4 διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·
There are different kinds of gifts, but the same spirit;

12:5 καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσιν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος·
and there are different kinds of ministries, but the same Lord.

12:6 καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.
And there are different kinds of works, but the same God, who works all things in all men.

12:7 ἑκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.
But the each is given the manifestation of the spirit for profiting.

12:8 ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας,
For to one through the spirit is given a word of wisdom,

ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα,
yet another a word of wisdom according to the same spirit,

12:9 ἑτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ πνεύματι,
to another faith by the same spirit, yet another gifts of healing by the one spirit,

12:10 ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ [δὲ] προφητεία, ἄλλῳ [δὲ] διακρίσεις πνευμάτων,
and yet to another the working of powers, [and] yet another prophecy, [and] to another discerning of spirits,

ἑτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν· [112]
to another kinds of tongues, and yet another interpretation of tongues.

12:11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.
and all these work by the one and the same spirit, distributing to each one individually as he determines.

12:12 καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἕν ἐστιν καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει,
For even as the body is one and has many members,

πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἕν ἐστιν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός·
and all the members of the body though many are one body, so also Christ;

12:13 καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν,
for also in one spirit we were all baptized into one body,

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the Lord, a Catholic concept differing from Marcion. Finally verse 11:30 is rendered nonsensical without the second comming commentary in 11:26, as 11:21-22, 28-29, 31-34 are dealing with matters of immediacy. The flow is thus restored from 11:22 to 11:28

[109] While matching the Marcionite position where the world and creation is doomed to judgement (Romans 8:21). 11:28-32 discuss judegment for drinking and eating of food in the sense of the sacrament, and intrude upon the discussion of etiquette 11:20-22, 33-34.

[110] AM 5.8.4 Nunc de spiritalibus dico

[111] Verses 12:1b-3 intrude upon the narrative, characterising Paul's followers as formerly being ἔθνη 'gentiles' lead astray by idol worship and and stranger still the Holy Ghost as being able to curse Ἀνάθεμα Christ and that those speaking in the Spitit of God (tongues?) can do so, subjects far astray from the discussion at hand in vv 1,4ff of spitual gifts. Clearly post Marcion.

[112] AM 5.8.8 Tertullian compares Marcion's 1 Corinthians 12:8-10 (red) with Isaiah 11:1-3 (purple) Alii, inquit, datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae: statim et Esaias spiritum sapientiae posuit. Alii sermo scientiae: hic erit sermo intellegentiae et consilii. Alii fides in eodem spiritu: hic erit spiritus religionis et timoris dei. Alii donum curationum, alii virtutum: hic erit valentiae spiritus. Alii prophetia, alii distinctio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio linguarum: hic erit agnitionis spiritus.

εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν.
whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free, and all were given one spirit to drink.

12:14 καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν μέλος ἀλλὰ πολλά.
For also the body is not one member but many.

12:15 ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ πούς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χείρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος·
If the foot says, because I am not a hand, I am not of the body, not for this reason cease to be of the body

12:16 καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ὀφθαλμός, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος,
and if the ear says, because I am not an eye, I am not of the body,

οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος·
not for this reason will it cease to be of the body

12:17 εἰ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ποῦ ἡ ἀκοή; εἰ ὅλον ἀκοή, ποῦ ἡ ὄσφρησις;
If the whole body was an eye, where is hearing? If whole was hearing, where is the smelling?

12:18 νυνὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ σώματι καθὼς ἠθέλησεν.
But now God assigned the members, every one of them in the body as he placed them.

12:19 εἰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἓν μέλος, ποῦ τὸ σῶμα; 12:20 νῦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη, ἓν δὲ σῶμα.
And if all are one member, where is the body? But now [there are] many members, but one body.

12:21 οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρί, χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω,
And the eye is not able to say to the hand, I have no need of you,

ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσίν, χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω·
or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you;

12:22 ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖά ἐστιν,
but rather the many members of the body appearing to be weaker are necessary,

12:23 καὶ ἃ δοκοῦμεν ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, τούτοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθεμεν,
and those of body we think to be dishonorable we clothe those with more abundant honor,

καὶ τὰ ἀσχήμονα ἡμῶν εὐσχημοσύνην περισσοτέραν ἔχει,
Place and our shameful parts have greater promnance,

12:24 τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν οὐ χρείαν ἔχει.
but our comely members have nod need.

ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμήν, [113]
But God combined them for the body, the lacking members he gave them more abundant honor,

12:25 ἵνα μὴ ᾖ σχίσμα ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσιν τὰ μέλη.
lest there be division in the body, but the members should care the same (equally) for one another.

12:26 καὶ εἴτε πάσχει ἓν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη· εἴτε δοξάζεται [ἓν] μέλος, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη.
And whether one member suffers, it suffers with all the members; or one member honored, all members rejoice.

[114] 12:31 ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα. καὶ ἔτι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. [115]
But you earnestly desire the greater gifts. And yet I show you a way beyond compare.

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[113] Epiphanius ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεχέρασε τὸ σῶμα AD 2.19 ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμήν, Rufinus ; ⌐ ὑστεροῦντι for ὑστερουμένῳ support p^{46} ℵ^{c} D F G K L Ψ 056 1739 330 1982 maj Origin Chrys Thdrt (Latin not reflected). Clabeaux rates the active voice of Marcion as correct.

[114] The entire digression of verses 12:27-30 introduces the later concept of the formal Church as the body of Christ (Epehsians 5:23, Colossians 1:24), and is concerned with the rank order within the Church, even adding administrative roles ἀντιλήμψεις κυβερνήσεις indicating a much lager and more formal organization than whe the Marcionte was formed. There is no rank but equality in 12:25-26

[115] AM 5.8.9 Possum dicere, ipsum quod corporis nostri per multa et diversa membra unitatem charismatum variorum compagini adaequavit, "This, too, I may confidently say: he who has likened the unity of our body throughout its manifold and divers members to the compacting together of the various gifts of the Spirit" (1 Corinthians xii.12-30, compared with Ephesians iv.16)

13:1 ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, [116]
If in the tongues of men I speak and of angels,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.
but love I do not have, I have become a brass sounding or a clanging cymbol.

13:2 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, [117] ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι.
And if I have prophecy and all the knowledge, but love I do not have, I am nothing.

13:3 κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυχήσωμαι, [118]
And if I give away all my possessions, and if I give over my body that I may boast,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.
but love I do not have, I have gained nothing.

13:4 ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται, ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται,[119]
love is patient, kind, love does not brag, is not arrogant

13:5 οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, [120] 13:6 οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·
is not provoked, does not reckon wrong, does not rejoice over unrighteousness, but rejoices with the truth;

13:7 πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.
all things it bears, in all things it has faith, in all things it hopes, all things it endures.

13:8 ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει· εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι, καταργηθήσονται· εἴτε γνῶσις, καταργηθήσεται. [121]
Love never fails; but whether prophecies, they will be abolished; or knowledge, it will be abolished.

13:9 ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν·
for in part we know and in part we prophecy;

13:10 ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται.
but when comes completion, the thing in part will be abolished.

13:11 ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος·
When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child;

ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου.
When I became a man, I abolished the things of the child.

13:12 βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι᾽ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον·
For we see still through a mirror in enigma, but then face to face;

ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.
yet I know in part, but then I will fully know even as also I was fully known.

13:13 νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη. [122]
But now remains faith, hope, love, these three things; and greatest of this is love.

14:1 διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην, ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ πνευματικά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε.
Pursue love, and eagerly desire spiritual things, even more that you may prophecy.

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[116] I was uncertain on this verse because tongues are not part of the poem but accepted 4:9 having καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις

[117] καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι is a clear reference to Matthew 17:20, 21:21

[118] Most manuscripts read καυθησομαι 'to be burned' but this is almost certainly from a later era, and becomes redundant with giving up the body, losing the reason. The correct text καυχήσωμαι is supported by B p46 א A 1739* 33

[119] οὐ φυσιοῦται 'arrogant' is left here because it fits the poem, but I am uncertain, as everywhere else it has an anti Gnostic purpose

[120] οὐ ζηλοῖ in 13:4 and οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς in 13:5 may not have been part of the original poem, as they uniquely refer to personal behavior as opposed to the attributes of Love itself as the subject – behaving disgracefully only makes sense for people, not for an abstract concept. In the case of jealousy the ending form does not match. Removing these restores pairs of attributes

[121] εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται 'or tongues, they will cease' doesn't fit structurally, and tongues are unmentioned in the rest of the poem.

[122] AM 5.8.9 qui de dilectione quoque omnibus charismatibus praeponenda apostolum instruxerit principali praecepto, "and on the subject of the superiority of love above all these gifts, He even taught the apostle that it was the chief commandment" (compare 1 Corinthians 12:31, 13:1, 13)

14:2 ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ θεῷ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει, πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια· [123]
For those speaking in tongue not to men but speaks to God; for no one hears, but he speaks mysteries in spirit;

14:6 Νῦν δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς γλώσσαις λαλῶν, τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω,
But now, brothers, if I come to you speaking in tongues, what will I benefit you?

ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ ἢ [ἐν] διδαχῇ;
Except that I speak to you either with revelation or with knowledge or with prophecy or [with] teaching.

14:7 ὅμως τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα, εἴτε αὐλὸς εἴτε κιθάρα, ἐὰν διαστολὴν τοῖς φθόγγοις μὴ δῶ,
Even lifeless things make sounds, whether a flute or harp, if they do not give a distinction in the notes,

πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ αὐλούμενον ἢ τὸ κιθαριζόμενον;
Place how will we know what the flute or harp is playing?

14:8 καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἄδηλον σάλπιγξ φωνὴν δῶ, τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς πόλεμον;
For if also a trumpet gives an unclear call, who will prepare himself for battle?

14:9 οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς γλώσσης ἐὰν μὴ εὔσημον λόγον δῶτε, πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ λαλούμενον;
So also unless you by your tongue give intelligible words, how will what is being said be known?

ἔσεσθε γὰρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες.
For you will be speaking in the air (wind)

14:10 τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον·
So it is that there are many kinds of languages in the world, and not one is meaningless;

14:11 ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος. [124]
So if I do not know the meaning of the voice, I will speak as to a foriegner and the speaker a foreigner to me.

14:18 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ· [125]
I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you;

14:19 ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι, [126]
but in church I want to speak five words with my mind,

ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ. [127]
rather than ten thousand words in a tongue.

14:21 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, [128]
In the Law it is written that, "In other tongues and with lips of others I will speak to this people,

καὶ οὐδ᾽ οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου, λέγει κύριος.
even so they will not hear me," says the Lord.

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[123] Verse 14:3-5 were added by the Catholic editor and deal with Prophesy for the edification of the church. 14:2, 6 speak of tongues

[124] Verses 14:12-17 were added by the Catholic editor to tame the use of tongues in church. Svereal words are identified as the pastoral strata by Winsome Monroe. The focus si on the church as an institution, and new initiates role. It interrupts the flow of Paul's discussion of tongues as noise, flowing directly into his claim of speaking more than others,

[125] Epiphanius πάντων πλέον ὑμῶν λαλῶ γλώσσαις support Ψ for ⌐ πλέον ὑμῶν λαλῶ γλώσσαις for ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ

[126] Epiphanius Πεπλανημένως ὁ Μαρκίων μετὰ τό ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι προσέθετο διὰ τὸν νόμον (Marcion, after ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι adds διὰ τὸν νόμον) this variant is improbable. Clabeaux sides with H.J. Frede that this is a visual error caused by a misreading of τῷ νοί μου

[127] Verse 14:20 was added by the Catholic editor, a stray topic concerning right and wrong thinking pertaining to later heresy.

[128] Epiphanius ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον AM 5.8.10 Et si quod in lege scriptum esset commemorat, in aliis linguis et in aliis labiis locuturum creatorem, cum hac commemoratione charisma linguarum confirmat, nec hic potest videri alienum charisma creatoris praedicatione confirmasse, 'When he mentions the fact that "it is written in the law," how that the Creator would speak with other tongues and other lips, whilst confirming indeed the gift of tongues by such a mention, he yet cannot be thought to have affirmed that the gift was that of another god by his reference to the Creator's prediction' Note only variant ἑτέροις for ἑτέρων has support p^{46} D^2 F G maj syr^P Cop Arm Goth Eth Origin OL:DI vg attempts to match LXX Isaiah 28:11

[129] 14:26 Τί οὖν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει,
What is it (to be) then, brothers? When you come together, (and) each one has a psalm, has a teaching,

ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει· [130] [131]
has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation,

14:32 καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται,
and the spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets;

14:33 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης. [132] Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων, [133]
for he is not the God of confusion, but of peace. As in all churches of the saints,

14:34 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν·
Let the women in Church be silent, for they are not allowed to speak;

ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. [134] [135]
but let them be submissive, as also the Law says.

15:1 Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, [136]
Now I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel which I preached to you,

ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε,
which you received, in which you also have stood,

15:2 δι᾽ οὗ καὶ σῴζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε.
if you hold fast the word which I preached to you, unless in vain you believed.

15:3 παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, [137] ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν
For I handed on to you, in the very first things, that Christ died for our sins,

15:4 καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, [138]
and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day,

15:11 εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε. [139]
Therefore whether I or they, so we preach and so you believe.

15:12 Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται,
And if Christ is proclaimed raised from the dead,

πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;

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[129] Verses 14:22-25 are concerned with how to behave with non-believers coming into the church, an issue of a later time.
[130] AM 5.8.11 'edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem' an allusion to 1 Corinthaisn 14:26
[131] Verses 14:26b-30 concern the order of an established church , and are not original
[132] AM 4.4.5 et spiritus prophetarum prophetis erunt subditi, non enim eversionis sunt, sed pacis
[133] Note ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων 'the churches of the Saints ' is the Marcionite name for the Church.
[134] Epiphanius Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει DA 2.18 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποτάσσεσθαι. καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. Mulieres in ecclesia taceant. Non enim permittitur eis loqui sed subditas esse, sicut et lex dixit. Marcion reads ¬ ἐκκλησίᾳ for ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (ecclesia for ecclesiis) 119 330 2400 syr^{P} Cop Eth OL:KI, similar for ἐπιτέτραπται which makes me suspect a common corrupted anti-Marcionite source for Panoranion and Adamantius texts. Tertulllian mentions in passing AM 5.8.11 Aeque praescribens silentium mulieribus in ecclesia, ne quid discendi duntaxat gratia loquantur … ex lege accipit subiciendae feminae auctoritatem; The plural was somehow changed to singular in the Marcionite text, which Clabeaux rates incorrect.
[135] Verses 14:35-40 are not attested, and are concerned with Pastoral issues related to later Montanist and Gnostic challenges
[136] Epiphanius P42 "on the raising of the dead" γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν
[137] Western non-interpolation (Latin b Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{lat} Tertullian) "that which I also recieved" ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον was almost certainly not in Marcion, as it implies a teacher-student relationship, clearly rejected by Marcion (see Galations 1:11-12, 15-17a)
[138] AM 3.8.5; Tradidi enim, inquit, vobis inprimis, quod Christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris, et quod sepultus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertia die. 'For I delivered, he says, to you first of all, that Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that He rose again the third day'; DA 5.6 Epiphanius P42 ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ and ~ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ support F G K L P Ψ 049 maj, but not reflected in Tertullian; both accounts delete – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς (probably also delete verse 5ff)
[139] AM 1.20.4 sicut et alibi, Sive ego, inquit, sive illi, sic praedicamus. AM 4.4.5 Sive ego, inquit Paulus, sive illi, sic praedicamus; Epiphanius P42 οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε

how do some of you say there is not resurrection of the dead?

15:13 εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
And if the dead are not resurrected, neither has Christ been raised;

15:14 εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα [καὶ] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, [140]
and if Christ is not raised, our preaching is [also] in vain, also in vain is your faith,

15:16 εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
for if the dead are not raised, neither has Christ been raised;

15:17 εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. [141] [142]
and if Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile, you remain in your sins.

15:18 ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο.
Then also those having fallen asleep in Christ are destroyed.

15:19 εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν.
And if in this life we have only hoped in Christ, we are to be pitied more than all.

15:20 Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, [143]
But now Christ has been raised from the dead,

15:21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· [144]
For since through man came death, also through man came resurrection of the dead;

15:22 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται. [145]
For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all will be made alive.

15:23 Ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ. [146]
But each one in his own order; (the) first fruits Christ, after those belonging to Christ, at his coming,

15:24 εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδιδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
then the end, when he hands over the kingdom to God and father,

ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν, [147]
when he abolishes all rule and all authority and all power.

15:25 δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. [148]
For it is necessary for him to reign until he has puts all his enemies under his feet.

15:26 ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος·
(the) last enemy being abolished (is) death;

[149] 15:29 Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, [150]

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[140] 1 Corinthians 15:15 was added by the Catholic editor clarifying that it was God who raised Christ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν which is not addressed in Marcion's version (compare Galatians 1:1, 1 Corinthians 6:14, 2 Corinthians 4:14). Also the concept of being a false witness to God ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ is a pastoral concern as in (Acts 13:9, post Marcionite Romans 9:1, 2 Corinthians 11:13, Galatians 1:20, 1 Timothy 2:7). It also breaks εἰ δὲ of the structural pattern of 15:12-17, thus it is secondary.
[141] Epiphanius P42 καὶ ὅτι "εἰ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, μάταιον" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς 'and so on'
[142] AM 5.9.2 Mortuorum resurrectionem quomodo; "concerning the raising of the dead"alludes to verses 15:12-19
[143] ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων is a Catholic addition, concerned with recent dead; ἀπαρχὴ is a term not found in Marcion
[144] AM 5.9.5 Quia per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio; left out "from the dead" mortuorum = νεκρῶν
[145] AM 5.9.5 Quodsi sic in Christo vivificamur omnes sicut mortificamur in Adam, quando in Adam corpore mortificemur, sic necesse est in Christo corpore vivificemur. Tertullian clearly paraphrases 1 Corinthians 5:22
[146] Compare 1 Corinthians 15:23 with 1 Thessalonians 4:14-16
[147] compare 1 Corinthians 2:6-8
[148] AM 5.9.6 Cum dicit, Oportet enim regnare eum, donec ponat inimicos eius sub pedes eius; Tertullian - omnes (πάντας) Ψ1424 but this is likely the result of either local text or paraphrase. Note also AM 5.9.13 ubiecti utique pedibus ipsiu.
[149] Verses 15:27-28 were added by the Catholic editor establish rank of Christ as subject to the father, an issue Marcion never addresses. Verse 15:26 is derived from 2 Timothy 1:10, except that it pushes back death abolition to the Parousa.
[150] AM 5.10.1 Quid, ait, facient qui pro mortuis baptizantur, si mortui non resurgunt?

Otherwise what will they do, those being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead really are not raised,

τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; [151]
why indeed are they baptized on behalf of them?

15:35 ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις, Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; [152]
but some will say, 'How are the dead raised? And with what kind of body do they come?'

15:36 ἄφρων, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζῳοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ·
Foolish man, what you sow is not made alive unless it dies;

15:37 καὶ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις
and what you sow, you sow not the body will become

ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν·
but a bare grain perhaps of wheat or some other;

15:38 ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων ἴδιον σῶμα. [153]
but god gives to it a body as he wanted, and to each of the seeds [its] own body.

15:39 οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σάρξ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν,
Not all flesh is the same flesh, but another of men, and another flesh of animals,

ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων.
and another flesh of birds, and another of fishes.

15:40 καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια·
And [there are] heavenly bodies, and earthly bodies;

ἀλλὰ ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων.
but different is the glory of the heavenly, and different of the earthly.

15:41 ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων·
[there is] another glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars;

ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. [154]
for star differs from star in glory.

15:42 Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις [155] τῶν νεκρῶν. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ·
So also with resurrection of the dead. It is sown as perishable, raised as imperishable;

15:43 σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, [156] ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·
it is sown in dishonor, raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, rasied in power;

15:44 σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν. [157]
it is sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual.

15:45 οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται, Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν·
So also it was written, "The first man Adam became a living soul;"

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[151] Verses 15:30-34 intrude upon the discussion of Baptism of the dead. The concern is with Martyrdom and bringing in the Paul myth narrative about constant danger, words lifted it seems from Aprocraphyl 2 Esdras 7:89, with the story fighting wild beast in Ephesus from the Acts of Titus VIII (see 2 Timothy 4:17), which Hippolytus commented on in his commentary on Daniel iii.29. Also a fragment of Menander Thais in verse 15:33 “bad company ruins good morals”, and Isaiah 22:13 in 15:32. Verse 15:32 This fragment appears to be from an apocryphal Acts now lost. None was in the original.
[152] AM 5.10.2 Sed dicent quidam, Quomodo mortui resurgent? quo autem corpore venient? (Quomodo … venient repeated in 5.10.3)
[153] AM 5.10.4 Denique si proponit exempla grani tritici, vel alicuius eiusmodi, quibus det corpus deus prout volet, si unicuique seminum proprium ait esse corpus, (not an exact quote)
[154] AM 5.10.4 ut aliam quidem carnem hominum, aliam vero pecudum et volucrum, et corpora caelestia atque terrena, et aliam gloriam solis, et lunae aliam, et stellarum aliam,
[155] AM 5.10.2 Sic et resurrectio, inquit
[156] AM 5.10.6 sed caro seminatur in corruptela ; a clear reference to verse 15:43
[157] AM 5.10.2 Cuius ille ordo in dissolutione, eius et hic in resurrectione corporis, scilicet sicut et granum

ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν. [158]
the last Adam a life giving spirit.

15:46 ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. [159]
But the first is not spiritual but natural, afterward the spiritual.

15:47 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. [160]
The first man is made of the dust out of the earth, the second man out of heaven.

15:48 οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι· [161]
As the man of dust, Such also are the men of dust, and as the heavenly man, such also the heavenly;

15:49 καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. [162]
As we bore the image of the of the man of dust, we must bear the image of the heavenly man.

15:50 Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται, [163]
But this I say, brothers, that flesh and blood are not able to inherit the kingdom of God,

οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ.
neither does the perishable inherit the imperishable.

15:51 ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα,
Behold I speak a mystery to you; we will not all sleep, but all will be changed,

15:52 ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι·
in a moment, in the wink of an eye, in the last trumpet;

σαλπίσει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. [164]
for a trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed.

15:53 δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. [165]
for it is necessary for this perishable to put in the imperishable and this mortal to put on the immortal.

15:54 ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν,
But when this perishable nature puts on the imperishable and this mortal puts on the immortal,

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[158] DA 2.18 ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, Ἀδὰμ, εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος, κύριος, πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν· / Factus est primus homo, Adam, in animam uiuentem, nouissimus autem, dominus, in spiritum uiuificantem; AM 5.10.7 Factus primus homo Adam in animam vivam, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem; licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse, dominum enim posuit novissimum pro novissimo Adam. Tertullian, DA 2.18 (below) reports Marcion read κύριος for Ἀδὰμ which lacks support, but likey change to conform to the same substitution in verse 15:47. IMO this reading is the result of Marcionite scribes who failed to understand the contrast between the first man (Adam) being breathed by the creator God in Genesis 2:7 ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν and the last man who is raised in Christ and is now spiritual, so literally interpreted it as Christ being the last man.

[159] AM 5.10.6 Non primum quod spiritale

[160] DA 2.18 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος, κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; AM 5.10.9 Primus, inquit, homo de humo terrenus, secundus dominus de caelo. Quare secundus, si non homo, quod et primus? Aut numquid et primus dominus, si et secundus? Tertullian reports Marcion read κύριος for the 2nd ἄνθρωπος but apparently not a variant to him, as he explains it away, thus agreeing with Marcion, ℵ^{C} A D^{C} K P Ψ 81 104 614 1739mg *Byz* Lect syr$^{p, h, pal}$ goth arm *al.* Again comparing Genesis 2 :7 God to Marcion's

[161] AM 5.10.10 Cum enim dicit apostolus, Qualis qui de terra, homo scilicet, tales et terreni, homines utique, ergo et qualis qui de caelo homo, tales et qui de caelo homines; a broken up reading of the verse, so not exact wording

[162] AM 5.10.10 Sicut portavimus, inquit, imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis; Tertullian, Marcion read φορέσομων for-φορέσομεν with *p*^{46} ℵ A C D F G K L P *maj* Both Thdrt Clem Orig Epi OL:KDI vg, the UBS holds out with B, Clabeaux rates correct. He also rates - καὶ as correct with Ephrem, OL:KDI.

[163] AM 5.10.11 Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt 5.10.15 Caro et sanguis regnum dei non consequentur, similarily DA 5.26/Rufinus caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt which Clabeaux thinks is merely another OL:I witness. Marcion reads ⌐ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν for κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται support F G 1907 Boh Ophites apud Marcarium Chrys OL:DI, also ⌐ γὰρ for δε support D F G OL:DI

[164] AM 5.10.14 Resurgent enim mortui incorrupti, illi scilicet qui fuerant corrupti dilapsis corporibus in interitum. Et nos mutabimur

[165] AM 5.10.14 O portet enim corruptivum hoc, tenens utique carnem suam dicebat apostolus, induere incorruptelam, et mortale hoc immortalitatem

τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος. [166]
then will come to pass the word written, "Death is swallowed up in victory." (Isaiah 25:8)

15:55 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; [167]
"Where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting?" (Hosea 13:14 LXX)

15:56 τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος·
But the sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the Law;

15:57 τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [168]
but thanks be to God, the one giving us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

15:58 Ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι,
So then, my beloved brothers, be steadfast ones, be immoveable ones,

περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου πάντοτε, εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ.
abounding in the work of the Lord always, knowing that you labor in the Lord is not in vain.

16:23 ἡ χάρις [τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ] μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν. [169]
The grace [of the lord Jesus] be with you.

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[166] Epiphanius P42 ὅταν δὲ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος AD 2.18 τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος·

[167] AM 5.10.16 Si autem tunc fiet verbum quod scriptum est apud creatorem, Ubi est, mors, victoria tua vel contentio tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?

[168] AM 5.10.16 Nec alii deo gratias dicit quod nobis victoriam utique de morte referre praestiterit, quam illi a quo verbum insultatorium de morte et triumphatorium accepit. (1 Corinthians 15:56-57)

[169] Chapter 16, except for the standard Pauline sign off, is entirely constructed from pastiches of Pauline phrases, including the post-Marcionite Romans 16. The purpose appears to be tie the Epistles of Paul with Acts. The sign off is reconstructed here and appears to follow the form of apocryphal Romans 16:20 (curiously a WNI missing from D*vid, F, G, d, f, g, m, bodl Ambrosiaster Pelagiusms).

Marcionite 2 Corinthians Interliner

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh 14 June, 2013

1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ [1] διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ [καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς]
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God [, and the brother Timothy]

τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ [2] τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ,
to the churches that are in Corinth, with all the saints that are in all of Achaia

1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [3]
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ

1:3 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, [4]
I give thanks to the God of our Lord Jesus Christ,

ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν [5] καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως,
the father of compassion and God of all encouragement,

1:4 ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει
The one encouraging us with respect to all our afflictions so as to enable us to encourage all those afflicted

διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοι υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
through the encouragement by which we ourselves are encouraged by God.

1:5 ὅτι καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς,
That as the sufferings of Christ abounds in us,

οὕτως διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν.
so though Christ abounds also our encouragement.

1:6 εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παραπαθημάτων καὶ σωτηρίας·
Now whether we are being afflicted, [it is] for your encouragement and salvation;

εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως
or if we are being encouraged, [it is] for your encouragement

τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν.
producing in [you] endurance of the same sufferings which we also suffer.

1:7 καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
And our hope for you is firm,

εἰδότες ὅτι ὡς κοινωνοί ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων, οὕτως καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως. [6]
knowing that as you are sharing in the sufferings, so also of the encouragement.

[7] 1:20 ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τό Ναί· [8]

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[1] DA 2.12 Markus states Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

[2] After reviewing 1 Corinthians 11:16 it became clear that ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ is an expansion by the Catholic editor as 11:16 shows the Church Paul is addresses and the Church of God are separate entities. Thus τοῦ θεοῦ is a later expansion (see note 94 below). If there was a title to the Marcionites it was likely the church of the Saints ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων as in 14:33 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων (also Psalms 149:1). The rest of 1:1 is attested in the Latin Marcionite prologue to 1 Corinthians

[3] AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur

[4] AM 5.11.1 benedictus tamen deus domini nostri Iesu Christi reading – et Pater / καὶ πατὴρ which has no manuscript support, but fits the pattern we see where Marcion does not emphasize God the Father (compare Marcion Galatians 1:1 – καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς)

[5] AM 5.11.1 "the Father of mercies"

[6] Epiphanius P42 ὅτι καθάπερ κοινωνοί ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ τῆς δόξης

[7] Verses 1:8-19 appear to be a block insertion by the Catholic editor, weaving in bits like Sylvanus , Timothy, and Acts 19:21

[8] DA 2.18 (Adamatius) ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τό Ναί

For as many promises of God [there are], in him [is] the 'Yes;'

διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τό Ἀμήν τῷ θεῷ [9] πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν.
so also through him the Amen to for the glory of God through us.

1:21 ὁ δὲ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός,
But the one establishing us with you in Christ and having anointed us [is] God,

1:22 ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.
the one also having sealed us and having given earnestly the spirit in our hearts.

2:14 Τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
But thanks to God, the one always leading us ~ in Christ in triumph

καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δὶ ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ·
and the fragrance of his knowledge manifesting through us in every place;

2:15 ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις,
because we are an aroma ~ of Christ among those being saved and among those perishing.

2:16 οἷς μὲν ὀσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, οἷς δὲ ὀσμὴ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. [10]
to the latter a fragrance of death to death, but to the former life to life.

[11] 3:2 ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν,
You are our letter, having been written in our hearts,

γινωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
being known and read (comprehended) by all men,

3:3 φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν,
it is being manifested that you are a letter [from] Christ having been cared for by us.

ἐνγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ [ζῶντος],
not written with ink but with the spirit of the [living] God,

οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις [σαρκίναις]. [12]
not on tablets of stone but on tablets of hearts [of flesh].

3:7(b) καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. [13]
the new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the written letter kills, but the spirit gives life.

3:7 Εἰ δὲ ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ,
Now if the ministry of death in written letter having been carved in stones came with glory,

ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως
so that the sons of Israel are not able to gaze into the face if Moses.

διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην,
because of the glory of his face, which is fading,

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[9] Epiphanius Ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ναί· διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ

[10] DA 2.15 reads Τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δὶ ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ· ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ ὀσμὴ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. Epiphanius reads verse 2:15 – τῷ θεῷ with K. Typical of Marcion, he saw no need to mention the relationship of Christ to God. It's a clarification that fails, as the perishing don't smell the aroma, and they are the target, so it misses.

[11] The words καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός … συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν were added by the Catholic editor to moderate for the more casual believes, with emphasis worthy teachers. Letters of commendation are an awkward transition, betray the insertion.

[12] Verse 3:4-6(a) were inserted by the Catholic editor, the concept of Christ mediating to God simply isn't realated to the material about the letter of life on hearts and death on tablets from Moses. The discussion of competent ministry is from the pastoral era.

[13] AM 5.11.4 Therefore "the New Testament" will appertain to none other than Him who promised it----if not "its letter, yet its spirit;" Sic *et testamentum novum* non alterius erit quam qui illud repromisit; *etsi non littera*, *at eius spiritus*; (3:6) hoc erit novitas. Denique qui *litteram tabulis lapideis* inciderat,(3 :4)

3:8 πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ;
How rather will not the ministry of the spirit be in glory?

3:9 εἰ γὰρ ἡ διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξῃ.
For if the ministry of condemnation has glory, much rather the ministry of righteousness abounds in glory.

3:10 καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει εἵνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης
For indeed that being glorified has not been glorified in this respect, on account of the surpassing glory.

3:11 εἰ γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον διὰ δόξης, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον ἐν δόξῃ. [14]
For if that [which] is fading away [came] with glory, much more the thing remaining [is] in glory.

3:12 Ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα
Therefore having such hope, with much boldness we act.

3:13 καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ [15]
And not like Moses [who] put on a veil over his face

πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου.
so that the sons of Israel were not able to see the end of the thing fading away.

3:14 ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. [16]
But their minds (thoughts) were hardened.

ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει,
for before the present day the same veil at the reading of the old covenant remains,

μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενονὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· [17]
not being unveiled, because in Christ it is being abolished..

3:15 ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται· [18]
But until today whenever Moses is being read a veil lies over their heart;

3:16 ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸξ κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. [19]
but whenever one turns to [the] lord, the veil is taken away.

3:17 ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. [20]
Now the lord is the spirit; and where the spirit of [the] lord [is], [there is] freedom.

3:18 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι
Now we all, having had our faces unveiled, see the glory of [the] lord reflected [as] in a mirror,

τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος. [21]

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[14] AM 5.11.5 He alludes to Moses' veil, covered with which "his face could not be steadfastly seen by the children of Israel." Since he did this to maintain the superiority of the glory of the New Testament, which is permanent in its glory, over that of the Old, "which was to be done away,"
Commemorat et de velamine Moysi, *quo faciem tegebat incontemplabilem filiis Israel* Si ideo ut claritatem maiorem defenderet novi testamenti *quod manet in gloria*, quam *veteris* quod *evacuari habebat*,
[15] AM 5.11.5 showing that the veil which was on the face of Moses was a figure of the veil which is on the heart of the nation still; because even now Moses is not seen by them in heart, just as he was not then seen by them in eye. Figuram ostendit fuisse velamen faciei in Moyse velaminis cordis in populo, quia nec nunc apud illos perspiciatur Moyses corde, sicut nec facie tunc.
[16] AM 5.11.5 But then he says, "But their minds were blinded" of the world; At cum dicit, Sed obtunsi sunt sensus mundi. This reading looks like verse 4:4 with ἐτύφλωσε for ἐπωρώθη but with no manuscript support Tertulllian simply wrote obtunsi for obtusi
[17] AM 5.11.5 veteris quod evacuari
[18] AM 5.11.5 Of Israel he says, "Even unto this day the same veil is upon their heart;" De Israele enim dicit, Ad hodiernum *usque velamen idipsum in corde eorum*; Tertullian reads – ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς (whenever Moses is being read)
[19] AM 5.11.7 Cum vero converterit ad deum, auferetur velamen (note, Tertullian writes deum for dominum, not manuscript support)
[20] For the same concept of freedom in Christ compare Galatians 5:1 Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠγευθέρωσεν
[21] AM 5.11.8 So he says that "we now with open face" (meaning the candor of the heart, which in the Jews had been covered with a veil), "beholding Christ, are changed into the same image, from that glory" (wherewith Moses was transfigured as by the glory of the Lord) "to another glory." By thus setting forth the glory which illumined the person of Moses from his interview with God, and the

are being transformed [into] the same image, from glory to glory, even as from [the] lord, [who is] the spirit.

[22] 4:3 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐστὶν κεκαλυμμένον,
But if indeed our Gospel his been hidden, among those perishing it is hidden.

4:4 ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων
In whom the God of this age (world) blinded the minds (thoughts) of non believers

εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. [23]
so not to shine forth the light of the Gospel of Christ's glory, who is the image of God.

4:5 οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν.
For we do not preach, except for Christ Jesus the lord, and we are your slaves through Jesus.

4:6 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπών, Ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν
For it is the God who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," who shone in our hearts

πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ. [24]
for the shining of knowledge of his glory in the face of Christ.

4:7 Ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, [25]
Now we have this treasure in earthen vessels,

ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾖ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν·
that the excellence of the power may be God's and not ours.

4:8 ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι, ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι,
On every [side] being oppressed but not being crushed, being perplexed but not despairing,

4:9 διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι, καταβαλλόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι,
being persecuted, but not forsaken, being cast down but not destroyed,.

4:10 πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες,
always ~carrying with me the death of Jesus in our bodies.

ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ [26]

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veil which concealed the same from the infirmity of the people, and by super-inducing thereupon the revelation and the glory of the Spirit in the person of Christ "even as," to use his words, "by the Spirit of the Lord"
Dicit *ergo nos iam aperta facie*, utique cordis, quod velatum est in Iudaeis, *contemplantes* Christum eadem *imagine transfigurari a gloria*, qua scilicet et Moyses *transfigurabatur a gloria domini*, *in gloriam*. Ita corporalem Moysi illuminationem de congressu domini et corporale velamen de infirmitate populi proponens, et spiritalem revelationem et spiritalem claritatem in Christo superducens, *tanquam a domino*, inquit, *spirituum*

[22] Verses 4:1-2 intrude upon the narrative about viel of Moses that hides the Gospel, giving a digression against heresy, waring against those who falsifying of the word of God, δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, and claiming the truth is manifested τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας. The worry hear concerns the gnostics of the late 2nd century interpreting the prior verses as against God of Moses

[23] AM 5.11.9 "in whom the God of this world" Hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo: *In quibus deus aevi huius*, then adds: We (Catholics) discriminate against so we say: By God, then, of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers; Nos contra sic distinguendum dicimus: *In quibus deus*, dehinc: *aevi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium*; DA 2.21 (Markus) ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαὐγάσαι αὐτῶν τὸν φωτισμὸν Rufinius In quibus, inquit, deus huius saeculi excaecauit mentes infadelium, ut non fulgeat illuminatio euangelii. Note, Rufinus support no variants with εἰς (ut) against the Greek πρὸς: also AM 5.11.12 Persona autem dei Christus dominus. Unde et apostolus supra, *Qui est imago*, inquit, *dei*

[24] Epiphanius Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, DA 2.19 (but it's Adamantius speaking) ὁ θεὸς, ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι, ὃς εἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem fulgere, illuminauit in cordibus uestris lucem scientiae gloriae eius in persona Christi; Adamantius – Ἰησοῦ with B A 33, αὐτοῦ (eius) ^ τοῦ θεοῦ (Dei) with p^{46} C D* F G 326 1837, ὑμῶν ^ ἡμῶν with C 1505 1611 1881 2495 which is definitely incorrect. Tertullian AM 5.11.11 "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to the light of the knowledge in the face of Christ." *Quoniam deus, qui dixit ex tenebris lucem lucescere, reluxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem agnitionis suae in persona Christi*

[25] AM 5.11.14 autem eiusdem habeatur thesaurus in fictilibus vasis

[26] AM 5.11.15 Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro "That the life also of Christ may be manifested in our body." The full quotation includes reference to the first half of the verse (twice): in qua et mors Christi circumfertur, in qua et eminentia virtutis consecratur. Sed enim proponit, Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro, scilicet sicut et mors eius circumfertur in corpore.

that also the life of Jesus may be manifested in our bodies

4:11 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα διὰ Ἰησοῦν,
for always we, the living ones, are being given over to death because of Jesus,

ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν.
that also the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh.

4:12 ὥστε ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐν ὑμῖν.
So then death works in us, but life in you.

4:13 ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν, [27]
But having the same spirit of faith, and we believe, and therefore we speak,

4:14 εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν.
knowing that the one who raised the lord Jesus also will raise us with Jesus and present [us] with you..

4:15 τὰ γὰρ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσασα διὰ τῶν πλειόνων
For all things are because of you, that the grace, having increased through the many,

τὴν εὐχαριστίαν περισσεύσῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
may increase the thanksgiving to the glory of God..

4:16 Διὸ οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται,
Therefore we do not lose heart, but if indeed our outward man is decaying,

ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ. [28]
yet our inward [man] is being renewed day by day.

4:17 τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
For the lightness of our present affliction from excess to excess

αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν,
works out for us measuring of eternal glory,.

4:18 μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα·
we [are] not looking at thing seen but things not seen;

τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια.
for the things seen are temporary, but the things not seen are eternal.

5:1 Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ,
For we know that if our earthly house of our tabernacle is destroyed,

ἔχομεν οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
we have a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.

5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες,
For indeed in this we groan, longing to be clothed in our dwelling from heaven,

5:3 εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα.

Note, Marcion reads Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ in both places, D* D^2 F G reads Χριστοῦ and all but the best (B p^{46} א A C P 1739 33) read Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ but that makes it clear this reading is wrong Western reading. For the second only D* F G א read Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

[27] Epiphanius Ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν and Epiphanius explicitly cites ἐξέκοψεν δὲ τό "κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον" 'he amputated from according to that which is written', a concept alien to Marcion's Paul to follow any written word, as his Gospel is from revelation. He later in his explanation of the citation mentions that ἐπίστευσα διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα (Pslam 115:1 LXX) which was not cited in the quote is also missing.

[28] AM 5.11.16 He says, too, that "our outward man perishes," not meaning by an eternal perdition after death, but by labors and sufferings, in reference to which he previously said, "For which cause we will not faint." Now, when he adds of "the inward man" also, that it "is renewed day by day,"
exteriorem quidem hominem nostrum corrumpi dicens, et non quasi aeterno interitu post mortem, verum laboribus et incommodis, de quibus praemisit adiciens, *Et non deficiemus*. Nam et *interiorem hominem nostrum renovari de die in diem*

if indeed having been unclothed we will not be found naked.

5:4 καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκήνει στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, [29]
For indeed we who are in the tabernacle groan, burdened, in that we do not want to be unclothed but clothed,

ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. [30]
that the mortal may be swallowed up by the life.

5:5 ὁ δὲ κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεός, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος. [31]
but the one having made us for this thing is God, the one having given to us the earnest of spirit.

5:6 Θαρροῦντες οὖν πάντοτε καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου·
Therefore being confident always and knowing that being at home in the body we are away from the lord.

5:7 διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἴδους·
for by faith we walk, not by sight;

5:8 θαρροῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. [32]
but we are confident and pleased rather to be away from our home in the body and at home with the lord.

5:9 διὸ καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι.
Therefore also we aspire, whether being at home or away from home, wanting to be well pleasing to him.

5:10 τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
For it is necessary for all of us be revealed before the judgment seat of Christ,

ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον. [33]
that each may be recompensed for the things done in the body for things he did, whether good or bad..

[34] 5:16 Ὥστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἴδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα·
So that from now [on] we know no one according to the flesh;

εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν.
and if we had known Christ according to the flesh, but we no longer know [him thus].

5:17 ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν (τὰ πάντα) καινά. [35]
So that if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old has passed away, behold he has become new!

7:1(b) καθαρίσωμεν [οὖν] ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, [36]

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[29] AM 5.12.1 Terreni domicilii nostri non sic ait <habere nos domum aeternam, non manu factam, in caelo,> quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intereat in totum dissoluta post mortem. Haec enim ad mortis metum et ad ipsius dissolutionis contristationem consolandam retractans etiam per sequentia manifestius, <cum subicit ingemere> nos de isto tabernaculo corporis terreni, <quod de caelo est superindui cupientes>;<siquidem et despoliati non inveniemur nudi>, id est recipiemus quod despoliati sumus, id est corpus. Et rursus: <Etenim qui sumus in isto tabernaculo corporis, ingemimus quod gravemur, nolentes exui sed superindui>.
Tertullian has to make the comment quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intereat in totum dissoluta post mortem concerning verse 5:1 quote precisely because Marcion did not have οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ (aedificationem ex Deo) which must have been added by the Catholic editor to highlight that the Creator God builds (edifies) the eternal home, something not accepted by the Heretics.
[30] AM 5.12.3 Tertullian revisits verse 5:4 stating uti devoretur mortale hoc a vita
[31] AM 5.12.4 Tertullian paraphrasing et arrabonem nos spiritus dicit a deo habere
[32] AM 5.12.4 Tertullian paraphrasing et abesse a domino, quamdiu in carne sumus, ac propterea debere boni ducere abesse potius a corpore et esse cum domino
[33] DA 1.16 (Adamantius) paraphrases ἕκαστος παρὰ Χριστοῦ κομίζεται εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον 'everyone receives from Christ either good or evil' But Tertullian quotes in full AM 5.12.4 'And we said that we must all appear (manifestari) before the judgment seat of Christ to such an extent that it may receive every one of the things that has allowed it through the body, whether good or evil.' Atque adeo omnes ait nos oportere manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus admisit sive bonum sive malum.
[34] There are problems with vocabulary and with the content of 5:11-15, which intrude upon the discussion of transforming from the ways of the flesh to that of the spirit, in its digression about various tangential topics. Much of this conflicts with Marcionite teaching.
[35] DA 2.16 (Markus) εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ πάντα καινά; AM 5.12.6 "If therefore any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old; things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia (Marcion incorrectly reads + τὰ πάντα all but best B p46 א C D* D1 F G 1739 Clement)
[36] AM 5.12.6 He enjoins us "to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and blood" Si etiam iubet ut *mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis*, note Marcion apparently reads αἵματος for πνεύματος, without manuscriot support.

[Therefore] let us cleanse ourselves from the defilements of the flesh and blood,

11:2 (b) ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἅγιον παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ· [37]
for I have bethrothed you to the one man (groom) (as) a holy virgin to present (you) to Christ;

11:3 φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὔαν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, [38]
But I fear lest as the serpent deceived Eve in his cunning,

φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος [καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος] τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.
your thoughts should be corrupted from the simplicity [and the purity] which [is] to Christ.

11:4 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν,
For if indeed comes another who proclaims [a] Jesus whom we did not proclaim,

ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε.
or you receive another spirit that you had not received, or another Gospel you did not accept,

11:13 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι [39] εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ.
For such ones are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ.

11:14 καὶ οὐ θαῦμα, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός. [40]
And [it is] not amazing, for ~ Satan himself transforms himself into an Angel of light.

11:15 οὐ μέγα οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῖ μετασχηματίζονται ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης,
It [is not] a great thing if also his ministers transform themselves into ministers of righteousness;

ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. [41]
of whom the end shall be according to their works.

[42] 12:7(b) διὸ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι,
Wherefore, lest I should be too exhalted,

ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ, ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι.
I was given this thorn to my flesh, an angel of Satan, so to beat me, lest I should be too exhalted.

12:8 ὑπὲρ τούτου τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. [43]
As to this three times the lord I besought that depart from me.

12:9 καὶ εἴρηκέν μοι, Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου, [44]
But he said to me, 'be content with my grace for you,'

13:1 Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. [45]
This is the third time I am coming to you; by the mouth of two or three witnesses will be established every word

---

[37] Tertullian paraphrases in AM 5.12.6 Si et *virginem* sanctam *destinat* ecclesiam *adsignare Christo*, *utique ut sponsam sponso*; note: AM reads sanctam = ἅγιον 'holy', VG castam = ἁγνὴν 'pure' with no manuscript support. Maybe this is a deliberate adjustment by Tertullian to signify the association of the holy church with virginity that Marcion ruined, or more generally that the church was virgin before the 2nd century heretics arose. However, ἁγνὴν is Catholic vocabularly and found elsewhere only in 1 Peter 3:2, James 3:17.
[38] An allusion to Genesis 3:1ff, see 3:4. Note LXX Genesis 3:20 she is called Ζωή mother of all living μήτηρ πᾶς ὁ ζάω, but 4:1 Εὔαν
[39] AM 5.12.6 Si et pseudapostolos dicit operarios dolosos transfiguratores sui
[40] AM 5.12.7 Si transfiguratur satanas in angelum lucis, perhaps alluded to also in 3.8.3 negatam ab apostolo lucis, id est veritatis, et fallaciae, id est tenebrarum, commisit communicationem.
[41] This statement is consistent with 2 Corinthians 5 :10
[42] Verses 11:16-12:7a are not attested in Marcion
[43] An allusion to 12:7-8 in AM 5.12.8 Magis vero mirabor dominum optimum, percutiendi et saeviendi alienum, nec proprium saltem sed creatoris angelum satanae colaphizando apostolo suo applicuisse, et ter ab eo obsecratum non concessisse.
[44] Tertullian found it necessary to allude to Job i.12 Aut numquid ipse est qui et in corpus Iob dedit satanae potestatem, *ut virtus in infirmitate comprobaretur* without mention of 2 Corinthians 12:9 (*virtus in infirmitate perficitur*) because this phrase was missing that he knew in the Catholic text, so he uses his technique we see elsewhere of implying the Old Testament parallel with Marcion's text.
[45] AM 5.12.9 in tribus testibus praefini ens staturum omne verbum, and DA 2.18 Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. Rufinus Ecce hoc tertio uenio ad uos. In ore enim duorum et trium testium stabit omne uerbum ; note DA reads ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων for μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν with 1 1735; also transposing καὶ τριῶν before μαρτύρων with 075 33 1739 2464 6 630 629 vg. This is a late variant. And its not clear DA is even quoting from the Marcionite or Catholic text.

13:2 προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν,
I foretold and said before, when present the second but absent now, those who previously sinned and all the rest

ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι, [46]
that if I come again I will not spare,

[47] 13:10 διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι
Therefore I write ~ these things, that when I am present I will not [have to] treat you with severity,

κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι, [48] [49]
according to the power (authority) which the lord gave me.

13:13 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν. [50]
The grace of the lord Jesus Christ be with you.

---

[46] Reference to 13:2 in AM 5.12.9 Quid et non parsurum se peccatoribus comminatur, lenissimi dei praedicator?

[47] Verses 13:3-9 are not attested in Marcion, also part of segment identified by Winsome Munro as pastoral layer with several antithetic parallels, e.g., δοκιμὴν ... ἀδόκιμοι, δυνάμεως ... ἀσθενοῦμεν,

[48] Tertullian paraphrases 13:10 in AM 5.12.9 Immo et ipsam durius agendi in praesentia potestatem a domino datam sibi affirmat

[49] Verses 13:10b-12 appears to be Catholic additions. The pastoral term οἰκοδομὴν / aedificationem (see Munro) is not found in Marcion. The usage here parallels exactly the usage in verse 10:8, part of the pastoral 'severe' letter. Munro identifies 10:6, 8-11, 13:1-10 as part the antithetical pastoral layer. The use of the word ἀσπάσασθε is only securely in the Catholic addition of Romans 16 and 1 Corinthians 16, and can eb discounted from Marcion (DA 1.5 quotation of Colossians 4:10-11, 14 is not Marcionite text – see my notes). The Holy Kiss seems to be an additional ritual added later by the Orthodoxy. The other platitudes are likely scribal additions to the terse Marcionite endings.

[50] Most likely only the simplest ending form of the Pauline ending in verse 13: 13, which can be found in Colossians 4:18b of ἡ χάρις μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν stood. That this same form is found in 1 & 2 Timothy which were based on the early Pauline collection

The Marcionite Romans:
Interlinear with Reconstruction Notes

(*Romans* 1:1-5:11)

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Contents

Contents....3
Preface....4
Rough draft....4
Reconstruction methodology....4
Sources and abbreviations....5
Colour coding system....5
English sub-line....7
Brackets....8
Verse numbering, paragraph headings and text format....8
Final comments....9
The Marcionite Prologue....10
[Paul's Epistle] to [the] Romans....11
[Greeting]....11
[Purpose of the letter]....12
[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]....13
[False security in the law and circumcision]....16
[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]....18

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Preface

Rough draft

This reconstruction of *Romans* is unfinished and is a rough draft. It presently only includes the first few chapters of *Romans*. Before publishing the complete and finished version of the reconstruction it is likely that I will make changes and corrections, as I refine and check my work.

If you notice any errors or mistakes I would be very grateful if you could let me know; my e-mail address is:

Melissa@Marcionite-Scripture.info

Reconstruction methodology

No manuscripts of the Marcionite version of *Romans* are known to have survived. However, several ancient Catholic writers wrote books arguing against the Marcionites, and in those writings they quoted from the Marcionite bible extensively and described the differences between it and their own scriptures. By examining their quotes and comparing their descriptions with the conventional bible, the Marcionite version can be reconstructed.

I have aimed to use a reconstruction methodology that is balanced: neither including text that was obviously absent from the Marcionite version, nor excluding text with insufficient evidence. I have not assumed that everything which contradicted ancient Marcionite views was absent[a]; but, equally I have recognized that verses which obviously, strongly and directly support the arguments of the ancient Catholics would have been quoted by them if they had been present in the Marcionite text. I feel that many of the reconstructions that have previously been published have failed to strike a balance here. Some reconstructions (such as that of Von Harnack) were done with the assumption that the Catholic version was the original, and that Marcion removed everything that contradicted this views, while others (such as the reconstructions published by Robert Prince and Frank Reitzenstein) have included many passages in spite of evidence that they were absent from the Marcionite text (see for example *Romans* 1:2-6 and 1:19-2:1).

In some places I have tried make the reader aware of more than one possible interpretation of the evidence, and use square brackets to section off text that may or may not have been present in the Marcionite text. I do this especially in places where I am less certain about the best way to reconstruct the text, in places where a passage is hard to judge, or where my knowledge of Greek may be insufficient to allow me to adequately make an assessment. In some places I include passages that were probably absent from the Marcionite text, simply to make the reader aware of alternative possibilities (such passages are bracketed off from the rest of the text. In all cases the corresponding footnotes should provide an explanation.

a I have tried to avoid even assuming that the descriptions of ancient Marcionite beliefs given to us by their ancient adversaries are entirely accurate; though, I must assume that they were correct on the most basic points.

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Serious doubts have been raised about the reliability of *The Dialogues of Adamantius* as a source for reconstructing the Marcionite text[b], and so for the time being I have not used this source in my reconstruction. I plan to review this decision when I have had time to research the issue and examine that source more thoroughly.

Sources and abbreviations

In order to assist any readers who struggle to read Greek or Latin I have quoted my sources in a mixture of English and the original language. In places were the precise wording of the source is important to ensure a precise reconstruction I quote in the original language, in places where the precise wording is not critical to the reconstruction process I have quoted an English translation of the source, or provided my own translation.

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

- *Adversus Marcionem* by Tertullian, referred by the abbreviations A.M. and T. respectively;
- The *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis, referred to by the abbreviations P. and E. respectively;
- The *Commentary on John* and the *Commentary on Romans*, by Origen, referred to by the abbreviations C.J., C.R. and O respectively.

This reconstruction is currently based primarily on *Adversus Marcionem* book 5, chapters 13-14 (Tertullian's commentary on the Marcionite version of *Romans*) and *Panarion*, book 42 as these are the two main sources from which the text can be reconstructed. I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Colour coding system

The colour of the text indicates how the text has been reconstructed, and the reliability of the reconstruction in that place.

Red: suspect text

This colour is used to denote text that is highly suspect. It is likely that this text was absent from the Marcionite version; if it was present it was probably different to the traditional version of the passage, and we de not have sufficient information to reproduce those differences. Sometimes red is used in places where I have included text in the reconstruction even though I believe it was absent from the Marcionite *Romans* in order to make the reader aware of other possible interpretations of the evidence. See the corresponding footnotes for further explanation. The red text in this reconstruction is identical to the corresponding text in the long version of *Romans*.

b See *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion* by John J. Clabeaux.

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Orange: no information

This colour indicates that I am not aware of any information about the Marcionite version of this text, and am incorporating the long version of *Romans* into the reconstruction by default. This indicates places where the do not know the Marcionite version of the text, though there is no reason to believe that it was different from the long version.

Brown: presence confirmed

This colour is used to indicate passages that were definitely present in the Marcionite version of *Romans*. This has usually been confirmed by a reference or allusion to them in one of the reconstruction sources. There is no reason to believe that the wording of these verses were different to the wording of the long version of the text, but equally no reason to assume that it was the same. The long version of the text is reproduced in these places.

Green: meaning known, wording uncertain

This colour indicates places where I am confidant the reconstruction matches the meaning of the Marcionite text, though the precise wording may be uncertain. In these places I am usually working from a rough description or a paraphrase of the Marcionite text contained in the reconstruction sources.

Bright turquoise: wording probably known

This colour indicates places where the precise wording of the Marcionite text is not known for certain, but was probably the same as the wording of the long version of *Romans*. Usually I am working from a rough description or paraphrase which indicates that the two versions were the same. The long version of the text is reproduced in these places.

Dark turquoise: precise paraphrase

This colour is used to indicate places were the Marcionite text is known word for word from a precise paraphrase in one of the sources.

Light blue: direct quote (translated)

This colour indicates places where the Marcionite text is known from a direct quote, but the quote is a Latin translation of the text rather than in Greek. If that Latin quote indicates that the Marcionite version and the long version of the text were the same, then the Greek from the long version of *Romans* is reproduced to avoid incorporating Latin-Greek translation errors into the reconstruction. If the source indicates that the Marcionite text is different to the long version of the text, then the quote is incorporated into the reconstruction in Latin.

Dark blue: direct quote (Greek)

This colour indicates places where the Marcionite is known from a direct quote in the

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original language.

Summary of the colour coding scheme: blue shades indicate places where the Marcionite text is known with the highest degree of certainty; red and brown indicate places where there is little information about the Marcionite version of the text; green is between these two extremes and indicate places where the meaning of the Marcionite text is reliably known, though not necessarily it's wording.

At first glance it may seem like there are large portions of the text where we have very little information about the Marcionite version; this is true, however it must be remembered that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages that where controversial, and on places where there were important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are the places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

English sub-line

In order to assist any readers who struggle to read Greek or Latin, I have included an English sub-line in this reconstruction. Due to the grammatical differences of Greek and English, the word order of an English translation frequently does not match the word order of the Greek. In an interlinear presentation, the English line must be arranged in an order that matches the Greek, resulting in a translation that can be very confusing in places. In some places I have resolved this by putting numbers in subscript next to English words to indicate the order in which they should be read.

There are also many words in the Greek text which can be omitted completely from the English translation for grammatical reasons. For example in Greek the word for "the" is frequently placed before names. These words are included in the sub-line but in "strike through" format (~~like this~~) to indicate that they are redundant in English and should be ignored.

For example the start of verse 1:9 looks like this:

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ω ΛΑΤΡΕΥΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΜΟΥ…
[1:9] witness$_{5}$ For$_{1}$ my$_{4}$ is$_{3}$ ~~the~~ God$_{2}$ (whom$_{6}$ I$_{7}$-serve$_{8}$ in$_{9}$ ~~the~~ spirit$_{11}$ my$_{10}$ …

If you want to know the meaning of any Greek word you just have to look at the English word(s) below it. If you want to know the meaning of the sentence then ignore the crossed out English words, and when you encounter a cluster of numbered words, read them in the order indicated by the numbers.

E.g.: For$_{1}$ God$_{2}$ is$_{3}$ my$_{4}$ witness$_{5}$ (whom$_{6}$ I$_{7}$-serve$_{8}$ in$_{9}$ my$_{10}$ spirit$_{11}$…

The numbers restart from one at the beginning of each new verse.

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Brackets

Square brackets are used for a number of purposes, the context or footnotes should indicate the purpose in each place.

In places where a word must be inserted into the English translation for grammatical reasons the word is in enclosed in square brackets to indicate that it does not directly correspond to any word in the Greek text. I may occasionally also add English words in square brackets to explain idioms or cultural references that may confuse a modern reader, or simply to clarify the meaning of the text.

In places where the Marcionite text survives in Latin rather than Greek, square brackets are used to section off the Latin text from the surrounding Greek. The corresponding part of the English translation is also bracketed off in the sub-line.

There are places where the sources used to reconstruct the Marcionite text contradict one another; there was evidently variation within copies of the Marcionite text, just as there was significant variation within the Catholic scriptures at that time. In some places I have chosen one source preferentially over another, while in others square brackets are used to describe the differences between sources. In both cases the footnotes contain further discussion. Square brackets are sometimes also used to section off text which corresponds to comments in footnotes and to enclose text that I suspect is an interpolation (this too is discussed in the footnotes).

Verse numbering, paragraph headings and text format

For convenient referencing the reconstructed text is divided into chapters and verses using the same system as the long version of *Romans*. These are enclosed in square brackets and placed only in the English sub-line, as they were not present in the Marcionite text. In places where a number of verses are present only in the long edition of the text, a reference to the passage is placed in the sub-line (e.g. [1:2-6]) so that the reader can quickly see the differences between the two versions of the document.

The passage headings found in many English translations are also not part of the original text, and are added by translators. I have ignored the traditional paragraph headings, and composed new ones that correspond better to the structure of the Marcionite version of this epistle. Like the verse numbers, these are enclosed in square brackets.

It is probable that the original epistle of *Romans* did not contain any pronunciation marks, punctuation, or paragraph divisions. These things were added later as the Greek language evolved. As a result I have not incorporated the pronunciation markings found in the long version of the text and punctuation is included only in the English sub-line (though in most places it corresponds to the punctuation that was later added to the long version of *Romans*). I have ignored all paragraph divisions and passage headings in existing bibles and divided the text into paragraphs using my own judgement as to the most logical grouping of sentences.

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Places where the reconstructed Marcionite text differs from the long version of the text are underlined, as these are likely to be of interest to the reader.

Final comments

My knowledge of Greek and Latin is very limited. I am taking on the task of reconstructing the Marcionite version of *Romans*, not because I am particularly qualified or suited it; but rather, because I feel it is of the utmost importance that detailed reconstructions of the Marcionite scriptures be made freely available to people as soon as possible, and in spite of my limitations I believe that my efforts will be better than nothing.

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The Marcionite Prologue

Romani sunt in partibus Italiae. hi praeventi sunt a falsis
[The] Romans are in [the] region [of] Italy. They [had been] reached-first by false

apostolis et sub nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi in legem et
apostles, and under [the] name [of the] Lord of-us Jesus Christ into [the] law and [the]

prophetas erant inducti. hos revocat apostolus ad veram evangelicam
prophets were led. They [are] called-back [by the] apostle to [the] true evangelical

fidem scribens eis a Corintho.
faith, writing [to] them from Corinth.[a]

a The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin (not including the prologues to the Pastoral Epistles); I am inclined to accept this conclusion, even though it is unproven.

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ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ
[Paul's Epistle] to [the] Romans

[Greeting]

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΛΗΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΦΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ
[1:1] Paul, [a] slave of-Jesus Christ, called [to be] [an] apostle, set-apart for

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ
[the] good-news of-God. [1:2-6][a]

ΠΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΡΩΜΗ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΛΗΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ
[1:7] To-all those who-are in Rome, beloved [ones] of-God, called [to be] saints.

ΧΑΡΙΣ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ
Good-will to-you and peace from God, father of-us, and [the] lord Jesus

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
Christ.[b]

---

a <1:2-6> If these verses had been present in the Marcionite version of *Romans* then Epiphanius and Tertullian would have quoted them to support their arguments. Furthermore ancient greetings were consistently very short and simple; this very long and distended text shows signs of being an interpolation. Origen's statements in *C.J.* 10:4 could be interpreted as indicating that this text was absent from the Marcionite version. *C.J.* 10:4:

> Statements which are verbally contrary to each other, are made about our Lord, namely, that He was descended from David and that He was not descended from David. The statement is true, "He was descended from David," as the Apostle says, "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," if we apply this to the bodily part of Him; but the self-same statement is untrue if we understand His being born of the seed of David of His diviner power; for He was declared to be the Son of God with power. And for this reason too, perhaps, the sacred prophecies speak of Him now as a servant, and now as a Son. They call Him a servant on account of the form of a servant which he wore, and because He was of the seed of David, but they call Him the Son of God according to His character as first-born. Thus it is true to call Him man and to call Him not man; man, because He was capable of death; not man, on account of His being diviner than man. Marcion, I suppose, took sound words in a wrong sense, when he rejected His birth from Mary, and declared that as to His divine nature He was not born of Mary, and hence made bold to delete from the Gospel the passages which have this effect.

b <1:7> *A.M.* 5:5:1-2:

> My preliminary remarks on the preceding epistle [*Galatians*] called me away from treating of its superscription, for I was sure that another opportunity would occur for considering the matter, it being of constant recurrence, and **in the same form too, in every epistle**. The point, then, is, that it is not (the usual) health which the apostle prescribes for those to whom he writes, but gratiam et pacem. I do not ask, indeed, what a destroyer of Judaism has to do with a formula which the Jews still use. For to this day they salute each other with the greeting of "peace," and formerly in their Scriptures they did the same. But I understand him by his practice plainly enough to have corroborated the declaration of the Creator: "How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good, who preach the gospel of peace!" [*Isaiah* 52:7] For the herald of good, that is, of God's "grace" was well aware that along with it "peace" also was to be proclaimed. Now, when he announces these blessings as "from God the Father and the Lord Jesus,"

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ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΜΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ
[1:8] First indeed I-give-thanks to-the God of-me through Jesus Christ on-account

ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΟΤΙ Η ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΛΩ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ
of-all of-you, because the faith of-you is-celebrated in [the] whole the world.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ω ΛΑΤΡΕΥΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΜΟΥ
[1:9] witness$_{5}$ For$_{1}$ my$_{4}$ is$_{3}$ ~~the~~ God$_{2}$ (whom$_{6}$ I$_{7}$-serve$_{8}$ in$_{9}$ ~~the~~ spirit$_{11}$ my$_{10}$

ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΩ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΩΣ ΑΔΙΑΛΕΙΠΤΩΣ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΥΜΩΝ
in$_{12}$ the$_{13}$ good$_{14}$-news$_{15}$ of$_{16}$ ~~the~~ son$_{18}$ his$_{17}$), how$_{19}$ unceasingly$_{20}$ mention$_{23}$ of$_{24}$-you$_{25}$

ΠΟΙΟΥΜΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΩΝ ΜΟΥ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙ ΠΩΣ ΗΔΗ
I$_{21}$-make$_{22}$, [1:10] always in the prayers of-me asking, if somehow now

ΠΟΤΕ ΕΥΟΔΩΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ
some-time [or another] [I shall] succeed (in the will [of] ~~the~~ God) to-come

ΠΡΟΣ ΥΜΑΣ
to you.

[Purpose of the letter]

ΕΠΙΠΟΘΩ ΓΑΡ ΙΔΕΙΝ ΥΜΑΣ ΙΝΑ ΤΙ ΜΕΤΑΔΩ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ ΥΜΙΝ
[1:11] I$_{2}$-long$_{3}$ For$_{1}$ to$_{4}$-see$_{5}$ you$_{6}$, that$_{7}$ some$_{11}$ I$_{8}$-may$_{9}$-share$_{10}$ gift$_{13}$ [with$_{14}$-]you$_{15}$

ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΗΡΙΧΘΗΝΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΣΤΙΝ
spiritual$_{12}$, for$_{16}$ ~~the~~ to$_{18}$-be-$_{19}$strengthened$_{20}$ you$_{17}$. [1:12] This yet is, [that we may]

ΣΥΜΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΕΝ ΥΜΙΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΥΜΩΝ
be-comforted-together, among you through the [that$_{2}$ is$_{3}$] in$_{4}$ each$_{5}$-other$_{6}$ faith$_{1}$, yours$_{8}$

ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΟΥ ΘΕΛΩ ΔΕ ΥΜΑΣ ΑΓΝΟΕΙΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ
both$_{7}$ and mine. [1:13] Not I-want yet you to-remain-ignorant, brethren, that often

ΠΡΟΕΘΕΜΗΝ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΥΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΩΛΥΘΗΝ ΑΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΡΟ ΙΝΑ ΤΙΝΑ
I-purposed to-be-coming to you, (and was-hindered until the present) that some

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he uses titles that are common to both, and which are also adapted to the mystery of our faith;…

Tertullian's statements above come from his commentary on *Corinthians*; they could be interpreted as confirming that the greeting of "Grace and Peace" was the same in all epistles in the Marcionite version, however it is unlikely that Tertullian made a carefully study of all of the greetings in the Marcionite epistles before making this statement. It is more likely that he is simply basing this on his knowledge of the Catholic version of the epistles, and so I have not incorporated this quote into my reconstruction of *Romans*.

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ΚΑΡΠΟΝ ΣΧΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΟΙΠΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ
fruit I-might-be-having also among you, as also among the other nations.

ΕΛΛΗΣΙΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ ΣΟΦΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΟΗΤΟΙΣ ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΗΣ
[1:14] to-Greeks$_{2}$ Both$_{1}$ and to-barbarians, to-wise both and to-simple, a-debtor

ΕΙΜΙ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤ ΕΜΕ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ
I-am. [1:15] So, that according-to me, [I am] eager also$_{2}$ to-you$_{3}$, the$_{4}$ [ones]$_{5}$ in$_{6}$

ΡΩΜΗ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ
Rome$_{7}$ to-announce-[the]-good-news$_{1}$.

[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΑΙΣΧΥΝΟΜΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ
[1:16] not$_{4}$ For$_{1}$ I$_{2}$-am$_{3}$-ashamed$_{5}$ [of]$_{6}$ the$_{7}$ good$_{8}$-news$_{9}$, [the$_{13}$] power$_{14}$ for$_{10}$ of$_{15}$-God$_{16}$

ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩ ΤΕ____ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙ
it$_{11}$-is$_{12}$ for$_{17}$ salvation$_{18}$ to$_{19}$-all$_{20}$ the$_{21}$ faithful$_{22}$, [to$_{23}$] Jew$_{25}$ both$_{24}$__and$_{26}$ Greek$_{27}$.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΤΑΙ ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ
[1:17] [the]$_{2}$ righteousness$_{3}$ For$_{1}$ of-God in him/it is-revealed, from faith into

ΠΙΣΤΙΝ__ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΡΓΗ__ΑΠ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΕΠΙ [...][c] ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ
faith____.[d] [1:18] revealed$_{6}$ [is$_{4}$] also$_{5}$ Wrath$_{1}$_from$_{2}$ heaven$_{3}$, on$_{7}$ [the$_{8}$] impiety$_{9}$

ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΑΔΙΚΙΑ
and$_{10}$ unrighteousness$_{11}$ of$_{12}$-people$_{13}$, ~~the~~ [who$_{14}$] the$_{16}$ truth$_{17}$ ~~in~~ [by$_{18}$] unrighteousness$_{19}$

ΚΑΤΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ _____
holding-down/suppress$_{15}$;___[1:19-1:28][e]__

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c <1:18> By translating from Latin and taking into account the rules of Greek grammar we can determine that the Greek word here was "ΤΗΝ".

d <1:16-18> *A.M.* 5, 13, 2:

> And so in the passage where he says: Non enim me pudet evangelii, virtus enim dei est in salutem omni credenti, Iudaeo et Graeco, quia iustitia dei in eo revelatur ex fide in fidem, he undoubtedly ascribes both the gospel and salvation to Him whom (in accordance with our heretic's own distinction) I have called the just God, not the good one. It is He who removes (men) from confidence in the law to faith in the gospel----that is to say, His own law and His own gospel. Quoniam et iram dicit revelari de caelo super impietatem et iniustitiam hominum qui veritatem in iniustitia detineant.

e <1:19-28> Tertullian's quote of verse 2:2 (*A.M.* 5, 13, 3) indicates that in the Marcionite text it followed shortly after 1:18. There is a great deal here that Tertullian and Epiphanius could have used in their arguments, such as people being condemned for failing to worship the creator in verse 1:25. "what serious gaps Marcion has made in this epistle" – Tertullian in *A.M.* 5:13:4, the entire passage is quoted in the footnote for verse 2:2 to provide the context of Tertullian's statement.

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[f]

ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΣΗ ΑΔΙΚΙΑ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΞΙΑ ΚΑΚΙΑ
[1:29] having-been-filled with-every unrighteousness, wickedness, greed, evil,

ΜΕΣΤΟΥΣ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ ΦΟΝΟΥ ΕΡΙΔΟΣ ΔΟΛΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΨΙΘΥΡΙΣΤΑΣ
full of-envy, of-murder, of-strife, of-deceit, bad-character, gossips,

ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΣΤΥΓΕΙΣ ΥΒΡΙΣΤΑΣ ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΛΑΖΟΝΑΣ ΕΦΕΥΡΕΤΑΣ
[1:30] Slanderers, haters-of-God, violent/insulting, proud, boasters inventors

ΚΑΚΩΝ ΓΟΝΕΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΕΙΘΕΙΣ ΑΣΥΝΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΣΥΝΘΕΤΟΥΣ
of-evil, to$_2$-parents$_3$ disobedient$_1$, [1:31] without-understanding, covenant-breakers,

ΑΣΤΟΡΓΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΛΕΗΜΟΝΑΣ
without-affection, without-mercy

ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΟΤΙ ΤΟ ΚΡΙΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ
[1:32-2:1][g] [2:2] we$_2$-know$_3$ Yet$_1$, that the judgement [of-]~~the~~ God on-the-basis-of truth

ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΛΗΜΨΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ
it-is[h]. [2:3-10][i] [2:11] no$_4$ For$_1$ [there]$_2$ is$_3$ favouritism with ~~the~~ God.

f <1:29-31> Tertullian's quotation of the Marcionite version of *Romans* in *A.M.* 5:13:3 indicates that in the Marcionite version, verse 2:2 followed shortly after verse 1:18; this means that most of 1:19-2:1 must have been absent from the Marcionite text. It is also apparent from the text of the long version of *Romans* itself that 2:2 should have followed shortly after 1:18. Whilst I am certain that 1:19-1:28 and 1:32-2:1 are interpolated, I am less certain about 1:29-31; perhaps this small portion of text can sit between 1:18 and 2:1 without disrupting the flow of those two verses; then again, perhaps 2:1 should follow immediately after 1:18. I have included it in brackets because of this uncertainty.

g <1:32-2:1> These statements about God's judgement would have been quoted by Tertullian and Epiphanius if they have been present in the Marcionite text.

h <2:2> *A.M.* 5:13:3-4:

> (I ask) the wrath of what God? Of the Creator certainly. The truth, therefore, will be His, whose is also the wrath, which has to be revealed to avenge the truth. Likewise, when adding, Scimus autem iudicium dei secundum veritatem esse, he both vindicated that wrath from which comes this judgment for the truth, and at the same time afforded another proof that the truth emanates from the same God whose wrath he attested, by witnessing to His judgment. Marcion's averment is quite a different matter, that the Creator in anger avenges Himself on the truth of the rival god which had been detained in unrighteousness. But what serious gaps Marcion has made in this epistle especially, by withdrawing whole passages at his will, will be clear from the unmutilated text of our own copy. It is enough for my purpose to accept in evidence of its truth what he has seen fit to leave unerased, strange instances as they are also of his negligence and blindness.

I suspect that the clause "επι τους τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντας" ("upon those who do such things") was absent from the Marcionite version of this passage. I have interpreted Tertullian's quote above as an exact quote, in which case it is unlikely that he would have stopped quoting mid sentence.

i <2:3-6> This passage on God's judgement and condemnation of men would have strengthened

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ΟΣΟΙ_ΑΝΟΜΩΣ ΗΜΑΡΤΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΟΙ ΕΝ
[2:12] Whoever_without-law sinned, without-law also shall-perish, and whoever in

ΝΟΜΩ ΗΜΑΡΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΚΡΙΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΑΚΡΟΑΤΑΙ
law sinned, through law shall-be-judged/condemned. [2:13] not$_2$ For$_1$ the hearers

ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΑΛΛ ΟΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ
of-the law [are] righteous-ones with the God, but the doers of-the law

ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΘΝΗ ΤΑ ΜΗ ΝΟΜΟΝ
shall-be-regarded-as-righteous.[j] ([2:14] when$_2$ For$_1$ Gentiles (th[os]e not a-law

ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΠΟΙΩΣΙΝ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΜΗ
having), by-nature the[-thing]s of-the law may-do,[k] these the-law not

ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΝΟΜΟΣ ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΝΔΕΙΚΝΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ
having, to-themselves are a-law. [2:15] [They-]who show the work of-the

ΝΟΜΟΥ ΓΡΑΠΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ
law written in the hearts of-them, testifying-together [with] their ~~the~~

ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ Η
conscience, and between each-other ~~of~~-the[ir] thoughts accusing, or

ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΟΤΕ ΚΡΙΝΕΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ
even defending [them]) [2:16] in [the] day when shall-be-judging/condemning$_2$ ~~the~~ God$_1$

ΤΑ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ__
the secrets of-~~the~~ people, (according-to the Gospel of-me), through Christ __[l].

Tertullian's argument significantly if he had been present in the Marcionite text. It continues the theme of 1:32-2:1.

j <2:12-13> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 1(28). "Ὅσοι ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται"

k <2:14> *A.M.* 5:13:4:

> ... If, then, God will judge the secrets of men----both of those who have sinned in the law, and of those who have sinned without law (quia et hi legem ignorant et natura faciunt quae sunt legis) ----surely the God who shall judge is He to whom belong both the law, and that nature which is the rule to them who know not the law. But how will He conduct this judgment?

l <2:16> *A.M.* 5, 13, 4-5:

> If, then, God will judge the secrets of men----both of those who have sinned in the law, and of those who have sinned without law (inasmuch as they who know not the law yet do by nature the things contained in the law) ----surely the God who shall judge is He to whom belong both the law, and that nature which is

[False security in the law and circumcision]

ΕΙ ΔΕ ΣΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΖΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΝΑΠΑΥΗ ΝΟΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΥΧΑΣΑΙ
[2:17] If yet you a-Jew are-called, and rely-on [the] law, and are-boasting in

ΕΝ ΘΕΩ ΚΑΙ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ
in God, [2:18] and you-know the will [of God], and discern the important [things],

ΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΠΕΠΟΙΘΑΣ ΤΕ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΔΗΓΟΝ
being-taught out-of the law, [2:19] you-have-confidence[-in]$_2$ also$_1$ yourself$_3$ a-guide$_5$

ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΥΦΛΩΝ ΦΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΚΟΤΕΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΗΝ ΑΦΡΟΝΩΝ
to-be$_4$ of-blind-ones, a-light of-th[os]e in darkness, [2:20] an-instructor of-ignorant-ones,

ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ ΝΗΠΙΩΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
a-teacher of-babes, having the appearance of ~~the~~ knowledge and of-the

ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ Ο ΟΥΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΥ
truth in the law,[m] [2:21] the [one] then teaching another, yourself not

ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΣ Ο ΚΗΡΥΣΣΩΝ ΜΗ ΚΛΕΠΤΕΙΝ ΚΛΕΠΤΕΙΣ Ο
you-are-teaching? The [one] preaching not to-steal, are-you-stealing?[n][2:22] The [one]

ΛΕΓΩΝ ΜΗ ΜΟΙΧΕΥΕΙΝ ΜΟΙΧΕΥΕΙΣ Ο ΒΔΕΛΥΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΕΙΔΩΛΑ
saying not to-be-adultering, are-you-adultering? the [one] detesting the idols,

ΙΕΡΟΣΥΛΕΙΣ ΟΣ ΕΝ ΝΟΜΩ ΚΑΥΧΑΣΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ
do-you-commit-sacrilege? [2:23] [You$_1$-]who$_2$ in$_4$ the$_5$-law,$_6$ boast$_3$ through$_{11}$ the$_{12}$

ΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΤΙΜΑΖΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΟΝΟΜΑ
violation$_{13}$ of$_{14}$-the$_{15}$ law?$_{16}$ ~~the~~ God$_{10}$ do$_7$-you$_8$-dishonour$_9$ [2:24] the$_4$ For$_1$ name$_5$

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the rule to them who know not the law. But how will He conduct this judgment? Secundum evangelium, he [Paul] says, per Christum. So that both the gospel and Christ must be His, to whom appertain the law and the nature which are to be vindicated by the gospel and Christ----even at that judgment of God which, as he previously said, was to be according to truth.

m <2:20> *P.* 42:11:8:

3(30). "Ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ"

n <2:21> *A.M.* 5:13:6:

Hence his invective against the transgressors of the law, who teach that men should not steal, and yet practise theft themselves. (This invective he utters) in perfect homage to the law of God, not as if he meant to censure the Creator Himself with having commanded a fraud to be practised against the Egyptians to get their gold and silver at the very time when He was forbidding men to steal...

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ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΕΙΤΑΙ___ΚΑΘΟΣ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ
of$_6$ ~~the~~ God$_7$ through$_2$ you$_3$ is-blasphemed___, as it-has-been-written.[o]

ΠΕΡΙΤΟΜΗ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΩΦΕΛΕΙ ΕΑΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΠΡΑΣΣΗΣ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ
[2:25] Circumcision$_2$ indeed$_3$ For$_1$ is-beneficial, if [the] law you-practise, if yet

ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙΤΟΜΗ ΣΟΥ ΑΚΡΟΒΥΣΤΙΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ
a-violator of-law you-may-be, the circumcision of-you uncircumcision has-become.[p]

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ο ΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΑΝΕΡΩ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ
[2:26-27][q] [2:28] not$_8$ For$_1$ the$_2$-[one]$_3$ [merely]$_4$ in$_5$ ~~the~~ outward-appearance$_6$, [a real]$_9$ Jew$_{10}$

ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΔΕ Η ΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΑΝΕΡΩ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ ΠΕΡΙΤΟΜΗ
is$_7$, nor that in ~~the~~ outward-appearance, (in flesh), [true] circumcision;

ΑΛΛ Ο ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΡΥΠΤΩ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΤΟΜΗ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ
[2:29] but the [one] in ~~the~~ secret/inwardly a-Jew, and circumcision [is] of-heart,[r]

---

o <2:24> *A.M.* 5, 13, 7:

> Well, but he had gone so far in his censure of the Jews, as to point against them the denunciation of the prophet, Propter vos nomen dei blasphematur.

p <2:25> This verse is quoted by Epiphanius, Origen and Tertullian. *P.* 42:11:8:

> 2(29). "Περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσσῃς· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν"

Origen discusses this verse in his commentary on *Romans*, and tells us how discussions between Marcionites and Catholics were influenced by it; there is no indication that he is quoting from the Marcionite version of *Romans*, but the discussion can be interpreted as providing additional evidence that this verse was present in the Marcionite text. *C.R.* 2:13:27:

> Indeed, Marcion, who is a man who takes no pleasure at all in allegorical interpretation, is completely at a loss in explaining the Apostle's words, "Circumcision is of value." Not even concerning the details which are mentioned was he able to give an account in any respect whatsoever. Indeed, not only was Marcion accustomed to oppose the God of the law who gave circumcision, and to mark him out with a certain derision but all the heretics who repudiate the Old Testament, in company with the pagans.

See the footnote for verses 2:28-29 for Tertullian's quote.

q <2:26-27> It is interesting that Tertullian, Epiphanius and Origen all quote verse 2:25, but none of them mention verses 2:26-27 which they could have used more easily in their arguments. I have interpreted this as evidence that they were absent from the Marcionite version

r <2:28-29> *A.M.* 5, 13, 7:

> He prefers even circumcision of heart to neglect of it in the flesh. Now it is quite within the purpose of the God of the law that circumcision should be that of the heart, not in the flesh; in the spirit, and not in the letter. Since this is the circumcision recommended by Jeremiah: "…" and even of Moses: "…" ----the Spirit which circumcises the heart will proceed from Him who prescribed the letter also which clips the flesh; and the Jew which is one inwardly will be a subject of the self-same God as he also is who is a Jew outwardly; because the apostle would have preferred not to have mentioned a Jew at all, unless he were a servant of the God of the Jews.

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ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙ ΟΥ Ο ΕΠΑΙΝΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΞ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ
of-heart,[s] in spirit, not letter; of-whom the praise not from people,

ΑΛΛ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
but from ~~the~~ God. [3:1-18][t]

[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]

ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΟΤΙ ΟΣΑ Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ ΛΑΛΕΙ
[3:19] We-know yet, that whatever the Law says, to-those under the law it-speaks,

ΙΝΑ ΠΑΝ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΦΡΑΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΔΙΚΟΣ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΠΑΣ Ο
that every mouth may-be-stopped, and under$_6$-sentence$_7$ may$_4$-become$_5$ all$_1$ the$_2$

ΚΟΣΜΟΣ__ ΔΙΟΤΙ ΕΞ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΑΣΑ ΣΑΡΞ
world$_3$___[u].[3:20] Therefore from works of-law not$_4$ shall$_3$-be$_5$-justified$_6$ all$_1$ flesh$_2$

ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ [ΔΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ]
before him, [through$_2$ for$_1$ law [comes] an-acknowledgement of-transgression][v] .

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s <2:26-29> *A.M.* 5, 13, 7:

> He prefers even circumcision of heart to neglect of it in the flesh. Now it is quite within the purpose of the God of the law that circumcision should be that of the heart, not in the flesh; in the spirit, and not in the letter. Since this is the circumcision recommended by Jeremiah: "…" and even of Moses: "…" ----the Spirit which circumcises the heart will proceed from Him who prescribed the letter also which clips the flesh; and the Jew which is one inwardly will be a subject of the self-same God as he also is who is a Jew outwardly; because the apostle would have preferred not to have mentioned a Jew at all, unless he were a servant of the God of the Jews.

It is interesting that Tertullian, Epiphanius and Origen all quote verse 2:25, but none of them mention verses 2:26-27 which they could have used in their arguments. It is possible that in the Marcionite version those verses were significantly different to the traditional version, they might even have been absent entirely; but, I am not sufficiently convinced of this to exclude them from the reconstruction or colour them red.

t <3:1-18> There are several verses here that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have quoted if they had been present in the Marcionite text, particularly verse 3:2 and 5-6. Also, one of the consistent differences between the two versions was that that Catholic version had far more quotations of the Hebrew scriptures than the Marcionite version, whilst verses 3:10-17 contain a number of very prominent quotations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

u <3:19> *A.M.* 5, 13, 11:

> For this (I suppose it was, that) the law of the Creator had concluded all under sin, and had brought in all the world as guilty (before God), and had stopped every mouth, so that none could glory through it, in order that grace might be maintained to the glory of the Christ, not of the Creator, but of Marcion!

It is highly likely that the clause "τω θεω" (to God) would also have been mentioned by Tertullian if it had been present in the Marcionite text; the words enclosed in brackets in the quote above have been added by the translator.

v <3:20> Verse 3:19 and the first half of verse 20 state that the purpose of the law is to convict the entire

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[w]

ΝΥΝΙ ΔΕ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΑΙ ____
[3:21] Now yet without law a-righteousness of-God has-been-made-manifest, __ [x]

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ___ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
[3:22] a-righteousness even of-God through [the] faith of/in-Christ,

[Tunc lex] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ____
[3:21] [formerly [the] law] [3:22] a-righteousness$_2$ now$_1$ of-God through [the] faith _____

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
of/in-Christ,

ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΧΩΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ
[3:23-4:25][y] [5:1] having-been-justified$_2$ So$_1$ by faith, peace let-us-have with

ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ
the God[z] through the lord of-us Jesus Christ, [5:2] through whom also$_2$ ~~the~~

world, and that no one can be justified through the law; the Marcionites no-doubt interpreted this as describing the methods by which the creator or lesser god held the world in bondage. It is unlikely that their version contained the words enclosed in square brackets "ΔΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ", and I strongly suspect that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have quoted them if they had been present. If this passage originally expounded Marcionite (or proto Marcionite) theology then these extra words are a classic example of an interpolation that sought to explain and re-interpret a statement that was challenging to a non-Marcionite scribe.

w <3:21-22> *A.M.* 5:13:8:

> Tunc lex, nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi. What means this distinction? Has your god been subserving the interests of the Creator's dispensation, by affording time to Him and to His law? Is the "Now" in the hands of Him to whom belonged the "Then"? Surely, then, the law was His, whose is now the righteousness of God. It is a distinction of dispensations, not of gods.

The passage above can be interpreted in two ways. Rev. Peter Holmes, the translator my English copy of *Against Marcion*, interpreted only the words "iustitia dei per fidem Christi" as a direct quotation of the Marcionite text, but he did not regard the words "Tunc lex, nunc" as part of the quote. The alternative interpretation of *A.M.* 5:13:8 is to regard the entire sentence ("Tunc lex, nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi.") as a direct quote from the Marcionite text, corresponding to verse 3:21 as well as 3:22. I have therefore prepared two reconstructions of these verses based on these two possibilities.

x <3:21> If the sentence "ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ" had been present in the Marcionite version, Tertullian and Epiphanius would have used it in there arguments.

y <3:22b-4:25> The manner in which Tertullian quoted verses 3:22a and 5:1 indicates that in the Marcionite text they were part of the same passage and related to one another. Furthermore there is a great deal in 3:23-4:25 that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have used in their arguments had those verses been present in the Marcionite *Romans*.

z <5:1> Here the Marcionite text matches a known manuscript variation in the Catholic *Romans*, which

ΠΡΟΣΑΓΩΓΗΝ ΕΣΧΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΝ Η
access$_{4}$ we$_{1}$-have$_{3}$ by$_{5}$-~~the~~ faith$_{6}$ into$_{7}$ ~~the~~ grace$_{9}$ this$_{8}$, in which

ΕΣΤΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΥΧΩΜΕΘΑ ΕΠ ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
we-stand, and we-boast in hope of-the glory of-~~the~~ God.

aa

ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΥΧΩΜΕΘΑ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΘΛΙΨΕΣΙΝ ΕΙΔΟΤΕΣ
[5:3] not$_{2}$ only$_{3}$ [that]$_{4}$ Yet$_{1}$, but$_{5}$ also$_{6}$ we$_{7}$-boast$_{8}$ in$_{9}$ ~~the~~ [our]$_{10}$ afflictions$_{11}$, knowing$_{12}$

ΟΤΙ Η ΘΛΙΨΙΣ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΡΓΑΖΕΤΑΙ Η ΔΕ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ
that$_{13}$ ~~the~~ affliction$_{14}$ endurance$_{16}$ produces$_{15}$ [5:4] ~~the~~ and endurance [produces]

ΔΟΚΙΜΗΝ Η ΔΕ ΔΟΚΙΜΗ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ Η ΔΕ ΕΛΠΙΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΙΣΧΥΝΕΙ ΟΤΙ
trustiness, ~~the~~ and trustiness:hope, [5:5] ~~the~~ moreover hope not is-put-to-shame, because

Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΚΚΕΧΥΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ
the love of-~~the~~ God has-been-poured in the hearts of-us through [the] Spirit

ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΗΜΙΝ
Holy ~~the~~ having-been-given to-us.

ΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΣΘΕΝΩΝ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΤΑ
[5:6] while$_{2}$ For$_{1}$ Christ$_{7}$, were$_{4}$ we$_{3}$ weak$_{6}$ still$_{5}$, in$_{9}$-accord$_{10}$-with$_{11}$

ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΣΕΒΩΝ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ ΜΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΥΠΕΡ
the$_{12}$-time$_{13}$, on$_{14}$-behalf$_{15}$-of$_{16}$ [the]$_{17}$ impious$_{18}$ ~~he~~-died$_{8}$.[ab] [5:7] Scarcely yet on-behalf-of

---

allows us to restore the Greek text without incorporating Tertullian's Latin paraphrase directly into the reconstruction. *A.M.* 5:13:9:

> Monet iustificatos ex fide Christi, non ex lege, pacem ad deum habere. With what God? Him whose enemies we have never, in any dispensation, been? Or Him against whom we have rebelled, both in relation to His written law and His law of nature? Now, as peace is only possible towards Him with whom there once was war, we shall be both justified by Him, and to Him also will belong the Christ, in whom we are justified by faith, and through whom alone God's enemies can ever be reduced to peace.

aa <5:3-5:5> This passage is a possible interpolation; notice how verse 5:6 continues the flow of thought from verse 5:2. Regardless of whether or not this passage is interpolated, we have no reason to believe it was absent from the Marcionite version of the text, so I have not coloured it red. Even if it is an addition to the text of *Romans* it seems benign.

ab <5:6> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 4(31). "Ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν"

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ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΤΙΣ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΤΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΤΑΧΑ ΤΙΣ
a-just-person anyone will-die, on$_2$-behalf$_3$-of$_4$ though$_1$ the good possibly someone

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΣΥΝΙΣΤΗΣΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΗΜΑΣ
even might-dare to-die, [5:8] shows$_3$ but$_1$, ~~the~~ his$_4$ love$_5$ to$_6$ us$_7$

Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΟΤΙ ΕΤΙ ΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ
~~the~~ God$_2$, in$_8$-that$_9$, [while$_{10}$-]still$_{13}$ sinners$_{14}$ were$_{12}$ we$_{11}$, Christ$_{15}$ on$_{17}$-behalf$_{18}$-of$_{19}$ us$_{20}$

ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΝΥΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΙΜΑΤΙ
died$_{16}$. [5:9] By-much then$_2$ more$_1$, having-been-justified now ~~in~~ [by] the blood

ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΩΘΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΓΗΣ ΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΧΘΡΟΙ
of-him shall-we-be-saved through him from the wrath. [5:10] If for enemies

ΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΤΗΛΛΑΓΗΜΕΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ
being we-were-reconciled to-~~the~~ God through the death of-the son of-him,

ΠΟΛΛΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΓΕΝΤΕΣ ΣΩΘΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΖΩΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ
by-much more having-been-reconciled we-shall-be-saved ~~in~~ [through] the life of-him.

ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΥΧΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
[5:11] Not only yet, but also [our] boasting [is] in ~~the~~ God through the Lord

ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙ ΟΥ ΝΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΓΗΝ ΕΛΑΒΟΜΕΝ
of-us Jesus Christ, through whom now the reconciliation we-received.

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[My reconstruction of *Romans* is not yet compete; 5:12 onwards is not included in this version.]

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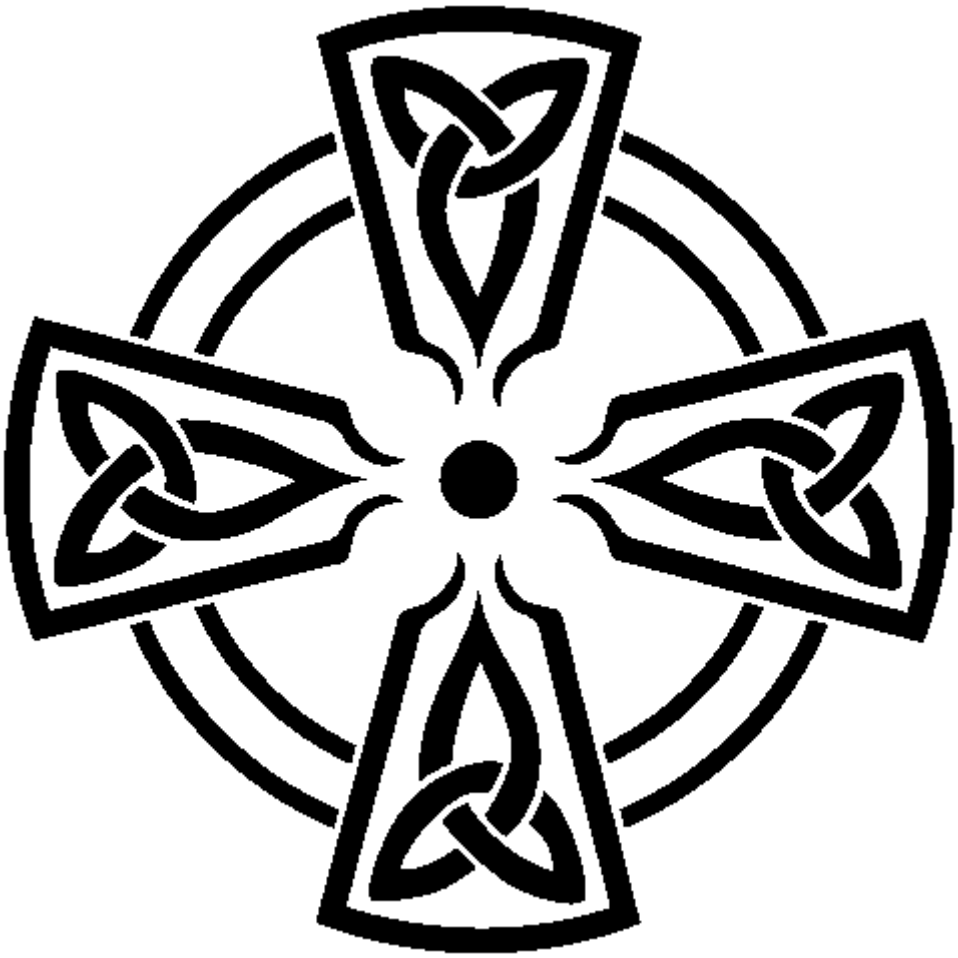
The Marcionite Romans:
Translation with Reconstruction Notes

(*Romans* 1:1-5:11)



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Contents

Contents....3
Preface....4
Rough draft....4
Reconstruction methodology....4
Sources and abbreviations....5
Colour coding system....5
Translation approach....7
Brackets....9
Verse numbering, paragraph headings and text format....10
Final comments....10
The Marcionite Prologue....11
[Paul's Epistle] to the Romans....12
[Greeting]....12
[Purpose of the letter]....13
[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]....13
[False security in the law and circumcision]....15
[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]....17

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Preface

Rough draft

This reconstruction of *Romans* is unfinished and is a rough draft. It presently only includes the first few chapters of *Romans*. Before publishing the complete and finished version of the reconstruction it is likely that I will make changes and corrections, as I refine and check my work.

If you notice any errors or mistakes I would be very grateful if you could let me know; my e-mail address is:

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Reconstruction methodology

No manuscripts of the Marcionite version of *Romans* are known to have survived. However, several ancient Catholic writers wrote books arguing against the Marcionites, and in those writings they quoted from the Marcionite bible extensively and described the differences between it and their own scriptures. By examining their quotes and comparing their descriptions with the conventional bible, the Marcionite version can be reconstructed.

In another work (*The Marcionite Romans: Interlinear with Reconstruction Notes*), I undertook just such a task. I examined the source texts in their original languages and produced a Greek reconstruction of the Marcionite Romans. This this work, I present an English translation of the reconstructed text, and a full set of reconstruction footnotes which quote the source texts in English, and show how I derived the reconstructed text.

I have aimed to use a reconstruction methodology that is balanced: neither including text that was obviously absent from the Marcionite version, nor excluding text with insufficient evidence. I have not assumed that everything which contradicted ancient Marcionite views was absent[1]; but, equally I have recognized that verses which obviously, strongly and directly support the arguments of the ancient Catholics would have been quoted by them if they had been present in the Marcionite text. I feel that many of the reconstructions that have previously been published have failed to strike a balance here. Some reconstructions (such as that of Von Harnack) were done with the assumption that the Catholic version was the original, and that Marcion removed everything that contradicted this views, while others (such as the reconstructions published by Robert Prince and Frank Reitzenstein) have included many passages in spite of evidence that they were absent from the Marcionite text (see for example *Romans* 1:2-6 and 1:19-2:1).

In some places I have tried make the reader aware of more than one possible interpretation of the evidence, and use square brackets to section off text that may or may not have been present in the Marcionite text. I do this especially in places where I am less

1 I have tried to avoid even assuming that the descriptions of ancient Marcionite beliefs given to us by their ancient adversaries are entirely accurate; though, I must assume that they were correct on the most basic points.

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certain about the best way to reconstruct the text, in places where a passage is hard to judge, or where my knowledge of Greek may be insufficient to allow me to adequately make an assessment. In some places I include passages that were probably absent from the Marcionite text, simply to make the reader aware of alternative possibilities (such passages are bracketed off from the rest of the text. In all cases the corresponding footnotes should provide an explanation.

Serious doubts have been raised about the reliability of *The Dialogues of Adamantius* as a source for reconstructing the Marcionite text[2], and so for the time being I have not used this source in my reconstruction. I plan to review this decision when I have had time to research the issue and examine that source more thoroughly.

Sources and abbreviations

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

1. *Adversus Marcionem* by Tertullian, referred by the abbreviations *A.M.* and T. respectively;

2. The *Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, referred to by the abbreviations *P.* and E. respectively;

3. The *Commentary on John* and the *Commentary on Romans*, both by Origen, referred to by the abbreviations *C.J.*, *C.R.* and O respectively.

This reconstruction is currently based primarily on *Adversus Marcionem* book 5, chapters 13-14 (Tertullian's commentary on the Marcionite version of *Romans*) and *Panarion*, book 42 as these are the two main sources from which the text can be reconstructed. I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Colour coding system

The colour of the text indicates how the text has been reconstructed, and the reliability of the reconstruction in that place.

Red: suspect text

This colour is used to denote text that is highly suspect. It is likely that this text was absent from the Marcionite version; if it was present it was probably different to the traditional version of the passage, and we de not have sufficient information to reproduce those differences. Sometimes red is used in places where I have included text in the reconstruction even though I believe it was absent from the Marcionite *Romans* in order to make the reader aware of other possible interpretations of the evidence. See the corresponding footnotes for further explanation. The red text in this reconstruction is identical to the corresponding text in the long version of *Romans*.

2 See *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion* by John J. Clabeaux.

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Orange: no information

This colour indicates that I am not aware of any information about the Marcionite version of this text, and am incorporating the long version of *Romans* into the reconstruction by default. This indicates places where the do not know the Marcionite version of the text, though there is no reason to believe that it was different from the long version.

Brown: presence confirmed

This colour is used to indicate passages that were definitely present in the Marcionite version of *Romans*. This has usually been confirmed by a reference or allusion to them in one of the reconstruction sources. There is no reason to believe that the wording of these verses were different to the wording of the long version of the text, but equally no reason to assume that it was the same. The long version of the text is reproduced in these places.

Green: meaning known, wording uncertain

This colour indicates places where I am confidant the reconstruction matches the meaning of the Marcionite text, though the precise wording may be uncertain. In these places I am usually working from a rough description or a paraphrase of the Marcionite text contained in the reconstruction sources.

Bright turquoise: wording probably known

This colour indicates places where the precise wording of the Marcionite text is not known for certain, but was probably the same as the wording of the long version of *Romans*. Usually I am working from a rough description or paraphrase which indicates that the two versions were the same. The long version of the text is reproduced in these places.

Dark turquoise: precise paraphrase

This colour is used to indicate places were the Marcionite text is known word for word from a precise paraphrase in one of the sources.

Light blue: direct quote (translated)

This colour indicates places where the Marcionite text is known from a direct quote, but the quote is a Latin translation of the text rather than in Greek. If that Latin quote indicates that the Marcionite version and the long version of the text were the same, then the Greek from the long version of *Romans* is reproduced to avoid incorporating Latin-Greek translation errors into the reconstruction. If the source indicates that the Marcionite text is different to the long version of the text, then the quote is incorporated into the reconstruction in Latin.

Dark blue: direct quote (Greek)

This colour indicates places where the Marcionite is known from a direct quote in the

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original language.

Summary of the colour coding scheme: blue shades indicate places where the Marcionite text is known with the highest degree of certainty; red and brown indicate places where there is little information about the Marcionite version of the text; green is between these two extremes and indicate places where the meaning of the Marcionite text is reliably known, though not necessarily it's wording.

At first glance it may seem like there are large portions of the text where we have very little information about the Marcionite version; this is true, however it must be remembered that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages that where controversial, and on places where there were important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are the places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

Translation approach

When translating a text, the objective is to communicate the message of the original both as accurately as possible, and as clearly as possible. These objectives are of critical importance when translating sacred writings; however they are also in conflict with one another. It is impossible for any English translation to be both perfectly clear, and perfectly precise; attempts to follow the original text as precisely as possible inevitably compromise the clarity of the translation, whilst attempts to express the original message in natural "every day" language come at a cost of precision and accuracy. Like all translators of the bible I have thought carefully about how best to strike a balance between precision and clarity, to get the best of both worlds, as far as that is possible.

I believe that consistently using the same English word for any Greek word can often greatly obscure the meaning, because in Greek, as in English, a word can have several dramatically different meanings in different contexts. Excessively literal translations, though intended to be precise, therefore run the risk misrepresenting the original meaning by failing to properly respond to the context of each word. None the less, I feel constructing English sentences so that they precisely match the grammar of the corresponding Greek sentence is important. Even the most well-intentioned of translators run the risk of subtly interpreting the Greek text through the lens of their own beliefs, and then writing that interpretation into their translation. As a result, paraphrased translations can make the reader very dependant on the translators interpretation of the text.

The approach that I have decided upon therefore is not particularly literal in the sense that I frequently translate Greek words according to their figurative and idiomatic meanings (as dictated by context); however, at the same time I have endeavoured to be very precise regarding sentence structure and more general use of language. There are a few places where it is simply impossible for a translation to be both clear and precisely match the original sentence structure, and so I occasionally use a footnote to provide an alternative translation that is either clearer or more precise. In a small number of places the translation is slightly paraphrased; italics are used to mark out the paraphrased text, and a more literal translation is given in the footnotes.

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No translation can ever perfectly reproduce every nuance and shade of meaning of the original text. A particular problem occurs when three or four words in one language correspond to only one in word in another. For example consider Jesus' words in *Luke* 9:24:

> Whoever would save his life will lose it, but however loses his life for my sake will save it.

Let us consider for a moment the word life. Inevitably the English word does not perfectly match the connotations associated with the Greek; but to compound the issue, in Greek there are three words for life. The sentence above contains two of them and both have been converted to the same English word, losing the contrast in their meaning.

In order to address this translation issue I have selected a number of key Greek words; these are words of particular significance to Christian teaching, and words for which there is a significant danger of some of the meaning being lost in translation. When one of these words appears in the Greek text, I mark the corresponding English word with a Greek letter or two (in superscript) to indicate which Greek work it has come from. The Greek words are:

Greek Word	English Translation	Meaning
ἀγάπη agape	love$^{\alpha\gamma}$	Love, but a particular type of love, contrasted by “φιλέω”.
φιλέω phileo	love$^{\varphi}$	Love, but a particular type of love, contrasted by “ἀγάπη”.
ἁμαρτάνω hamartano	trespass$^{\alpha\mu}$, err$^{\alpha\mu}$	“ἁμαρτάνω” literally means to “miss the target”, but was often used figuratively to indicated that someone has failed to meet the required standard in a moral sense. It has traditionally been translated “sin” (or “synn” in middle English), which once had a very similar meaning to the Greek word; it literally meant to miss a target. The English language has changed since then and the word “sin” now has strong negative connotations of condemnation and irreconcilable guilt for many people. As a result I feel it is no longer appropriate to translate “ἁμαρτάνω” as “sin” and will use less loaded terms instead.
ζωή zoE	life$^{\zeta}$	Holistic, interdependent, connected, collective; e.g. “life” as in “all life on earth”. This is often the word used to talk about eternal life, though it can be used to refer to physical / mortal life as well. In the Greek language it is contrasted by “ψυχή” and “βίος”.
ψυχή psyche	life$^{\psi}$	Individualistic, an individual manifestation of life / consciousness, or intellect / mind. It is contrasted by “ζωή” and “βίος”.

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βίος vios	life[β]	Everyday life, physical life, means of subsistence, property, goods, etymologically connected to the word “biology”. It is contrasted by “ζωή” and “ψυχή”.
πίστις pistis	faith[πι], belief[πι] or trust[πι]	Like the English word “faith”, the word “πίστις” can refer to either believing it to be true or having trust in something. The translation “belief” does a poor job of capturing this second meaning, but must be used in some grammatical circumstances.
δικαιοσύνη dikeosunE	righteousness[δ] or justice[δ]	There are two English words which I have frequently used as translations of this Greek word, due to it's double meaning. As a result, the translated text may appear as if it is treating two separate concepts which are actually closely related in Greek.

If you are interested in studying the teaching of the Marcionite version of *Romans* in depth then these markings and their associated footnotes may be of interest to you.

Brackets

Square brackets are used for a number of purposes, the context or footnotes should indicate the purpose in each place.

In places where a word must be inserted into the English translation for grammatical reasons the word is in enclosed in square brackets to indicate that it does not directly correspond to any word in the Greek text. I may occasionally also add English words in square brackets to explain idioms or cultural references that may confuse a modern reader, or simply to clarify the meaning of the text.

There are places where the sources used to reconstruct the Marcionite text contradict one another; there was evidently variation within copies of the Marcionite text, just as there was significant variation within the Catholic scriptures at that time. In some places I have chosen one source preferentially over another, while in others square brackets are used to describe the differences between sources. In both cases the footnotes contain further discussion.

Square brackets are sometimes also used to section off text which corresponds to comments in footnotes and to enclose text that I suspect is an interpolation (this too is discussed in the footnotes).

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Verse numbering, paragraph headings and text format

For convenient referencing the reconstructed text is divided into chapters and verses using the same system as the long version of *Romans*. These are enclosed in square brackets, as they were not originally present in either the Marcionite or the Catholic version of the document. In places where a number of verses are present only in the long edition of the text, a reference to the passage is included in the translation (e.g. [1:2-6]) so that the reader can quickly see the differences between the two versions.

The passage headings found in many English translations are also not part of the original text, and are added by translators. I have ignored the traditional paragraph headings, and composed new ones that correspond better to the structure of the Marcionite version of this epistle. Like the verse numbers, these are enclosed in square brackets.

I have divided the text into paragraphs using my own judgement as to the most logical grouping of sentences and have not followed the paragraph layout of other translations; neither paragraph divisions nor punctuation existed in the Greek language of the 1st century, and so in all biblical texts they represent the interpretations of scribes and translators rather than the original author.

Final comments

My knowledge of Greek and Latin is very limited. I am taking on the task of reconstructing the Marcionite version of *Romans* not because I am particularly qualified or suited it; but rather, because I feel it is of the utmost importance that detailed reconstructions of the Marcionite scriptures be made freely available to people as soon as possible, and in spite of my limitations and flaws I believe that my efforts will be better than nothing.

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The Marcionite Prologue

The Romans are in the region of Italy. They had been reached first by false apostles, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ they were lead into the law and the prophets. They are called back by the apostle, to the true evangelical faith, writing to them from Corinth.[1]

1 The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin (not including the prologues to the Pastoral Epistles); I am inclined to accept this conclusion, even though it is unproven.

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[Paul's Epistle] to the Romans

[Greeting]

[1:1] Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ, called [to be] an apostle, set apart for the Gospel of God; [1:2-6][1]

[1:7] to all who are in Rome, beloved[αγ] ones of God, called [to be][2] saints: grace to you and peace from God our father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.[3]

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1 <1:2-6> If these verses had been present in the Marcionite version of *Romans* then Epiphanius and Tertullian would have quoted them to support their arguments. Furthermore ancient greetings were consistently very short and simple; this very long and distended text shows signs of being an interpolation. Origen's statements in *C.J.* 10:4 could be interpreted as indicating that this text was absent from the Marcionite version. *C.J.* 10:4:

> Statements which are verbally contrary to each other, are made about our Lord, namely, that He was descended from David and that He was not descended from David. The statement is true, "He was descended from David," as the Apostle says, "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," if we apply this to the bodily part of Him; but the self-same statement is untrue if we understand His being born of the seed of David of His diviner power; for He was declared to be the Son of God with power. And for this reason too, perhaps, the sacred prophecies speak of Him now as a servant, and now as a Son. They call Him a servant on account of the form of a servant which he wore, and because He was of the seed of David, but they call Him the Son of God according to His character as first-born. Thus it is true to call Him man and to call Him not man; man, because He was capable of death; not man, on account of His being diviner than man. Marcion, I suppose, took sound words in a wrong sense, when he rejected His birth from Mary, and declared that as to His divine nature He was not born of Mary, and hence made bold to delete from the Gospel the passages which have this effect.

αγ The Greek root word here is "ἀγάπη", a type of love.

2 The English words "called saints" could mean two things; (1) labelled or named saints, or (2) appointed or invited to be saints. The Greek word corresponding to "called" here is "κλητοῖς"; unlike the English word, it can only mean "called" in the sense of appointment (meaning 2) so I have added the words "to be" to remove the ambiguity of the English word, and steer readers away from interpretation 1. Unfortunately there is a risk that by doing so I may have introduced a different translation error to the text as the words "to be" might incorrectly be interpreted as indicating that the readers are called to become saints in the future. To clarify: the readers are called to be saints now, at this present time, not merely become saints at some point in the future. These points are also relevant in verse one, where the word "called" is translated from "κλητὸς", and the words "to be" should be interpreted in the same way.

3 <1:7> *A.M.* 5:5:1-2:

> My preliminary remarks on the preceding epistle [*Galatians*] called me away from treating of its superscription, for I was sure that another opportunity would occur for considering the matter, it being of constant recurrence, and **in the same form too, in every epistle**. The point, then, is, that it is not (the usual) health which the apostle prescribes for those to whom he writes, but grace and peace. I do not ask, indeed, what a destroyer of Judaism has to do with a formula which the Jews still use. For to this day they salute each other with the greeting of "peace," and formerly in their Scriptures they did the same. But I understand him by his practice plainly enough to have corroborated the declaration of the Creator: "How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good, who preach the gospel of peace!" [*Isaiah* 52:7] For the herald of good, that is, of God's "grace" was well aware that along with it "peace" also was

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[1:8] First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ on account of all of you, because your faith[πι] is celebrated throughout the whole world. [1:9] For God is my witness, (whom I serve in my spirit in the Gospel of his son), that unceasingly I make mention of you, [1:10] always in my prayers, asking if somehow now, sometime [I may] succeed, (by the will of God), in coming to you.

[Purpose of the letter]

[1:11] For I long to see you, that I may share some spiritual gift [with] you, for you to be strengthened. [1:12] That is that we may be comforted together, among you, through the faith[πι] that is in each other, both yours and mine. [1:13] Now I do not want you to remain ignorant brethren, that often I intended to come to you (and was hindered until the present) that I might have some fruit among you too, as also among the other Gentiles. [1:14] I am a debtor both to Greeks, and to barbarians, to both the wise and the simple. [1:15] So then, what is preferable for me is to preach the Gospel to you, the ones in Rome, also.

[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]

[1:16] For I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to all the faithful[πι], to both Jew__and Greek. [1:17] For the righteousness[δ] of God is revealed in it[4], from faith[πι] to faith[πι]__[5].[6] [1:18] Wrath__from heaven is also revealed, upon the irreverence

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to be proclaimed. Now, when he announces these blessings as "from God the Father and the Lord Jesus," he uses titles that are common to both, and which are also adapted to the mystery of our faith;…

Tertullian's statements above come from his commentary on *Corinthians*; they could be interpreted as confirming that the greeting of "Grace and Peace" was the same in all epistles in the Marcionite version, however it is unlikely that Tertullian made a carefully study of all of the greetings in the Marcionite epistles before making this statement. It is more likely that he is simply basing this on his knowledge of the Catholic version of the epistles, and so I have not incorporated this quote into my reconstruction of *Romans*.

πι The Greek root word here is "πίστις", which can mean faith, trust or belief.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

4 The Greek version of this sentence is slightly ambiguous, because the word "αὐτῷ" can mean either "it" or "him". If it means "it", then it refers back to the Gospel; if it means "him" it could refer to a member of "the faithful", or it could refer to God himself. The double meaning of "δικαιοσύνη" (righteousness or justice) compounds the uncertainty.

5 The statement "from faith to faith" (ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ) is rather hard to interpret (in both the Marcionite and the traditional version of *Romans*). Numerous possible interpretations have been suggested, a few possible interpretations / translations are as follows:

1) beginning and ending in faith (as translated by the *New International Version*)

2) from [God's] faithfulness to [our] faith

3) from [the] faith [of the preacher] to [the] faith [of the hearer]

Or perhaps Paul is simply reminding us that the faith with which we begin our Christian journey must be continued if we are to deepen and continue our walk with God.

6 <1:16-18> *A.M.* 5:13:2:

and unrighteousness[δ] of men, who by their unrighteousness[δ] suppress the truth, [1:19-1:28][7]

[8]

[1:29] having been filled with all unrighteousness[δ], wickedness, greed, evil, full of envy, of murder, of strife, of deceit, bad character, gossips, [1:30] Slanderers, haters-of-God violent/insulting, proud boasters inventors of evil [things] disobedient to parents, [1:31] without-understanding, covenant-breakers, without-affection, without-mercy.

[1:32-2:1][9] [2:2] Thus/But[10] we see that the judgement of God is on the basis of truth[11].

> And so in the passage where he says: I am not ashamed of the gospel (of Christ): for it is the power of god unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek; for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith, he undoubtedly ascribes both the gospel and salvation to Him whom (in accordance with our heretic's own distinction) I have called the just God, not the good one. It is He who removes (men) from confidence in the law to faith in the gospel----that is to say, His own law and His own gospel. When, again, he declares that "the wrath (of God) is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness,

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

7 <1:19-28> Tertullian's quote of verse 2:2 (*A.M.* 5:13:3) indicates that in the Marcionite text it followed shortly after 1:18. There is a great deal here that T. and E. could have used in their arguments, such as people being condemned for failing to worship the creator in verse 1:25. "what serious gaps Marcion has made in this epistle" – T. in *A.M.* 5:13:4, the entire passage is quoted in the footnote for verse 2:2 to provide the context of Tertullian's statement.

8 <1:29-31> Tertullian's quotation of the Marcionite version of *Romans* in *A.M.* 5:13:3 indicates that in the Marcionite version, verse 2:2 followed shortly after verse 1:18; this means that most of 1:19-2:1 must have been absent from the Marcionite text. It is also apparent from the text of the long version of *Romans* itself that 2:2 must originally have followed shortly after 1:18. Whilst I am certain that 1:19-1:28 and 1:32-2:1 are interpolated, I am less certain about 1:29-31; perhaps this small portion of text can sit between 1:18 and 2:1 without disrupting the flow of those two verses; then again, perhaps 2:1 should follow immediately after 1:18. I have included 1:29-31 in brackets because of this uncertainty.

9 <1:32-2:1> These statements about God's judgement would have been quoted by Tertullian and Epiphanius if they have been present in the Marcionite text.

10 The corresponding Greek word here is "δέ"; a common word which can be translated to numerous English equivalents depending on the context: thus, and, yet, but, therefore, however... Unfortunately it is impossible to know how best to translate this word without knowing whether verses 1:29-31 were present in the Marcionite text.

11 <2:2> *A.M.* 5:13:3-4:

> (I ask) the wrath of what God? Of the Creator certainly. The truth, therefore, will be His, whose is also the wrath, which has to be revealed to avenge the truth. Likewise, when adding, We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth, he both vindicated that wrath from which comes this judgment for the truth, and at the same time afforded another proof that the truth emanates from the same God whose wrath he attested, by witnessing to His judgment. Marcion's averment is quite a different matter, that the Creator in anger avenges Himself on the truth of the rival god which had been detained in unrighteousness. But what serious gaps Marcion has made in this epistle especially, by withdrawing whole passages at his will, will be clear from the unmutilated text of our own copy. It is enough for my

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[2:3-10][12] [2:11] For [there] is no favouritism with God. [2:12] Whoever transgressed[αμ] without the law shall also perish without the law, and whoever transgressed[αμ] with the law shall be judged through the law. [2:13] For [it's] not the hearers of the law [that are] righteous[δ] before God, but the doers of the law [who] shall be justified[δ] [13], ([2:14] For when Gentiles (those without the law) by nature may do the [things] of the law[14], these [ones] without the law are a law to themselves. [2:15] They show the work of the law written in their hearts[15], their conscience testifying with them, their thoughts accusing or even defending them.) [2:16] on the day when God shall judge people's secrets, through Christ , according to my Gospel.[16]

[False security in the law and circumcision]

[2:17] Yet if you are called a Jew, and rely on the law, and are boasting in God, [2:18] and know [God's] will, and discern the important [things], being taught out of the law, [2:19] [if]

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purpose to accept in evidence of its truth what he has seen fit to leave unerased, strange instances as they are also of his negligence and blindness.

I suspect that the clause "ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΑΣΣΟΝΤΑΣ" ("upon those who do such things") was absent from the Marcionite version of this passage. I have interpreted Tertullian's quote above as an exact quote, in which case it is unlikely that he would have stopped quoting mid sentence.

12 <2:3-10> This passage on God's judgement and condemnation of men would have strengthened Tertullian's argument significantly if he had been present in the Marcionite text. It continues the theme of 1:32-2:1.

αμ The root word here is "ἁμαρτάνω"; it literally means to "miss the mark"; it was also used in a figurative sense to mean that someone had morally fallen short of a required standard.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

13 <2:12-13> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 1(28). "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish law, and as many as have sinned in the Law shall be judged by the Law. For not the hearers of the Law are just before God, but the doers of the Law shall be justified."

14 <2:14> *A.M.* 5:13:4:

> ... If, then, God will judge the secrets of men----both of those who have sinned in the law, and of those who have sinned without law (inasmuch as they who know not the law yet do by nature the things contained in the law) ----surely the God who shall judge is He to whom belong both the law, and that nature which is the rule to them who know not the law. But how will He conduct this judgment?

15 This could be interpreted as an allusion to *Jeremiah* 31:32.

16 <2:16> *A.M.* 5, 13, 4-5:

> If, then, God will judge the secrets of men----both of those who have sinned in the law, and of those who have sinned without law (inasmuch as they who know not the law yet do by nature the things contained in the law) ----surely the God who shall judge is He to whom belong both the law, and that nature which is the rule to them who know not the law. But how will He conduct this judgment? According to my gospel, he [Paul] says, by (Jesus) Christ. So that both the gospel and Christ must be His, to whom appertain the law and the nature which are to be vindicated by the gospel and Christ----even at that judgment of God which, as he previously said, was to be according to truth.

you also have confidence that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those in darkness, [2:20] an instructor of the ignorant, a teacher of babes, having the appearance of knowledge and of the truth of the law,[17] [2:21] the one then teaching another, are you not teaching yourself? The one preaching not to steal, are you stealing?[18] [2:22] The one saying not to be committing adultery; are you committing adultery? The one detesting idols; do you *commit sacrilege*[19]? [2:23] Who boasts in the law; do you dishonour God through the violation of the law? [2:24] For "the name of God is blasphemed__"[20] because of you[21], even as it has been written.

[2:25] For circumcision is indeed beneficial, if you keep the law; but if you may be a breaker of the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision.[22] [2:26-27][23] [2:28] For the one [merely] outwardly appearing [to be] a Jew is not [truly a Jew], nor is [true] circumcision in outward appearance (in the flesh). [2:29] But the one [truly] a Jew is [so]

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17 <2:20> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 3(30). "Which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the Law"

18 <2:21> *A.M.* 5, 13, 6:

> Hence his invective against the transgressors of the law, who teach that men should not steal, and yet practise theft themselves. (This invective he utters) in perfect homage to the law of God, not as if he meant to censure the Creator Himself with having commanded a fraud to be practised against the Egyptians to get their gold and silver at the very time when He was forbidding men to steal...

19 Literally: Do you rob temples?

20 *Isaiah* 52:5

21 <2:24> *A.M.* 5:13:7:

> Well, but he had gone so far in his censure of the Jews, as to point against them the denunciation of the prophet, Through you the name of God is blasphemed (among the Gentiles).

22 <2:25> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 2(29). "Circumcision verily profiteth if thou keep the Law; but if thou be a breaker of the Law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision."

Origen also discusses this verse in his commentary on *Romans*, and tells us how discussions between Marcionites and Catholics were influenced by it; there is no indication that he is quoting from the Marcionite version of Romans, but this can also be interpreted as providing additional evidence that this verse was present in the Marcionite text. *C.R.* 2:13:27:

> Indeed, Marcion, who is a man who takes no pleasure at all in allegorical interpretation, is completely at a loss in explaining the Apostle's words, "Circumcision is of value." Not even concerning the details which are mentioned was he able to give an account in any respect whatsoever. Indeed, not only was Marcion accustomed to oppose the God of the law who gave circumcision, and to mark him out with a certain derision but all the heretics who repudiate the Old Testament, in company with the pagans.

Tertullian also quoted this verse – see the footnote for verses 2:28-29 for Tertullian's quote.

23 <2:26-27> It is interesting that Tertullian, Epiphanius and Origen all quote verse 2:25, but none of them mention verses 2:26-27 which they could have used more easily in their arguments. I have interpreted this as evidence that they were absent from the Marcionite version

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inwardly, (and [true] circumcision is of the heart[24], in the spirit not the letter), whose praise is not from men, but from God. [3:1-18][25]

[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]

[3:19] Now we know that what the law says, it speaks to those under law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become liable__[26]. [3:20] Therefore by the works of the law all flesh will not be justified[δ] [; for through law comes an-acknowledgement of transgression[αμ]][27] .

24 <2:28-29> *A.M.* 5, 13, 7:

> He prefers even circumcision of heart to neglect of it in the flesh. Now it is quite within the purpose of the God of the law that circumcision should be that of the heart, not in the flesh; in the spirit, and not in the letter. Since this is the circumcision recommended by Jeremiah: "…" and even of Moses: "…" ----the Spirit which circumcises the heart will proceed from Him who prescribed the letter also which clips the flesh; and the Jew which is one inwardly will be a subject of the self-same God as he also is who is a Jew outwardly; because the apostle would have preferred not to have mentioned a Jew at all, unless he were a servant of the God of the Jews.

25 <3:1-18> There are several verses here that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have quoted if they had been present in the Marcionite text, particularly verse 3:2 and 5-6. Also one of the consistent differences between the two versions was that that Catholic version had far more quotations of the Hebrew scriptures than the Marcionite version, whilst verses 3:10-17 contain a number of very prominent quotations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

26 <3:19> *A.M.* 5:13:11:

> For this (I suppose it was, that) the law of the Creator had concluded all under sin, and had brought in all the world as guilty (before God), and had stopped every mouth, so that none could glory through it, in order that grace might be maintained to the glory of the Christ, not of the Creator, but of Marcion!

It is highly likely that the clause "τῷ θεῷ" (to God) would also have been mentioned by Tertullian if it had been present in the Marcionite text; the words enclosed in brackets in Tertullian's statement above were added by the translator.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

αμ The root word here is "ἁμαρτάνω"; it literally means to "miss the mark"; it was also used in a figurative sense to mean that someone had morally fallen short of a required standard.

27 <3:20> Verse 3:19 and the first half of verse 20 state that the purpose of the law is to convict the entire world, and that no one can be justified through the law; the Marcionites no-doubt interpreted this as describing the methods by which the creator or lesser god held the world in bondage. It is unlikely that their version contained the words enclosed in square brackets "through the law comes an acknowledgement of transgression", and I strongly suspect that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have quoted them if they had been present. If this passage originally expounded Marcionite (or proto-Marcionite) theology then these extra words are a classic example of an interpolation that sought to explain and re-interpret a statement that was challenging to a non Marcionite scribe.

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[28]

[3:21] But now the righteousness[δ] of God without the law is manifested,__[29] [3:22] even righteousness[δ] of God through [the] faith[πι] of/in __ Christ[30].

[3:21] Formerly the law, [3:22] now righteousness[δ] of God through [the] faith[πι] of / in __ Christ[30].

[3:22b-4:25][31] [5:1] So having been justified[δ] by faith[πι], let us have peace with God[32]

28 <3:21-22> *A.M.* 5:13:8:

> It was once the law; now it is "the righteousness of God which is by the faith of (Jesus) Christ." What means this distinction? Has your god been subserving the interests of the Creator's dispensation, by affording time to Him and to His law? Is the "Now" in the hands of Him to whom belonged the "Then"? Surely, then, the law was His, whose is now the righteousness of God. It is a distinction of dispensations, not of gods.

The passage above can be interpreted in two ways. Rev. Peter Holmes, the translator my English copy of *Against Marcion*, interpreted only the words "the righteousness of God which is by the faith of (Jesus) Christ." as a direct quotation of the Marcionite text; he did not regard the words "It was once the law; now it is" as being part of the quote. The alternative interpretation of *A.M.* 5:13:8 is to regard the entire sentence ("It was once the law; now it is the righteousness of God which is by the faith of Christ.") as a direct quote from the Marcionite text, corresponding to verse 3:21 as well as 3:22. I have therefore prepared two reconstructions of these verses based on these two possibilities.

Also, the name "Jesus" in brackets in the quote above was added by the translator as is absent from the Latin text.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

29 <3:21> If the sentence "being witnessed by the law and the prophets" had been present in the Marcionite version, Tertullian and Epiphanius would have used it in there arguments.

πι The Greek root word here is "πίστις", which can mean faith, trust or belief.

30 The Greek form of this clause reads "ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ"; the word "Christ" is in the genitive case. An ambiguity is created by the fact that this can be interpreted as a subjective genitive ("faith **of** Christ") or as an objective genitive ("faith **in** Christ"). I do not believe that a translator should allow their theological views to influence their translation of such a text; I leave readers to consider this issue for themselves.

31 <3:22b-4:25> The manner in which Tertullian quoted verse 3:22a and 5:1 indicates that in the Marcionite text they were part of the same passage and related to one another. Furthermore there is a great deal in 3:23-4:25 that Tertullian and Epiphanius could have used in their arguments against the Marcionites if it had been present in the Marcionite text.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

πι The Greek root word here is "πίστις", which can mean faith, trust or belief.

32 <5:1> Here the Marcionite text matches a known manuscript variation, which allows us to restore the Greek text without incorporating a translation of Tertullian's Latin paraphrase directly into the reconstruction. *A.M.* 5:13:9:

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through our Lord Jesus Christ, [5:2] through whom we also have access by faith[πι] into this grace in which we stand, and we boast in hope of the glory of God.

[33]

[5:3] Yet not only [that], but also we boast in [our] afflictions, knowing that:-

- affliction produces endurance,
- [5:4] and endurance: trustiness,
- and trustiness: hope.

[5:5] Now hope is not put to shame, because the love[αγ] of God has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit [that has been] given to us.

[5:6] For while we were still weak Christ died, *at the right moment*[34] on behalf of [the] impious.[35] [5:7] For scarcely on behalf of a just person will anyone die, though on behalf of the good, possibly someone might even dare to die. [5:8] But, God shows his love to us in that [while] we were still sinners, Christ died for us. [5:9] By much more then, having been-justified now [by] his blood, shall we be saved through him from the wrath. [5:10] For if being enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his son, by much more [then], having been reconciled, we shall be saved [through] his life[ζ]. [5:11] Yet not only [that], but also [our] boasting [is] in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we [have] now received reconciliation.

> He enjoins those who are justified by faith in Christ and not by the law to have peace with God. With what God? Him whose enemies we have never, in any dispensation, been? Or Him against whom we have rebelled, both in relation to His written law and His law of nature? Now, as peace is only possible towards Him with whom there once was war, we shall be both justified by Him, and to Him also will belong the Christ, in whom we are justified by faith, and through whom alone God's enemies can ever be reduced to peace.

33 <5:3-5:5> This passage is a possible interpolation; notice how verse 5:6 continues the flow of thought from verse 5:2. Regardless of whether or not this passage is interpolated, we have no reason to believe it was absent from the Marcionite version of the text. I have not coloured it red, as even if it is an addition to the text of *Romans* it seems benign.

αγ The Greek root word here is "ἀγάπη", a type of love.

34 Literally: in accordance with the season

35 <5:6> *P.* 42:11:8:

> 4(31). "For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly."

ζ The Greek word here is "ζωή"; one of several Greek words for "life". The word "ζωή" means life in a holistic, interdependent, connected, collective sense; e.g. "life" as in "all life on earth".

[My reconstruction of *Romans* is not yet compete; 5:12 onwards is not included in this version.]

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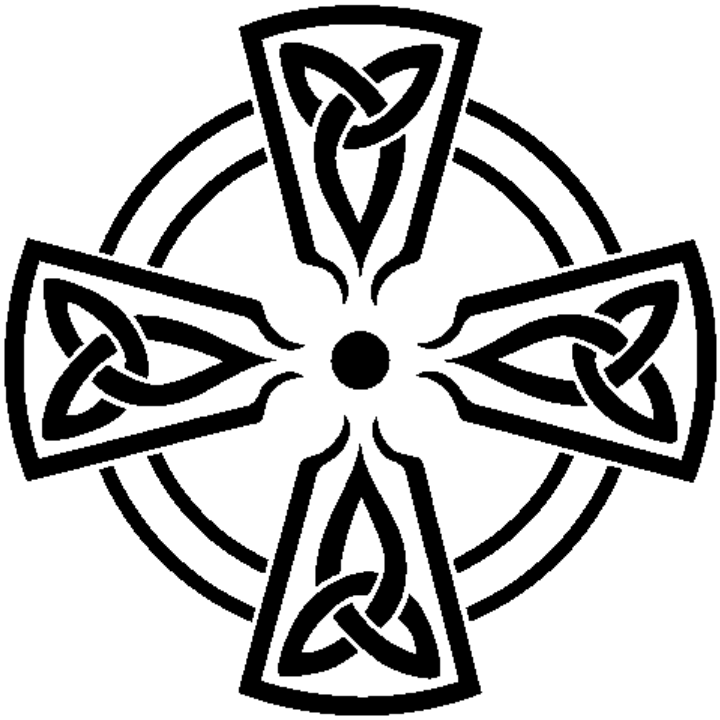

The Marcionite Romans:
General Purpose Translation

(*Romans* 1:1-5:11)

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Contents

Contents....3
Preface....4
Rough draft....4
Introduction....4
Translation approach....5
Final comments....7
The Marcionite Prologue....8
[Paul's Epistle] to the Romans....9
[Greeting]....9
[Purpose of the letter]....9
[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]....9
[False security in the law and circumcision]....11
[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]....11

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Preface

Rough draft

This reconstruction of *Romans* is unfinished and is a rough draft. It presently only includes the first few chapters of *Romans*. Before publishing the complete and finished version of the reconstruction it is likely that I will make changes and corrections, as I refine and check my work.

If you notice any errors or mistakes I would be very grateful if you could let me know; my e-mail address is:

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Introduction

The Marcionites were an ancient Christian group whose beliefs and bible were radically different to those of modern Christians. The Marcionites were persecuted out of existence, and all known copies of their bible were destroyed during the transition between ancient times and the Medieval era. The Marcionite bible is much older than the conventional bible; it was compiled by the Marcionites a full two centuries before the conventional bible was established. The Marcionite bible contains many of the same documents that are in the conventional bible; however, the Marcionite version of several of those documents is much shorter than the conventional version. There is substantial evidence that the Marcionite version is the closer to the original and that numerous fraudulent passages were added to the conventional version[1].

No copies of the Marcionite bible are known to have survived to modern times; however, it is possible to restore the Marcionite bible in spite of this. Several ancient Catholic writers examined the Marcionite bible; they quoted from it extensively in their writings as they argued against Marcionite beliefs. In some places they even described the differences between the Marcionite bible and their own scriptures. By examining their quotes and descriptions, it is possible to reconstruct the documents that made up the Marcionite bible. There are many places where we have no quotations or descriptions of the Marcionite

1 Many of the scholars and historians that have studied this field in detail have concluded that the Marcionite version of the gospel and epistles of Paul are closer to the originals than the conventional version of the same documents. See for example:-

- the work of Paul-Louis Couchoud (www.hermann-detering.de/couch_engl.htm),
- the work of Charles Waite (http://webspace.webring.com/people/ou/um_6968/wait2.htm),
- the work of Hermann Detering (www.hermann-detering.de/FabricatedJHC.pdf),
- A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul by John J. Clabeaux
- Marcion and the New Testament by John Knox (published 1942).

My own analysis of a small cross section can be found in articles on one of my websites: www.Original-Bible.com

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version, but in such places it is probable that the two versions were the same, and the text from the conventional Bible can be used to “fill in the gaps”.

In a previous work *The Marcionite Romans: Interlinear with Reconstruction Notes* I reconstructed part of the Marcionite version of the book of *Romans* in Greek. This present work is intended as a straightforward translation of that text, aimed at the ordinary reader. My previous work contained a full set of references to the sources used and discussion of the reconstruction process. I have left those references and discussion out of this version of the translation, except in a few places where there are particular uncertainties about the content of the Marcionite version of *Romans*[2]. Any reader who is interested in the detail of the reconstruction process should consult the previous work[3].

In this translation I have coloured text black or grey depending on our level of knowledge of the Marcionite *Romans*. Text which is coloured black corresponds to areas where the Marcionite version is known directly from the quotes, descriptions and discussions of the ancient Catholic writers; text which is coloured grey corresponds to areas where we do not directly know the Marcionite version, and must use text from the conventional version to fill in the gaps.

In ancient times neither the Marcionite nor the conventional version of the bible had verse divisions. For convenient referencing, I have included verse divisions in this translation, these are the same as the verse numbering of the corresponding text in the conventional bible. Since there are a great many passages which exist only in the conventional bible you will notice that there are breaks in the verse numbering in this version.

Translation approach

When translating a text, the objective is to communicate the message of the original both as accurately as possible, and as clearly as possible. These objectives are of critical importance when translating sacred writings; however they are also in conflict with one another. It is impossible for any English translation to be both perfectly clear, and perfectly precise; attempts to follow the original text as precisely as possible inevitably compromise the clarity of the translation, whilst attempts to express the original message in natural “every day” language come at a cost of precision and accuracy. Like all translators of the bible I have thought carefully about how best to strike a balance between precision and clarity, to get the best of both worlds, as far as that is possible.

I believe that consistently using the same English word for any Greek word can often greatly obscure the meaning, because in Greek, as in English, a word can have several dramatically different meanings in different contexts. Excessively literal translations, though intended to be precise, therefore run the risk misrepresenting the original meaning by failing to properly respond to the context of each word. None the less, I feel constructing English sentences so that they precisely match the grammar of the

2 There are some places where there is evidence of variation within different copies of the Marcionite version or *Romans* (e.g. *Romans* 1:29-31), and places where the sources from which the Marcionite version is reconstructed can be interpreted in different ways (e.g. *Romans* 3:21-22). In such places this translation still contains a brief description of the the issues in the footnotes.

3 It is available online: www.Marcionite-Scripture.info

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corresponding Greek sentence is important. Even the most well-intentioned of translators run the risk of subtly interpreting the Greek text through the lens of their own beliefs, and then writing that interpretation into their translation. As a result, paraphrased translations can make the reader very dependant on the translators interpretation of the text.

The approach that I have decided upon therefore is not particularly literal in the sense that I frequently translate Greek words according to their figurative and idiomatic meanings (as dictated by context); however, at the same time I have endeavoured to be very precise regarding sentence structure and more general use of language. There are a few places where it is simply impossible for a translation to be both clear and precisely match the original sentence structure, and so I occasionally use a footnote to provide an alternative translation that is either clearer or more precise. In a small number of places the translation is slightly paraphrased; italics are used to mark out the paraphrased text, and a more literal translation is given in the footnotes.

No translation can ever perfectly reproduce every nuance and shade of meaning of the original text. A particular problem occurs when three or four words in one language correspond to only one in word in another. For example consider Jesus' words in *Luke* 9:24:

> Whoever would save his life will lose it, but however loses his life for my sake will save it.

Let us consider for a moment the word life. Inevitably the English word does not perfectly match the connotations associated with the Greek; but to compound the issue, in Greek there are three words for life. The sentence above contains two of them and both have been converted to the same English word, losing the contrast in their meaning.

In order to address this translation issue I have selected a number of key Greek words; these are words of particular significance to Christian teaching, and words for which there is a significant danger of some of the meaning being lost in translation. When one of these words appears in the Greek text, I mark the corresponding English word with a Greek letter or two (in superscript) to indicate which Greek work it has come from. The Greek words are:

Greek Word	English Translation	Meaning
ἀγάπη agape	love$^{\alpha\gamma}$	Love, but a particular type of love, contrasted by “φιλέω”.
φιλέω phileo	love$^{\varphi}$	Love, but a particular type of love, contrasted by “ἀγάπη”.
ἁμαρτάνω hamartano	trespass$^{\alpha\mu}$, err$^{\alpha\mu}$	“ἁμαρτάνω” literally means to “miss the target”, but was often used figuratively to indicated that someone has failed to meet the required standard in a moral sense. It has traditionally been translated “sin” (or “synn” in middle English), which once had a very similar meaning to the Greek word; it literally meant to

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		miss a target. The English language has changed since then and the word “sin” now has strong negative connotations of condemnation and irreconcilable guilt for many people. As a result I feel it is no longer appropriate to translate “ἁμαρτάνω” as “sin” and will use less loaded terms instead.
ζωή zoE	life[ζ]	Holistic, interdependent, connected, collective; e.g. “life” as in “all life on earth”. This is often the word used to talk about eternal life, though it can be used to refer to physical / mortal life as well. In the Greek language it is contrasted by “ψυχή” and “βίος”.
ψυχή psyche	life[ψ]	Individualistic, an individual manifestation of life / consciousness, or intellect / mind. It is contrasted by “ζωή” and “βίος”.
βίος vios	life[β]	Everyday life, physical life, means of subsistence, property, goods, etymologically connected to the word “biology”. It is contrasted by “ζωή” and “ψυχή”.
πίστις pistis	faith[πι], belief[πι] or trust[πι]	Like the English word “faith”, the word “πίστις” can refer to either believing it to be true or having trust in something. The translation “belief” does a poor job of capturing this second meaning, but must be used in some grammatical circumstances.
δικαιοσύνη dikeosunE	righteousness[δ] or justice[δ]	There are two English words which I have frequently used as translations of this Greek word, due to it's double meaning. As a result, the translated text may appear as if it is treating two separate concepts which are actually closely related in Greek.

If you are interested in studying the teaching of the Marcionite version of *Romans* in depth then these markings and their associated footnotes may be of interest to you.

Final comments

My knowledge of Greek and Latin is very limited. I am taking on the task of reconstructing the Marcionite version of *Romans* not because I am particularly qualified or suited it; but rather, because I feel it is of the utmost importance that detailed reconstructions of the Marcionite scriptures be made freely available to people as soon as possible, and in spite of my limitations and flaws I believe that my efforts will be better than nothing.

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The Marcionite Prologue

The Romans are in the region of Italy. They had been reached first by false apostles, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ they were lead into the law and the prophets. They are called back by the apostle, to the true evangelical faith, writing to them from Corinth.

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[Paul's Epistle] to the Romans

[Greeting]

[1:1] Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ, called [to be] an apostle, set apart for the Gospel of God;

[1:7] to all who are in Rome, beloved[αγ] ones of God, called [to be][1] saints: grace to you and peace from God our father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

[1:8] First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ on account of all of you, because your faith[πι] is celebrated throughout the whole world. [1:9] For God is my witness, (whom I serve in my spirit in the Gospel of his son), that unceasingly I make mention of you, [1:10] always in my prayers, asking if somehow now, sometime [I may] succeed, (by the will of God), in coming to you.

[Purpose of the letter]

[1:11] For I long to see you, that I may share some spiritual gift [with] you, for you to be strengthened. [1:12] That is that we may be comforted together, among you, through the faith[πι] that is in each other, both yours and mine. [1:13] Now I do not want you to remain ignorant brethren, that often I intended to come to you (and was hindered until the present) that I might have some fruit among you too, as also among the other Gentiles. [1:14] I am a debtor both to Greeks, and to barbarians, to both the wise and the simple. [1:15] So then, what is preferable for me is to preach the Gospel to you, the ones in Rome, also.

[Jews and Gentiles equally in need of the Gospel]

[1:16] For I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to all the faithful[πι], to both Jew and Greek. [1:17] For the righteousness[δ] of God is revealed in it[2],

---

αγ The Greek root word here is "ἀγάπη", a type of love.

1 The English words "called saints" could mean two things; (1) labelled or named saints, or (2) appointed or invited to be saints. The Greek word corresponding to "called" here is "κλητοῖς"; unlike the English word, it can only mean "called" in the sense of appointment (meaning 2) so I have added the words "to be" to remove the ambiguity of the English word, and steer readers away from interpretation 1. Unfortunately there is a risk that by doing so I may have introduced a different translation error to the text as the words "to be" might incorrectly be interpreted as indicating that the readers are called to become saints in the future. To clarify: the readers are called to be saints now, at this present time, not merely become saints at some point in the future. These points are also relevant in verse one, where the word "called" is translated from "κλητὸς", and the words "to be" should be interpreted in the same way.

πι The Greek root word here is "πίστις", which can mean faith, trust or belief.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

2 The Greek version of this sentence is slightly ambiguous, because the word "αὐτῷ" can mean either "it" or "him". If it means "it", then it refers back to the Gospel; if it means "him" it could refer to a member of "the faithful", or it could refer to God himself. The double meaning of "δικαιοσύνη"

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from faith[πι] to faith[πι] [3]. [1:18] Wrath from heaven is also revealed, upon the irreverence and unrighteousness[δ] of men, who by their unrighteousness[δ] suppress the truth,

[4]

[1:29] having been filled with all unrighteousness[δ], wickedness, greed, evil, full of envy, of murder, of strife, of deceit, bad character, gossips, [1:30] Slanderers, haters-of-God violent/insulting, proud boasters inventors of evil [things] disobedient to parents, [1:31] without-understanding, covenant-breakers, without-affection, without-mercy.

[2:2] Thus/But[5] we see that the judgement of God is on the basis of truth. [2:11] For [there] is no favouritism with God. [2:12] Whoever transgressed[αμ] without the law shall also perish without the law, and whoever transgressed[αμ] with the law shall be judged through the law. [2:13] For [it's] not the hearers of the law [that are] righteous[δ] before God, but the doers of the law [who] shall be justified[δ], ([2:14] For when Gentiles (those without the law) by nature may do the [things] of the law, these [ones] without the law are a law to themselves. [2:15] They show the work of the law written in their hearts[6], their conscience testifying with them, their thoughts accusing or even defending them.) [2:16] on the day when God shall judge people's secrets, through Christ, according to my Gospel.

(righteousness or justice) compounds the uncertainty.

3 The statement "from faith to faith" (ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ) is rather hard to interpret (in both the Marcionite and the traditional version of *Romans*). Numerous possible interpretations have been suggested, a few possible interpretations / translations are as follows:

1) beginning and ending in faith (as translated by the *New International Version*)

2) from [God's] faithfulness to [our] faith

3) from [the] faith [of the preacher] to [the] faith [of the hearer]

Or perhaps Paul is simply reminding us that the faith with which we begin our Christian journey must be continued if we are to deepen and continue our walk with God.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

4 <1:29-31> Tertullian's quotation of the Marcionite version of *Romans* (in *Against Marcion* 5:13:3) indicates that in the Marcionite version, verse 2:2 followed shortly after verse 1:18; this means that most of 1:19-2:1 must have been absent from the Marcionite text. It is also apparent from the text of the long version of *Romans* itself that 2:2 must originally have followed shortly after 1:18. Whilst I am certain that 1:19-1:28 and 1:32-2:1 are interpolated, I am less certain about 1:29-31; perhaps this small portion of text can sit between 1:18 and 2:1 without disrupting the flow of those two verses; then again, perhaps 2:1 should follow immediately after 1:18. I have included 1:29-31 in brackets because of this uncertainty.

5 The corresponding Greek word here is "δέ"; a common word which can be translated to numerous English equivalents depending on the context: thus, and, yet, but, therefore, however... Unfortunately it is impossible to know how best to translate this word without knowing whether verses 1:29-31 were present in the Marcionite text.

αμ The root word here is "ἁμαρτάνω"; it literally means to "miss the mark"; it was also used in a figurative sense to mean that someone had morally fallen short of a required standard.

6 This could be interpreted as an allusion to *Jeremiah* 31:32.

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[False security in the law and circumcision]

[2:17] Yet if you are called a Jew, and rely on the law, and are boasting in God, [2:18] and know [God's] will, and discern the important [things], being taught out of the law, [2:19] [if] you also have confidence that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those in darkness, [2:20] an instructor of the ignorant, a teacher of babes, having the appearance of knowledge and of the truth of the law, [2:21] the one then teaching another, are you not teaching yourself? The one preaching not to steal, are you stealing? [2:22] The one saying not to be committing adultery; are you committing adultery? The one detesting idols; do you *commit sacrilege*[7]? [2:23] Who boasts in the law; do you dishonour God through the violation of the law? [2:24] For "the name of God is blasphemed"[8] because of you, even as it has been written.

[2:25] For circumcision is indeed beneficial, if you keep the law; but if you may be a breaker of the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision. [2:28] For the one [merely] outwardly appearing [to be] a Jew is not [truly a Jew], nor is [true] circumcision in outward appearance (in the flesh). [2:29] But the one [truly] a Jew is [so] inwardly, (and [true] circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit not the letter), whose praise is not from men, but from God.

[Righteousness through Christ instead of the law]

[3:19] Now we know that what the law says, it speaks to those under law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become liable. [3:20] Therefore by the works of the law all flesh will not be justified[δ] [; for through law comes an-acknowledgement of transgression[αμ]][9] .

7 Literally: Do you rob temples?

8 *Isaiah* 52:5

αμ The root word here is "ἁμαρτάνω"; it literally means to "miss the mark"; it was also used in a figurative sense to mean that someone had morally fallen short of a required standard.

9 <3:20> Verse 3:19 and the first half of verse 20 state that the purpose of the law is to convict the entire world, and that no one can be justified through the law; the Marcionites no-doubt interpreted this as describing the methods by which the creator or lesser god held the world in bondage. It is unlikely that their version contained the words enclosed in square brackets "through the law comes an acknowledgement of transgression", and I strongly suspect that Tertullian and Epiphanius would have quoted them if they had been present. If this passage originally expounded Marcionite (or proto-Marcionite) theology then these extra words are a classic example of an interpolation that sought to explain and re-interpret a statement that was challenging to a non Marcionite scribe.

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[10]

[3:21] But now the righteousness[δ] of God without the law is manifested, [3:22] even righteousness[δ] of God through [the / our] faith[πι] of / in Christ[†].

[3:21] Formerly the law, [3:22] now righteousness[δ] of God through [the / our] faith[πι] of / in Christ[†].

[5:1] So having been justified[δ] by faith[πι], let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, [5:2] through whom we also have access by faith[πι] into this grace in which we stand, and we boast in hope of the glory of God.

10 <3:21-22> *Against Marcion* 5:13:8:

> It was once the law; now it is "the righteousness of God which is by the faith of (Jesus) Christ." What means this distinction? Has your god been subserving the interests of the Creator's dispensation, by affording time to Him and to His law? Is the "Now" in the hands of Him to whom belonged the "Then"? Surely, then, the law was His, whose is now the righteousness of God. It is a distinction of dispensations, not of gods.

The passage above can be interpreted in two ways. Rev. Peter Holmes, the translator my English copy of *Against Marcion*, interpreted only the words "the righteousness of God which is by the faith of (Jesus) Christ." as a direct quotation of the Marcionite text; he did not regard the words "It was once the law; now it is" as being part of the quote. The alternative interpretation of *Against Marcion* 5:13:8 is to regard the entire sentence ("It was once the law; now it is the righteousness of God which is by the faith of Christ.") as a direct quote from the Marcionite text, corresponding to verse 3:21 as well as 3:22. I have therefore prepared two reconstructions of these verses based on these two possibilities.

Also, the name "Jesus" in brackets in the quote above was added by the translator as is absent from the Latin text.

δ The Greek root word here is "δικαιοσύνη", which can mean either justice or righteousness.

πι The Greek root word here is "πίστις", which can mean faith, trust or belief.

† The Greek form of this clause reads "ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ"; the word "Christ" is in the genitive case. An ambiguity is created by the fact that this can be interpreted as a subjective genitive ("[the] faith **of** Christ") or as an objective genitive ("[our] faith **in** Christ"). I do not believe that a translator should allow their theological views to influence their translation of such a text; I leave readers to consider this issue for themselves.

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[11]

[5:3] Yet not only [that], but also we boast in [our] afflictions, knowing that:-

- affliction produces endurance,
- [5:4] and endurance: trustiness,
- and trustiness: hope.

[5:5] Now hope is not put to shame, because the love[αγ] of God has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit [that has been] given to us.

[5:6] For while we were still weak Christ died, *at the right moment*[12] on behalf of [the] impious. [5:7] For scarcely on behalf of a just person will anyone die, though on behalf of the good, possibly someone might even dare to die. [5:8] But, God shows his love to us in that [while] we were still sinners, Christ died for us. [5:9] By much more then, having been-justified now [by] his blood, shall we be saved through him from the wrath. [5:10] For if being enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his son, by much more [then], having been reconciled, we shall be saved [through] his life[ζ]. [5:11] Yet not only [that], but also [our] boasting [is] in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we [have] now received reconciliation.

11 <5:3-5:5> This passage is a possible interpolation; notice how verse 5:6 continues the flow of thought from verse 5:2. Regardless of whether or not this passage is interpolated, we have no reason to believe it was absent from the Marcionite version of the text. Even if it is an addition to the text of *Romans* it seems benign.

αγ The Greek root word here is "ἀγάπη", a type of love.

12 Literally: in accordance with the season

ζ The Greek word here is "ζωή"; one of several Greek words for "life". The word "ζωή" means life in a holistic, interdependent, connected, collective sense; e.g. "life" as in "all life on earth".

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[My reconstruction of *Romans* is not yet compete; 5:12 onwards is not included in this version.]

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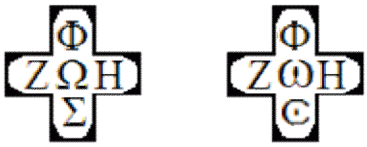
http://www.apostolicon.com/I_Thessalonians.html



Book Five of the Apostolicon
The Epistle
of the Apostle Mark

To the Thessalonians
(first epistle)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface....3
What is the Apostolicon?....3
Who Wrote the Apostolicon?....4
Reconstructing and Translating....6
Sources....9
Color Codes....9
Caught Up to meet Christ Paul in the Air....11
The Marcionite Prologue....13
To the Thessalonians....13
Addendum....21
From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian: A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of 1st Thessalonians....21

Preface

What is the Apostolicon?

The Apostolicon (together with the Evangelicon) is the original canon of Christian scripture. The word "Apostolicon" means that which presents "the Apostle". Marcion[a], a man accused of being one of the most dangerous heretics of all time by Orthodoxy, is said to have compiled and canonized the Apostolicon and, according to a late Catholic tradition, delivered the Apostolicon scripture to John the Apostle[b]. The Apostolicon contains ten epistles of the Apostle as follows:

1. Alexandrians (Corinthians)
2. Alexandrians (second epistle)
3. Galatians
4. Romans
5. Thessalonians
6. Thessalonians (second epistle)
7. Laodiceans (Ephesians)
8. Colossians
9. Philemon
10. Philippians

The Evangelicon is the first gospel narrative ever written. Mark (aka Paul) is the author of the Evangelicon and made references to it in his epistles (Galatians 1:8-9, 1:11, 2:2, 2:7, Romans 2:16, 1st Thessalonians 1:5, 2nd Thessalonians 2:14). It was about 172 AD that Catholic Church fathers wrote "The Four Gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), using older gospels as source material[c]. The Evangelicon was used as the primary source for writing the "Gospel of Luke". There was also a second version of the Evangelicon, a more spiritual version, used by those who were being "perfected". The "Gospel of Mark" is a redacted version of this more spiritual version of the Evangelicon.

---

[a] Marcion, likely the bishop of Alexandria, had, in the eyes of most Christians of the second century, power even greater than the bishop of Rome, and could, with authority, canonize the Apostolicon. There likely would not have been any surviving letters of Paul without the canonization of the Apostolicon.

[b] This tradition sought to explain how it could be possible that the Catholic Church had need of a heretic to obtain the writings of the Apostle Paul. An earlier Coptic tradition is that "John" was the Jewish name for Mark (or Paul) and so the Apostolicon is authored by this one and the same, actually the *only*, Apostle.

[c] For an examination considering the dating of The Four Gospels, see Charles Burlingame Waite's work, "The History of the Christian Religion, to the Year Two Hundred", particularly chapter 26.

http://www.apostolicon.com/I_Thessalonians.html

The so-called epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus are non-canonical works of the second century; apparently written in opposition to the Marcionite faith as they contain explicit anti-Marcionite theology.

There are no surviving manuscripts of the Apostolicon. However, it was quoted extensively by Tertullian and other early Catholic Fathers. By careful examination of their quotes and their descriptions of the differences between the Apostolicon and the Catholic scriptures the reconstruction can begin.

Research by Stephan Hullers concludes that the Galatians-first version of the Apostolicon (which can be reconstructed from the quotations of Tertullian) was not the original Apostolicon, but a later Catholic version re-engineered most likely by Polycarp[d]. Polycarpian interpolations were a part of the process of separating Paul from his original historical identity as Marcus Julius Agrippa, the last king of Judea, who was universally regarded as the messiah in Judea and in Alexandria from the time of the Samaritan Jubilee (38 AD) to the time of the destruction of the temple[e]. The subtle Polycarpian interpolations helped to defuse the apostolic authority of Paul. To first century Jews, the term "Messiah" or "Christ" was nearly synonymous with the term "Apostle". Moses was referred to as an "apostle", and the Messiah was prophesied to be an "apostle" like Moses[f]. The term "Apostle" did not need to be followed by a name because there would be only one person with this title. The truth is that Marcus Julius Agrippa was "Paul," or rather, as Stephan Hullers once put it, "*the* Paul," denoting "*the* Apostle" whose revelation led to the composition of the original gospel and apostolic letters, the basis of the original Marcionite canon known as the Apostolicon. The Galatians-first Polycarpian Catholic version used the pseudonym "Paul", as a way to protect the name of Mark, or perhaps rather to *hide* it from the historical record!

Who Wrote the Apostolicon?

PAUL HAD MORE THAN ONE NAME

There would be no such thing as "Apostolic Authority" without Paul. Contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the whole concept of an "Apostle" began with Paul, not with Peter. The original meaning of "Apostle" meant the

[d] http://therealmessiahbook.blogspot.com/2008/04/antichrist-of-catholic-tradition.html

[e] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 72, 105-109). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

[f] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 2148-2158). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

one who was sent by god to be the Messiah of the Jews; hence it was a title for only one person. Before the meaning of "Apostle" changed the author of "The Acts of Peter" tried to make Peter into "*the*" Apostle. Then probably starting with the writing of "The Acts of the Apostles" (no earlier that 169 A.D.) the term began to loose its Messianic connection. Paul's unique apostolic calling became defused in many peoples minds by 12 Apostles, and later even 72 Apostles. With Paul's history being re-written he was not even to be remembered as the first apostle, but a late comer. The history reconstructionists created a few different characters for Paul and gave them different names to misdirect the attention from one single figure of Paul. One such character was the Apostle John of the 12 disciples of Jesus, who was depicted as the youngest of the 12, and in fact Paul was about 7 or 8 years old when he followed Jesus in his ministry[g]. Each character created for Paul showed different characteristics of Paul. Some other characters were: Zacchaeus, Barabbas, and even Jesus himself (not that Jesus was also a name for Paul, but that, in the making of Jesus into the Christ, many attributes of Paul were put upon Jesus) and all had something to do with the person of Paul the Apostle. And "Paul" was likewise a pseudonym, probably derived from "Saul" who historically was the first King of Israel (and of the tribe of Benjamin) and thus corresponding to the last King of Israel who was Mark (i.e. Marcus Julius Agrippa - also of the tribe of Benjamin), who was the real person of Paul.

In an effort to reestablish the Apostle's original identity I use only the two names of Mark and Paul (interchangeably). The Apostle Mark, not just because it was his real name but it also helps link him to the writing of the first gospel narrative (The Gospel According to Mark), and also to disassociate him with his false Catholic history coming from the Acts of the Apostles. And I use the Apostle Paul, simply because that is what he has come to be known as.

WHO WAS "MARCION"? WAS MARCION YET ANOTHER NAME FOR PAUL?

There are scholars who will tell you Marcion and Paul were the same person; but the reason I don't believe this to be the case is because there was, in Alexandria, two people with the name "Marcion". The first one was the "apostle" who established the apostolic line of bishops for the city of Alexandria in 38 A.D. He was more commonly referred to as "Mark", and this was the same person as Paul the Apostle! But, in the line of bishops in the city of Alexandria, the seventh bishop in the line was Bishop "Marcion", who was bishop there from 142 A.D. to 152 A.D. This was the one who was the famed "heretic" (from a Catholic point of view) who was the leader of the Marcionite Church at the time. Although the common use for the term "Marcionite" means the followers of this so-called heretic bishop, the

[g] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 1002-1005, 2005-2006). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

meaning of the term is: "The Followers of Mark"[h] and I intend to use the term to mean the followers of Mark the Apostle (i.e. Paul), rather than the followers of this second century bishop of Alexandria. Bishop Marcion of Alexandria may have had this name because he believed that he would be the last true successor to the founder (Mark the Apostle and Evangelist) of the apostolic line of Alexandria, and it was about that time that some things started to change in Alexandria because of the strong influence from Rome.

It has been said that Bishop Marcion of Alexandria was the one who canonized the Apostolicon in about 120 A.D. It is true that the Bishop of Alexandria did have the power in those days to do such a thing, and surely Bishop Marcion supported the Apostolicon as Christian Scripture, but it is far more likely that the original Apostolicon was canonized by the Apostle Paul himself. And the 120 A.D. version of the Apostolicon was Polycarp's Galatians-first reengineered version of which it was falsely claimed that it was canonized by Bishop Marcion as a way to associate it's canonization with a second-century "heretic", rather than with the Catholic Church Father Polycarp.

Reconstructing and Translating

POTENTIAL INTERPOLATIONS

Potential interpolations are identified by the characteristics described by Melissa Cutler[i]:

- They do not match the writing style of the original author. Sometimes this is so obvious that it can be seen even in an English translation of the text.
- They do not fit in with the original flow of thought – they often cause the text to jump abruptly to a new subject, and then back to the original subject when the interpolation ends, in a confusing and disjointed way.
- They do not fit in with the structure of the text – ancient documents had a logical structure with sections that introduced the topic, contained background information, and summarized the conclusions, etc. – Interpolations do not fit in with this structure, as the original author did not plan for them to be there.
- They disrupt the original text – sometimes sentences that were meant to refer back to something that had just been mentioned will be

[h] "The name Markion might be a back-formation from Aramaic Marqiyônê (singular Marqiyona) meaning the followers of Mark." (Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Location 4304). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.)

[i] Quotation from "Misogynistic Interpolations in the Letters of Paul": http://www.original-bible.com/Misogynistic-Interpolations-in-Paul.html .

separated from it by the inserted text, so that they become confusing or meaningless. Sometimes interpolations were added mid-sentence, disrupting even the sentence structure.
- They often express ideas and opinions that contradict those of the original author.

CONFIRMED INTERPOLATIONS

Interpolations are "confirmed" if evidence can be found in a reconstruction source that the interpolation could not have been present in the Apostolicon. Confirmed interpolations are removed and unconfirmed interpolations may remain, but are marked in red.

HOW QUOTES ARE INCORPORATED INTO THE APOSTOLICON

Where a reconstruction source has a quote from the Apostolicon, and it is determined that the quote is essentially the same as the text from a commonly accepted Greek manuscript, that Greek text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon; regardless of whether the quote is in Latin or Greek. In the case where the two are substantially the same, except for only one or two words, and unimportant verbal differences, the Greek with those words inserted into the text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon. In the case where the quote is significantly different from any commonly accepted Greek manuscript a translation of the quote is incorporated directly into the reconstruction, this is then considered to be the same as the Apostolicon.

STRONG IMPLICATION

Where a certain meaning is strongly implied, but that implication is not clear in English, a few words may be added to strengthen the implication. All words added to strengthen an implied meaning are *italicized*.

ESTIMATION OF LOST TEXT BASED ON SUPPORTED INFERENCE

In some cases where there are reasons to believe original text was completely removed, but a reasonable inferred estimation of the lost text can be recreated, then, in as few words as possible, an inferred estimation of the lost text is provided in the translation. The basis for supporting an inferred estimation will be explained in the footnotes. Any words added for an inferred estimation of lost text are both *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*].

RECONSTRUCTING THE ORIGINAL, COMPLETED IN TWO PHASES

The first phase is the reconstruction of the Galatians-first Apostolicon using primarily Tertullian and Epiphanius as the reconstruction source. Then, to reconstruct a close estimation of the pre-Polycarpian Alexandrian-first

Apostolicon original, the second phase is: First, determine the themes that motivated Polycarp to make his re-engineered version of the Apostolicon. Make a list. Second, identify each place where these themes are found. And third, create an "Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference" of what likely was written before altered by Polycarp by reversing the Polycarpian theme. In the case were the inferred estimation fits into the surrounding text and shows no sign of the characteristics of an interpolation, the inferred estimation will be provided in the reconstruction and the reader will be able to see the consistency of the repeated themes by comparing the text before and after the inferred estimation. But in the case where this inferred estimation continues to exhibit the characteristics of an interpolation it must be considered a likelihood that the text in question did not replace text from the original, but may be only a simple interpolation and as such will be considered for removal as Polycarpian non-canonical material. Any words added for a pre-Polycarpian inferred estimation are *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*] and the [*square brackets are marked in red*]. If a text is considered to be an interpolation with Polycarpian-like characteristics and is removed the interpolation-removed markers ("<>") will be marked in red ("<>").

Some of the cities that the epistles were written to were changed by Polycarp. There is enough textual support to posit that the Epistles to the Corinthians were actually written to the Alexandrians. The Epistle to the Laodiceans was not changed to the Ephesians by Polycarp, this change occurred later. Internal literary study of the epistles suggests to me that the epistles to the Thessalonians were actually written to the Samaritans, but I do not yet have enough support for this hypothesis to include it in the reconstruction of the Apostolicon. Philippians may have been written to a city in Judea, maybe even Jerusalem, but once again this is just a hypothesis and it will not be included in the reconstruction. I am confident that the rest of the cities: Galatia, Rome, Laodicea, and Colossae are the actual intended destinations for those epistles. Fortunately, getting the city to which the epistle was written incorrect will not change the content of the epistle. Polycarp made these changes in order to draw attention away from where the Marcionite faith had been firmly established by the Apostle Paul in order to aid in the reconstruction of Paul's history as a glorified Catholic missionary, rather than the Marcionite Apostle.

SPECIAL WORDS

An understanding of dualism[j] is essential to an understanding of the Marcionite faith, therefore, where it can be determined from the context that

[j] Dualism, meaning Gnostic Dualism: The belief that the material world was created by the Old Testament "god", which was an archon (the Demiurgos). But the true GOD, which is the Father of Jesus, is associated with the spiritual world (the 'pleroma') which is not a part of the imperfect physical world. To rise to GOD, one

"God" refers to the Father of Jesus, "GOD" (all capitals) is used. Where it can be determined from the context that "God" does not refer to the Father of Jesus, "god" is used. Otherwise, where there is uncertainty, "God" is used. Likewise, where it can be determined from the context that "Christ" (christos) refers to Jesus, "the Kind One" (chrestos) is used[k]. It is believed that in many cases copyist inadvertently made this change. Excessive use of the term also suggests that in many cases it is a Polycarpian interpolation. If the term is used redundantly with no apparent reason "the Kind One" is used, but also in red square brackets, as: "Jesus [the Kind One]", indicating that it may be a Polycarpian interpolation. In the event in which it can be determined from the context that "Christ" does not refer to Jesus, then "Christ" is used.

Sources

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

1. "Against Marcion" by Tertullian, book 5, chapter 15;
2. "Panarion" by Epiphanius of Salamis, book 42, passage 11, verse 8;

I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Color Codes

Grey – Text unchanged as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Green – Text substantially the same, except for only one or two words and unimportant verbal differences, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources

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must be 'resurrected' (raised out from 'the dead', 'the dead' = the physical world), that is, raised from the physical world to the spiritual world.

[k] Although the title of "Christ" is used countless times in connection with Jesus, the actual teaching that Jesus is the Christ cannot be found among any of the epistles of Paul. This fact is why it is even possible to substitute "the Kind One" for "Christ" without ever disrupting the integrity of any verse! Unlike, for example, the Acts of the Apostles, where the author clearly puts forth the claim that Paul did teach that Jesus is the Christ, as in Acts 17:3b: "This Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you is the Christ." If a reader didn't know what the term "Christ" meant, and had only the context of the epistles of Paul to figure it out, this reader would never be able to determine its meaning. It most certainly is posited that the actual Apostle Paul did not teach that Jesus was the Christ. This teaching (that Jesus was the Christ) began with Peter, but not with Paul. This was the real reason Peter was said to have "denied" Christ. Peter did not attain to the same level of spiritual gnosis as Paul because, as Jesus said to Peter: "you are not setting your mind on the things of God, but on the things of man" (Matthew 16:23).

Dark Green – Text different, original text restored, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Red - Unconfirmed interpolation or corrupted text suspected (if the text is also in red square brackets it indicates the suspected text exhibits the characteristics of a Polycarpian interpolation)

Because most of the text of the Apostolicon is in black, it may appear that there are large portions of the text with no information; however, keep in mind that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages with important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

Caught Up to meet Christ Paul in the Air

The "rapture", as it is commonly called today, is an explanation of how it is that we will all be with Paul, the Lord Christ, the "another paraclete", for all eternity.

Marcionite dualism (or Gnostic dualism) is a teaching that is not restricted to an understanding of God only, it only begins there. As Jesus revealed the true GOD his Father, to be superior to the archon god Jehovah, it is also through Jesus that the believer can gain access to the death in the Lord Christ. GOD Jesus's Father and the archon Jehovah are two separate persons. Jesus and Christ are two separate persons likewise. The two paracletes of John 14:16 are not Jesus and the Holy Spirit they are Jesus and the Christ. "And I [Jesus] shall request from my Father and he will give you another Paraclete [Paul], that he will be with you for eternity" (John 14:16). Let us make a careful study of the verses in 1st Thessalonians on the rapture and this will all become apparent.

(4.14) For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so those also who are falling asleep through Jesus will god bring with him.
(4.15) For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and remain until the appearing of Christ, shall not precede them who are falling asleep.
(4.16) For this same Lord shall descend from heaven, with a loud summons, with the voice of the prince of the angels, and with a trumpet call of god: and the dead in Christ shall rise up first;
(4.17) then immediately thereafter we who remain alive, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and it is in this way that we shall be forever with the Lord.
(4.18) Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

Verse 14, it is not falling asleep "in" Jesus, but falling asleep "through" Jesus; but in verse 16, it is not dead "through" Christ, but dead "in" Christ. Jesus is not Christ. But it is through Jesus we gain access to the death in Christ.

Verse 16, "For this same Lord shall descend from heaven". "This same Lord", "same" is 'autos' (Greek), meaning 'himself'. It is just as if Paul is saying "this same Lord *who is writing this epistle to you* shall descend from heaven". Paul is declaring that he himself is this same Lord who shall descend from heaven!

Verses 4:16e to 4:17a, "the dead in Christ shall rise up first; then immediately thereafter". In Greek it is like this: 'this first, then simultaneously after that …' it sets up the infinite speed of the rapture. It is with this infinite speed that we are "caught up [raptured] in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air".

And who is this "Lord"? It is "this same Lord" (verse 16), it is Paul, who is the Lord Christ. And then Paul explains that "it is in this way that we shall be forever with the Lord". For it was understood that when Christ appeared "he will be with you for eternity" (as John 14:16 says), but it was also understood that Christ would be "cut off" (as Daniel 9:26 said). So Paul explained how it will be that "the Lord" (referring to the 'another Paraclete', which is Paul, the Christ) will be with them forever.

"For though you have countless guides in Christ, you do not have many fathers. For I became your father in Christ through the gospel"
1st Corinthians 4:15

The Epistle of the Apostle Mark[l] To the Thessalonians (first epistle)

The Marcionite Prologue[m]

Thessalonians are Macedonians, who having accepted the word of truth persevered in the faith even in persecution from their fellow-citizens. Moreover, also, they received not the things said by false apostles. These the apostle praises, writing to them from Athens.

To the Thessalonians

(1.1) Mark, and Silvanus, and Timothy unto the church of the Thessalonians in GOD the Father and the Lord Jesus the Kind One: Grace to you and peace.
(1.2) We give thanks to GOD always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers;
(1.3) remembering without ceasing your work of faith and labor of love and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus the Kind One, before our GOD and Father;
(1.4) knowing, your election, brothers and sisters beloved of God,
(1.5) seeing that the gospel came from us unto you not in word only, but also in power, and in holy spirit, and in much assurance; for ye know how we were among you, as examples for your sakes.
(1.6) And ye became imitators of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of holy spirit;
(1.7) so that ye became an example to all that believe in Macedonia and in Achaia.
(1.8) For from you has sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith toward God is gone forth; so that we need not to speak anything.

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[l] The name of "Mark" will substitute the name of "Paul". It is not known whether the original Apostolicon used Mark or Paul or some other pseudonym such as John, Barabbas, or Zacchaeus, but by doing this it will be easier for the reader to disassociate the Apostle from his false "Catholic" history recorded in the Acts of the Apostles; as well as to associate the Apostle with his writing of the first gospel narrative (i.e. The Gospel of Mark).

[m] "Marcionite" prologues (found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts) were accepted by Catholics, in spite of the fact that they are likely of Marcionite origin.

(1.9) For they themselves report concerning us what manner of entering in we had unto you; and how ye turned unto God from idols, to serve a living and true God,

(1.10) and to wait for his son from the heavens, whom he raised out from among the dead, [even Jesus], who delivered us from the wrath to come.

(2.1) For you yourselves, brothers and sisters, know that our coming to you was not in vain:

(2.2) but having suffered before and been shamefully treated, as ye know, at Philippi[n], we had the boldness in our GOD to speak unto you the gospel of GOD in the midst of much opposition.

(2.3) For our exhortation is not of error, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile:

(2.4) but even as we have been approved of GOD to be entrusted with the gospel, so we speak; not as pleasing people, but God who proves our hearts.

(2.5) For neither at any time were we found using words of flattery, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness, God is witness;

(2.6) nor seeking glory of anyone, neither from you nor from others, when we might have claimed authority as apostles[o] of the Kind One.

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[n] Somewhat alluded to in Philippians 4:15-16, but corresponds to the Judeans in verse 2:14. There is support here for the inference that the Epistle to the Philippians may have actually been written to the Judeans.

[o] From Barnes' Notes on the Bible: "As the apostles of Christ" - Though the writer uses the word apostles here in the plural number, it is not certain that he means to apply it to Silas and Timothy. He often uses the plural number where he refers to himself only; and though Silas and Timothy are joined with him in this Epistle 1 Thessalonians 1:1, yet it is evident that he writes the letter as if he were alone and that they had no part in the composition or the instructions. Timothy and Silas are associated with him for the mere purpose of salutation or kind remembrance. That this is so, is apparent from 1 Thessalonians 3:1-13. In 1 Thessalonians 3:1, Paul uses the plural term also. "When we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone"; compare 1 Thessalonians 3:5. "For this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent to know your faith."

The Apostle (singular) is *nearly* synonymous with the Christ, hence the idea that there is only one Apostle, for as Moses was the Apostle of the law, Paul (the Christ) was the Apostle of the Gospel. Apostles (plural) refer to the elect who are one with Christ. Theodotus said, "The elect constitute "one spirit" headed by Christ" (Stromata 42.1). This had its type in Moses as well (Numbers 11:11-29 (in Context), Numbers 11:16,17,29): …The Lord therefore said to Moses, "Gather for Me seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom you know to be the elders of the people and their officers and bring them to the tent of meeting, and let them take their stand there with you. Then I will come down and speak with you there, and I will take of the Spirit who is upon you, and will put Him upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with you, so that you will not bear it all alone. …Moses said to him, "Are you jealous for my sake? Would that all the Lord's

(2.7) But we were gentle in the midst of you, as when a nurse cherishes her own children:
(2.8) even so, being affectionately desirous of you, we were well pleased to impart unto you, not the gospel of GOD only, but also our own souls, because ye had become very dear to us.
(2.9) For ye remember, brothers and sisters, our labor and travail: working night and day, that we might not burden any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of GOD.
(2.10) Ye are witnesses, and God also, how devoutly and uprightly and blamelessly we behaved toward you who believe:
(2.11) as ye know how we dealt with each one of you, as a father with his own children, exhorting you, and encouraging you, and testifying,
(2.12) to the end that ye should walk in a manner worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory.
(2.13) And for this cause we also thank God without ceasing, that, when ye received the word which you heard from us, even the word of GOD, ye accepted it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of GOD, which also works in you that believe.
(2.14) For ye, brothers and sisters, imitated the churches of GOD in Christ [Jesus] which are at Judea, suffering like things of your own countrymen, even as they did under the Judeans;
(2.15) who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets[p], and drove us out. They displease God, and are hostile to all mankind;
(2.16) hindering us in speaking to the Gentiles that they may be saved; to fill up their sins. But wrath is come upon them to the utmost.
(2.17) But we, brothers and sisters, being bereaved of you for a short season, in presence not in heart, endeavored the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire:
(2.18) because we wanted to come to you, I Mark especially once and again; and the adversary hindered me.
(2.19) For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of glorying? Are not even ye, before our Lord [Jesus] at his appearing?
(2.20) For ye are our glory and our joy.
(3.1) Therefore when we could no longer endure, we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone;
(3.2) and sent Timothy, our brother and GOD's minister in the gospel of the Kind One, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith;

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people were prophets, that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them!" This understanding is in full accord with how Silas and Timothy are apostles *with* Paul.

[p] Against Marcion 5:15(3)

(3.3) that no one be disturbed by these afflictions; for you yourselves know that we have been appointed to this.
(3.4) For indeed, when we were with you, we told you beforehand that we are to suffer affliction; even as it came to pass, and ye know.
(3.5) For because of this I could no longer wait, I sent to know your faith, lest by any means the tempter tempted you, and our labor be in vain.
(3.6) But when Timothy came even now unto us from you, and brought us glad tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, longing to see us, even as we also to see you;
(3.7) for this cause, brothers and sisters, we were comforted over you in all our distress and affliction through your faith:
(3.8) for now we live, if ye stand firm in the Lord.
(3.9) For what thanksgiving can we render again unto God for you, for all the joy with which we joy for your sakes before our GOD;
(3.10) night and day praying exceedingly that we may see your face, and may perfect that which is lacking in your faith?
(3.11) Now may our same GOD and Father, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way unto you:
(3.12) and the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all, even as we also do toward you;
(3.13) to the end he may establish your hearts without blame in holiness before our GOD and Father, at the appearing of our Lord [Jesus] with all his saints.
(4.1) Finally then, brothers and sisters, we beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that, as ye received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, even as ye do walk, that ye abound yet more.
(4.2) For ye know what instructions we gave you by the Lord Jesus.
(4.3) For this is the will of God[q], even your sanctification[r], that ye abstain from fornication[s];
(4.4) that each one of you should know how to possess his vessel in <> honor[t],
(4.5) not in the passion of lust, even as the Gentiles[u] who know not God;
(4.6) that no one transgresses, and wrongs his brother or sister in this matter: because the lord *god* is an avenger in all these things, as also we forewarned you and testified.
(4.7) For God called us not for uncleanness, but unto sanctification.

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[q] Against Marcion 5:15(6)
[r] Against Marcion 5:15(5)
[s] Against Marcion 5:15(7)
[t] Against Marcion 5:15(8)
[u] Against Marcion 5:15(9)

(4.8) Therefore whoever disregards this, disregards not a human being but God, who gives his holy spirit unto you.
(4.9) But concerning love of the brothers and sisters ye have no need that one write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught by God to love one another;
(4.10) for indeed ye do it toward all the brothers and sisters that are in all Macedonia. But we exhort you, brothers and sisters, that ye abound yet more;
(4.11) and that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your hands, even as we instructed you;
(4.12) that ye may walk respectably toward outsiders, and be dependent on no one.
(4.13) But we would not have you ignorant, brothers and sisters, concerning them who fall asleep; that ye sorrow not, even as the rest, who have no hope.
(4.14) For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so those also who are falling asleep through Jesus[v] will god bring with him.
(4.15) For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and remain until the appearing of Christ[w], shall not precede them who are falling asleep.
(4.16) For this same Lord[x] shall descend from heaven, with a loud summons, with the voice of the prince of the angels, and with a trumpet call of god: and the dead in Christ shall rise up first[y];
(4.17) then immediately thereafter we who remain alive, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air[z]: and it is in this way that we shall be forever with the Lord[aa].
(4.18) Wherefore comfort one another with these words.
(5.1) But concerning the times and the seasons, brothers and sisters, ye have no need that anything be written unto you.
(5.2) For you yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so comes as a thief in the night.

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[v] It is 'through Jesus' that we may attain to the death 'in Christ'.
[w] Against Marcion 5:15(12)
[x] 'This same Lord', that is 'This same Lord *who is writing this to you*'.
[y] Against Marcion 5:15(13)
[z] Against Marcion 5:15(14)
[aa] 'It is in this way that we shall be forever with the Lord': A reference to the other 'paraclete'. "And I shall request from my Father and he will give you another Redeemer of the accursed [paraclete], that he will be with you for eternity." (John 14:16 Aramaic Bible). Jesus is one paraclete and Christ is the other paraclete. Paul (who is this other paraclete) explains that this is the way he will be with them for eternity.

(5.3) When they are saying, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction comes upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall in no wise escape.
(5.4) But ye are not in darkness, brothers and sisters, that the day should overtake you as a thief:
(5.5) for ye are all children of light, and children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness;
(5.6) so then let us not sleep, as do the rest, but let us watch and be sober.
(5.7) For they that sleep, sleep in the night: and they that are drunken are drunken in the night.
(5.8) But let us, since we are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation.
(5.9) For God appointed us not into wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus the Kind One,
(5.10) who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.
(5.11) Wherefore exhort one another, and build each other up, even as also ye do.
(5.12) But we beseech you, brothers and sisters, to know them that labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and give you instruction;
(5.13) and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. Be at peace among yourselves.
(5.14) And we urge you, brothers and sisters, admonish the disorderly, encourage the fainthearted, support the weak, be patient with everyone.
(5.15) See that none render unto any one evil for evil; but always follow after that which is good, one toward another, and toward all.
(5.16) Rejoice always;
(5.17) pray without ceasing;
(5.18) in everything give thanks: for this is the will of God in the Kind One Jesus toward you.
<>[bb]
[5.23] (5.19) And this same GOD of peace ultimately sanctify you in every way, complete within all your members: may the Pneumatic, the Psychic, and the Somatic[cc] be preserved blameless unto the appearing of our Lord and savior the Christ[dd].

[bb] Verses 5.19 to 5.22, a Polycarpian Interpolation (see footnote in 2nd Thessalonians): (5.19) [Quench not the spirit; (5.20) despise not prophecies; (5.21) prove all things; hold fast that which is good; (5.22) abstain from every form of evil.]

[cc] A short Gnostic lesson: The Pneumatic, the Psychic, and the Somatic, are the three types of people to whom Paul is called to minister. Somatics are immersed in

[5.24] (5.20) Faithful is he that calls you, who will also do it.
[5.25] (5.21) Brothers and sisters, pray for us.
[5.26] (5.22) Salute all the brothers and sisters with a holy kiss.
[5.27] (5.23) I command you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the brothers and sisters.
[5.28] (5.24) The grace of our Lord Jesus the Kind One be with you.

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materiality and need conversion, Psychics are converted but need resurrection, and Pneumatics are resurrected and must become spiritual fathers (actually spiritual husbands) to the Psychics so that it may be possible for them to attain to the resurrection.

[dd] Against Marcion 5:15(19,20)

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Available Online at: http://Apostolicon.com/ .

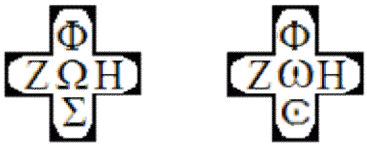
Addendum

From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian: A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of 1st Thessalonians

{1} The Jews had slain their prophets {5893 1 Thess. ii. 15}.
{2} has himself some hand in making away with the same prophets whom he is destroying.
{3} "Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets," although (the pronoun) their own be an addition of the heretics. {5894 All the best mss., including the Codices Alex., Vat., and Sinait., omit the idious, as do Tertullian and Origen. Marcion has Chrysostom and the received text, followed by our A.V., with him}.
{4} having slain the Lord and His servants, is put as a case of climax. {5896 Status exaggerationis}.
{5} "sanctification of ours".
{6} "the will of God".
{7} "abstain from fornication".
{8} every one "should know how to possess his vessel in honour" {5899 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4}.
{9} "Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles" {5900 1 Thess. iv. 5}.
{10} This passage (of the apostle) I would treat in such a way as to maintain the superiority of the other and higher sanctity, preferring continence and virginity to marriage, but by no means prohibiting the latter.
{11} the God of marriage.
{12} "remain unto the coming of Christ".
{13} "the dead in Christ, shall rise first".
{14} "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" {5906 1 Thess. iv. 15-17}.
{15} the heavenly intelligences gazed with admiration on "the Jerusalem which is above" {5907 Galatians 4:26}.
{16} Christ has prepared for us this ascension into heaven.
{17} What "spirit" does he forbid us to "quench," and what "prophesyings" to "despise?" {5911 1 Thess. v. 19, 20}.
{18} {5912 Nihil fecit. This is precisely St. Paul's exouthenein, "to annihilate" (A.V. "despise"), in 1 Thess. v. 20}.
{19} the apostle has given certain distinct names to all (our faculties), and has comprised them all in one prayer.

{20} “spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord and Saviour (Jesus) Christ?”
{21} the soul has a kind of body of a quality of its own.
{22} just as the spirit has.

http://www.apostolicon.com/II_Thessalonians.html



Book Six of the Apostolicon
The Epistle
of the Apostle Mark

To the Thessalonians
(second epistle)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface....3
What is the Apostolicon?....3
Who Wrote the Apostolicon?....4
Reconstructing and Translating....6
Sources....9
Color Codes....9
Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation....11
The Marcionite Prologue....15
To the Thessalonians....15
Addendum....20
From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian: A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of 2nd Thessalonians....20

Preface

What is the Apostolicon?

The Apostolicon (together with the Evangelicon) is the original canon of Christian scripture. The word "Apostolicon" means that which presents "the Apostle". Marcion[a], a man accused of being one of the most dangerous heretics of all time by Orthodoxy, is said to have compiled and canonized the Apostolicon and, according to a late Catholic tradition, delivered the Apostolicon scripture to John the Apostle[b]. The Apostolicon contains ten epistles of the Apostle as follows:

1. Alexandrians (Corinthians)
2. Alexandrians (second epistle)
3. Galatians
4. Romans
5. Thessalonians
6. Thessalonians (second epistle)
7. Laodiceans (Ephesians)
8. Colossians
9. Philemon
10. Philippians

The Evangelicon is the first gospel narrative ever written. Mark (aka Paul) is the author of the Evangelicon and made references to it in his epistles (Galatians 1:8-9, 1:11, 2:2, 2:7, Romans 2:16, 1st Thessalonians 1:5, 2nd Thessalonians 2:14). It was about 172 AD that Catholic Church fathers wrote "The Four Gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), using older gospels as source material[c]. The Evangelicon was used as the primary source for writing the "Gospel of Luke". There was also a second version of the Evangelicon, a more spiritual version, used by those who were being "perfected". The "Gospel of Mark" is a redacted version of this more spiritual version of the Evangelicon.

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[a] Marcion, likely the bishop of Alexandria, had, in the eyes of most Christians of the second century, power even greater than the bishop of Rome, and could, with authority, canonize the Apostolicon. There likely would not have been any surviving letters of Paul without the canonization of the Apostolicon.

[b] This tradition sought to explain how it could be possible that the Catholic Church had need of a heretic to obtain the writings of the Apostle Paul. An earlier Coptic tradition is that "John" was the Jewish name for Mark (or Paul) and so the Apostolicon is authored by this one and the same, actually the *only*, Apostle.

[c] For an examination considering the dating of The Four Gospels, see Charles Burlingame Waite's work, "The History of the Christian Religion, to the Year Two Hundred", particularly chapter 26.

http://www.apostolicon.com/II_Thessalonians.html

The so-called epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus are non-canonical works of the second century; apparently written in opposition to the Marcionite faith as they contain explicit anti-Marcionite theology.

There are no surviving manuscripts of the Apostolicon. However, it was quoted extensively by Tertullian and other early Catholic Fathers. By careful examination of their quotes and their descriptions of the differences between the Apostolicon and the Catholic scriptures the reconstruction can begin.

Research by Stephan Hullers concludes that the Galatians-first version of the Apostolicon (which can be reconstructed from the quotations of Tertullian) was not the original Apostolicon, but a later Catholic version re-engineered most likely by Polycarp[d]. Polycarpian interpolations were a part of the process of separating Paul from his original historical identity as Marcus Julius Agrippa, the last king of Judea, who was universally regarded as the messiah in Judea and in Alexandria from the time of the Samaritan Jubilee (38 AD) to the time of the destruction of the temple[e]. The subtle Polycarpian interpolations helped to defuse the apostolic authority of Paul. To first century Jews, the term "Messiah" or "Christ" was nearly synonymous with the term "Apostle". Moses was referred to as an "apostle", and the Messiah was prophesied to be an "apostle" like Moses[f]. The term "Apostle" did not need to be followed by a name because there would be only one person with this title. The truth is that Marcus Julius Agrippa was "Paul," or rather, as Stephan Hullers once put it, "*the* Paul," denoting "*the* Apostle" whose revelation led to the composition of the original gospel and apostolic letters, the basis of the original Marcionite canon known as the Apostolicon. The Galatians-first Polycarpian Catholic version used the pseudonym "Paul", as a way to protect the name of Mark, or perhaps rather to *hide* it from the historical record!

Who Wrote the Apostolicon?

PAUL HAD MORE THAN ONE NAME

There would be no such thing as "Apostolic Authority" without Paul. Contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the whole concept of an "Apostle" began with Paul, not with Peter. The original meaning of "Apostle" meant the

[d] http://therealmessiahbook.blogspot.com/2008/04/antichrist-of-catholic-tradition.html

[e] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 72, 105-109). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

[f] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 2148-2158). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

one who was sent by god to be the Messiah of the Jews; hence it was a title for only one person. Before the meaning of "Apostle" changed the author of "The Acts of Peter" tried to make Peter into "*the*" Apostle. Then probably starting with the writing of "The Acts of the Apostles" (no earlier that 169 A.D.) the term began to loose its Messianic connection. Paul's unique apostolic calling became defused in many peoples minds by 12 Apostles, and later even 72 Apostles. With Paul's history being re-written he was not even to be remembered as the first apostle, but a late comer. The history reconstructionists created a few different characters for Paul and gave them different names to misdirect the attention from one single figure of Paul. One such character was the Apostle John of the 12 disciples of Jesus, who was depicted as the youngest of the 12, and in fact Paul was about 7 or 8 years old when he followed Jesus in his ministry[g]. Each character created for Paul showed different characteristics of Paul. Some other characters were: Zacchaeus, Barabbas, and even Jesus himself (not that Jesus was also a name for Paul, but that, in the making of Jesus into the Christ, many attributes of Paul were put upon Jesus) and all had something to do with the person of Paul the Apostle. And "Paul" was likewise a pseudonym, probably derived from "Saul" who historically was the first King of Israel (and of the tribe of Benjamin) and thus corresponding to the last King of Israel who was Mark (i.e. Marcus Julius Agrippa - also of the tribe of Benjamin), who was the real person of Paul.

In an effort to reestablish the Apostle's original identity I use only the two names of Mark and Paul (interchangeably). The Apostle Mark, not just because it was his real name but it also helps link him to the writing of the first gospel narrative (The Gospel According to Mark), and also to disassociate him with his false Catholic history coming from the Acts of the Apostles. And I use the Apostle Paul, simply because that is what he has come to be known as.

WHO WAS "MARCION"? WAS MARCION YET ANOTHER NAME FOR PAUL?

There are scholars who will tell you Marcion and Paul were the same person; but the reason I don't believe this to be the case is because there was, in Alexandria, two people with the name "Marcion". The first one was the "apostle" who established the apostolic line of bishops for the city of Alexandria in 38 A.D. He was more commonly referred to as "Mark", and this was the same person as Paul the Apostle! But, in the line of bishops in the city of Alexandria, the seventh bishop in the line was Bishop "Marcion", who was bishop there from 142 A.D. to 152 A.D. This was the one who was the famed "heretic" (from a Catholic point of view) who was the leader of the Marcionite Church at the time. Although the common use for the term "Marcionite" means the followers of this so-called heretic bishop, the

[g] Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 1002-1005, 2005-2006). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

meaning of the term is: "The Followers of Mark"[h] and I intend to use the term to mean the followers of Mark the Apostle (i.e. Paul), rather than the followers of this second century bishop of Alexandria. Bishop Marcion of Alexandria may have had this name because he believed that he would be the last true successor to the founder (Mark the Apostle and Evangelist) of the apostolic line of Alexandria, and it was about that time that some things started to change in Alexandria because of the strong influence from Rome.

It has been said that Bishop Marcion of Alexandria was the one who canonized the Apostolicon in about 120 A.D. It is true that the Bishop of Alexandria did have the power in those days to do such a thing, and surely Bishop Marcion supported the Apostolicon as Christian Scripture, but it is far more likely that the original Apostolicon was canonized by the Apostle Paul himself. And the 120 A.D. version of the Apostolicon was Polycarp's Galatians-first reengineered version of which it was falsely claimed that it was canonized by Bishop Marcion as a way to associate it's canonization with a second-century "heretic", rather than with the Catholic Church Father Polycarp.

Reconstructing and Translating

POTENTIAL INTERPOLATIONS

Potential interpolations are identified by the characteristics described by Melissa Cutler[i]:

- They do not match the writing style of the original author. Sometimes this is so obvious that it can be seen even in an English translation of the text.
- They do not fit in with the original flow of thought – they often cause the text to jump abruptly to a new subject, and then back to the original subject when the interpolation ends, in a confusing and disjointed way.
- They do not fit in with the structure of the text – ancient documents had a logical structure with sections that introduced the topic, contained background information, and summarized the conclusions, etc. – Interpolations do not fit in with this structure, as the original author did not plan for them to be there.
- They disrupt the original text – sometimes sentences that were meant to refer back to something that had just been mentioned will be

[h] "The name Markion might be a back-formation from Aramaic Marqiyônê (singular Marqiyona) meaning the followers of Mark." (Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Location 4304). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.)

[i] Quotation from "Misogynistic Interpolations in the Letters of Paul": http://www.original-bible.com/Misogynistic-Interpolations-in-Paul.html .

separated from it by the inserted text, so that they become confusing or meaningless. Sometimes interpolations were added mid-sentence, disrupting even the sentence structure.
- They often express ideas and opinions that contradict those of the original author.

CONFIRMED INTERPOLATIONS

Interpolations are "confirmed" if evidence can be found in a reconstruction source that the interpolation could not have been present in the Apostolicon. Confirmed interpolations are removed and unconfirmed interpolations may remain, but are marked in red.

HOW QUOTES ARE INCORPORATED INTO THE APOSTOLICON

Where a reconstruction source has a quote from the Apostolicon, and it is determined that the quote is essentially the same as the text from a commonly accepted Greek manuscript, that Greek text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon; regardless of whether the quote is in Latin or Greek. In the case where the two are substantially the same, except for only one or two words, and unimportant verbal differences, the Greek with those words inserted into the text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon. In the case where the quote is significantly different from any commonly accepted Greek manuscript a translation of the quote is incorporated directly into the reconstruction, this is then considered to be the same as the Apostolicon.

STRONG IMPLICATION

Where a certain meaning is strongly implied, but that implication is not clear in English, a few words may be added to strengthen the implication. All words added to strengthen an implied meaning are *italicized*.

ESTIMATION OF LOST TEXT BASED ON SUPPORTED INFERENCE

In some cases where there are reasons to believe original text was completely removed, but a reasonable inferred estimation of the lost text can be recreated, then, in as few words as possible, an inferred estimation of the lost text is provided in the translation. The basis for supporting an inferred estimation will be explained in the footnotes. Any words added for an inferred estimation of lost text are both *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*].

RECONSTRUCTING THE ORIGINAL, COMPLETED IN TWO PHASES

The first phase is the reconstruction of the Galatians-first Apostolicon using primarily Tertullian and Epiphanius as the reconstruction source. Then, to reconstruct a close estimation of the pre-Polycarpian Alexandrian-first

Apostolicon original, the second phase is: First, determine the themes that motivated Polycarp to make his re-engineered version of the Apostolicon. Make a list. Second, identify each place where these themes are found. And third, create an "Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference" of what likely was written before altered by Polycarp by reversing the Polycarpian theme. In the case were the inferred estimation fits into the surrounding text and shows no sign of the characteristics of an interpolation, the inferred estimation will be provided in the reconstruction and the reader will be able to see the consistency of the repeated themes by comparing the text before and after the inferred estimation. But in the case where this inferred estimation continues to exhibit the characteristics of an interpolation it must be considered a likelihood that the text in question did not replace text from the original, but may be only a simple interpolation and as such will be considered for removal as Polycarpian non-canonical material. Any words added for a pre-Polycarpian inferred estimation are *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*] and the [*square brackets are marked in red*]. If a text is considered to be an interpolation with Polycarpian-like characteristics and is removed the interpolation-removed markers ("<>") will be marked in red ("<>").

Some of the cities that the epistles were written to were changed by Polycarp. There is enough textual support to posit that the Epistles to the Corinthians were actually written to the Alexandrians. The Epistle to the Laodiceans was not changed to the Ephesians by Polycarp, this change occurred later. Internal literary study of the epistles suggests to me that the epistles to the Thessalonians were actually written to the Samaritans, but I do not yet have enough support for this hypothesis to include it in the reconstruction of the Apostolicon. Philippians may have been written to a city in Judea, maybe even Jerusalem, but once again this is just a hypothesis and it will not be included in the reconstruction. I am confident that the rest of the cities: Galatia, Rome, Laodicea, and Colossae are the actual intended destinations for those epistles. Fortunately, getting the city to which the epistle was written incorrect will not change the content of the epistle. Polycarp made these changes in order to draw attention away from where the Marcionite faith had been firmly established by the Apostle Paul in order to aid in the reconstruction of Paul's history as a glorified Catholic missionary, rather than the Marcionite Apostle.

SPECIAL WORDS

An understanding of dualism[j] is essential to an understanding of the Marcionite faith, therefore, where it can be determined from the context that

[j] Dualism, meaning Gnostic Dualism: The belief that the material world was created by the Old Testament "god", which was an archon (the Demiurgos). But the true GOD, which is the Father of Jesus, is associated with the spiritual world (the 'pleroma') which is not a part of the imperfect physical world. To rise to GOD, one

"God" refers to the Father of Jesus, "GOD" (all capitals) is used. Where it can be determined from the context that "God" does not refer to the Father of Jesus, "god" is used. Otherwise, where there is uncertainty, "God" is used. Likewise, where it can be determined from the context that "Christ" (christos) refers to Jesus, "the Kind One" (chrestos) is used[k]. It is believed that in many cases copyist inadvertently made this change. Excessive use of the term also suggests that in many cases it is a Polycarpian interpolation. If the term is used redundantly with no apparent reason "the Kind One" is used, but also in red square brackets, as: "Jesus [the Kind One]", indicating that it may be a Polycarpian interpolation. In the event in which it can be determined from the context that "Christ" does not refer to Jesus, then "Christ" is used.

Sources

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

1. "Against Marcion" by Tertullian, book 5, chapter 16;
2. "Panarion" by Epiphanius of Salamis, book 42, passage 11, verse 8;

I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Color Codes

Grey – Text unchanged as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Green – Text substantially the same, except for only one or two words and unimportant verbal differences, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources

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must be 'resurrected' (raised out from 'the dead', 'the dead' = the physical world), that is, raised from the physical world to the spiritual world.

[k] Although the title of "Christ" is used countless times in connection with Jesus, the actual teaching that Jesus is the Christ cannot be found among any of the epistles of Paul. This fact is why it is even possible to substitute "the Kind One" for "Christ" without ever disrupting the integrity of any verse! Unlike, for example, the Acts of the Apostles, where the author clearly puts forth the claim that Paul did teach that Jesus is the Christ, as in Acts 17:3b: "This Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you is the Christ." If a reader didn't know what the term "Christ" meant, and had only the context of the epistles of Paul to figure it out, this reader would never be able to determine its meaning. It most certainly is posited that the actual Apostle Paul did not teach that Jesus was the Christ. This teaching (that Jesus was the Christ) began with Peter, but not with Paul. This was the real reason Peter was said to have "denied" Christ. Peter did not attain to the same level of spiritual gnosis as Paul because, as Jesus said to Peter: "you are not setting your mind on the things of God, but on the things of man" (Matthew 16:23).

Dark Green – Text different, original text restored, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Red - Unconfirmed interpolation or corrupted text suspected (if the text is also in red square brackets it indicates the suspected text exhibits the characteristics of a Polycarpian interpolation)

Because most of the text of the Apostolicon is in black, it may appear that there are large portions of the text with no information; however, keep in mind that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages with important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation

The very idea that one of the prophecies about the coming of the messiah was really a prophecy about the coming of an "antichrist" was *unheard of* until Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation. As Stephan Hullers notes, various ancient sources recognize that the antichrist material inserted into 2nd Thessalonians was connected to the "abomination of desolation" reference in the seventy weeks prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27 [e.g. the Didache and Origen, Against Celsus 6:45-46]. Polycarp's intent was to find a new way to interpret the seventy weeks prophecy so it would boomerang against Paul and inject it into the very scripture of the Apostolicon.

The Galatians-first Apostolicon of Polycarp did refer to Jesus as the Christ and not every case can be attributed to copyists simply seeing "chrestos" and writing "christos" down. Yet an inference can be supported that the original Apostolicon did not refer to Jesus as the Christ. Not only Marcionites, but all Gnostic Christians taught that Jesus and Christ are two different persons. Yet the first Gnostic Christians were likely the Jewish Marcionites (Marcionites = followers of Mark) of Alexandria [most scholars do say Marcionites were not Gnostics, or rather that they were "one-sided Gnostics", the distinction is however a question of degree, so as long as the Gnostic principal of dualism is part of the faith I will give them the name of Gnostic] and these first century Alexandrians universally believed that Marcus Julius Agrippa (aka Paul) was the Christ! Polycarp redirected any reference to Paul being the Christ and introduced numerous references to Jesus as the Christ into his version of the Apostolicon to defuse the apostolic authority of Paul.

In the case at hand, an "Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference" was completed on Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation, yet this inferred estimation did not fit into the surrounding text but continued to exhibit the characteristics of an interpolation. This therefore gives support to the position that Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation did not substitute a pre-existing text but was only inserted as a simple interpolation. Nevertheless, because the first epistle to the Thessalonians contained material surrounding the matter of Paul being the Christ it does seem reasonable to assume that this matter may have been present in the second epistle to the Thessalonians as well. This gives support to the position that Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation may have substituted a pre-existing text. With some reluctance, I decided to include my "Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference". Because support for this is weak, what I may have done in effect is added my own interpolation into the text of the Apostolicon. This is why I must use red square brackets when inserting text of this sort; it puts the reliability of such on par with Polycarp's interpolations. Additionally, I also put the text in parentheses, because if my estimation of text is in truth equivalent to actual text in the original epistle it would have to be parenthetical.

In Against Marcion 5:16(9) Tertullian asks this question: "how happens it that he [Marcion] can suborn the Creator's Christ to avenge his truth?" A fair question! In other words, why would the Christ of the Old Testament "god" (which is but a mere archon) serve as the Apostle of the supreme GOD the Father of Jesus? Together with this question is the whole matter of the Marcionite view of prophecy in general. Since the source of most all prophecy is the demiurgos (the Old Testament archon god), what business would the Marcionite Christian have concerning himself with Old Testament prophecy at all, much less one about the Christ of an archon?! Accordingly, it should be noted that, the phrase "despise not prophecies" (1st Thessalonians 5:20) is certainly a Polycarpian interpolation as well, as the norm for the Marcionite Christian is to not consider prophecies because of their source, as Paul said in 1st Corinthians 13:8 "as for prophecies, they will fail". Note also that apart from the prophecy on the antichrist, which must be considered as a non-canonical interpolation, you will not find much in the way of "prophecies" in the Apostolicon. The answer to this inquiry is that there are exceptions, and the source of the prophecy of Daniel was thought not to be of the demiurgos by notable Gnostic authorities.

As the author of the book To the Hebrews said, "GOD, having spoken in former times *in a fragmentary and varied fashion* to our forefathers by the prophets …" (Hebrews 1:1). " Valentinian exegetes say that the demiurge, amazed by the prophecies that originated "from above," and were revealed "in the prophets" (Hebrews 1:1) failed to comprehend their source; he [the demiurgos] attributed them either to the prophets' own subjective excitement, or to deceit, [Adversus Haereses 1.7.4, as quoted from 'The Gnostic Paul', Elaine Pagels] for how could the demiurge understand those prophecies that came from the pleroma, which set forth in symbolic terms the pleromic mysteries, and above all "the mystery of Christ"? " [Adversus Haereses 4.35.2-4, as quoted from 'The Gnostic Paul', Elaine Pagels]. The very idea that there is an Old Testament prophecy that says that "in the middle of the week he [the messiah] will put a stop to sacrifice and grain offering" is amazing! Yet this prophecy was fulfilled in Marcus Julius Agrippa, the last king of Judea, who played a role in the destruction of the temple, so that the temple sacrifice would come to an end and the sacrifice of Jesus (and Paul *in* Jesus) on the Cross would be declared, by the Apostle, sufficient once and for all time.

Now to analyze Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation:

> [(2.1) Now we ask of you, brothers and sisters, concerning the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him:
> (2.2) that ye not be quickly shaken from your mind, nor be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of Christ has arrived!
> (2.3) let no one in any way deceive you: For this may not come,

> except the repudiation *of the law* come first; and the lawless man revealed: the son of destruction;
> (2.4) (the one who opposes and lifts himself above every so-called god or object of worship) therefore, in the temple he is to be seated as a god, thus he is attesting to the fact that he is god [Against Marcion 5:16(6)].
> (2.5 to 2.9) <> [Verses 2:5 to 2:9a: A post-Tertullian interpolation not present within this Polycarpian interpolation] with all power and lying signs and wonders,
> (2.10) <>; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.
> (2.11) And for this cause god gives them an instinct to err, <>:
> (2.12) that they all might be judged who believed not the truth but have pleasure in unrighteousness. [Against Marcion 5:16(8)]]

The actual "Day of Christ" is a spiritual event connected with the rapture (see 1st Thessalonians 4:15), but the "Day of Christ" from an earthly point of view (Polycarp's point of view) had arrived. Polycarp didn't want anyone "in any way deceived" by what Paul said about that day already having been fulfilled (verses 2:2-3a). "The lawless man" was "revealed" as Paul, who "repudiated the law" (verse 2:3), or to put it in friendlier terms, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believes" (Romans 10:4). "The son of destruction" was to sit "in the temple". Polycarp probably could not believe that the temple would actually be destroyed by Paul, perhaps god would stop him and at most he would only "be seated" there "as a god". But Paul (Marcus Julius Agrippa) played an essential role in the destruction of the temple[l]! Verse 2:4, "Attesting to the fact that he is god". Paul did attest to the fact that he was "the firstborn of GOD", and on one occasion it is recorded that he happened upon Polycarp and wanted him to acknowledge him as such, to which Polycarp replied, "I do know you, the firstborn of Satan"! [Adversus Haereses 3.3.4, although the record indicates that it was "Marcion" who encountered Polycarp, considering the historical context it seems more likely that "Marcion" here referred to "Marcus", Paul's actual name].

A reconstruction of Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation from a study of Tertullian indicates that verses 2:5 – 2:9a were not a part of the original interpolation and so the matter about the "restrainer" that must first be taken out of the way before the lawless one can be "slain by the lord" at his coming was yet another interpolation put upon the first interpolation at some time after Tertullian. This means that the first interpolation was composed before the composition of the Acts of the Apostles [written between 169 and

[l] Schwartz, Daniel R, Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea, Zalman Shazar Center, 1987, with same title published as Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 23, Tübingen: J C B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1990, as referenced in: Huller, Stephan (2011-05-02). The Real Messiah: The Throne of St. Mark and the True Origins of Christianity (Kindle Locations 4259-4261). Watkins Publishing. Kindle Edition.

183 A.D., which we know because it was addressed to "Theophilus" (Acts 1:1) which almost has to be "Theophilus of Antioch" who was bishop of Antioch at that time], but the new addition into the interpolation was added after the composition of the Acts of the Apostles. However, we also know from Epiphanius that there was an earlier book by the same name "The Acts of the Apostles" that in all likelihood was known, and possibly was even written, by Polycarp. Epiphanius said this Acts of the Apostles had Paul as a false apostle and that Paul "became angry" and "wrote against circumcision, and against the Sabbath and the legislation" [Panarion 2.30.16.6-9].

In conclusion, no one need make the assumption that the temple must be rebuilt some day in order to accommodate the fulfillment of a prophecy about a future antichrist. The prophecy was false because it was part of a non-canonical interpolation. The "abomination of desolation" refers to how it would be an "abomination" if, after the law of god was put to an end by the Cross, it was brought back again with the temple sacrifice. As a verse attributed to Paul says in Galatians 2:18, "For *if I rebuild what I have once destroyed* [the law, the temple, and the temple sacrifice], I prove myself to be a transgressor".

"I do not nullify the grace of God, for if righteousness comes through the Law, then Christ died needlessly!"
Galatians 2:21

The Epistle of the Apostle Mark[m] To the Thessalonians (second epistle)

The Marcionite Prologue[n]

Thessalonians are Macedonians, who having accepted the word of truth persevered in the faith even in persecution from their fellow-citizens. Moreover, also, they received not the things said by false apostles. These the apostle praises, writing to them from Athens.

To the Thessalonians

(1.1) Mark, and Silvanus, and Timothy, unto the church of the Thessalonians in GOD our Father and the Lord Jesus the Kind One;
(1.2) Grace to you and peace from GOD the Father and the Lord Jesus the Kind One.
(1.3) We are bound to give thanks to GOD always for you, brothers and sisters, even as it is fitting, because your faith grows exceedingly, and the love of every one of you for one another abounds;
(1.4) so that we ourselves speak proudly of you in the churches of GOD for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and in the afflictions which ye endure;
(1.5) which is a clear indication of the righteous judgment of god: so that you will be considered worthy of the kingdom of god, for which ye also suffer.
(1.6) If indeed it is a righteous thing <> *for god* to recompense tribulation to those who afflict us: and, to us who are the afflicted, *give* rest, *with whom it* shall be revealed *are* in the Lord Jesus, *when he shall appear* as coming from heaven with;

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[m] The name of "Mark" will substitute the name of "Paul". It is not known whether the original Apostolicon used Mark or Paul or some other pseudonym such as John, Barabbas, or Zacchaeus, but by doing this it will be easier for the reader to disassociate the Apostle from his false "Catholic" history recorded in the Acts of the Apostles; as well as to associate the Apostle with his writing of the first gospel narrative (i.e. The Gospel of Mark).

[n] "Marcionite" prologues (found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts) were accepted by Catholics, in spite of the fact that they are likely of Marcionite origin.

(1.7) *god's* mighty angels <>[o], rendering out justice to those who know not GOD: and those *likewise*, who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus the Kind One;

(1.8) who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the lord: and *likewise*, from the glory of his power[p],

(1.9) when *god* shall come to be glorified in his saints: and *likewise*, to be marveled at in all those who believed (because our testimony unto you was believed) in that day.

(1.10) With this in mind, we pray always for you, that our GOD *accordingly* may count you worthy of your calling, and fulfill every desire of goodness and every work of faith, with power;

(1.11) that the name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our GOD and the Lord Jesus the Kind One.

<>[q] [*(1.12) (Now, brothers and sisters, concerning the appearing of our Christ, and our gathering together unto him: for the day of Christ has dawned upon us!*

(1.13) Yet this may not be, except there come a repudiation of the law first; and the one who causes the sacrifice and oblation to come to an end be revealed: even the son of desolation;

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[o] Against Marcion 5:16(2).

[p] Against Marcion 5:16(3,4,5)

[q] Verses 2.1 to 2.12, Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation: The Pauline theme that "Jesus is not the Christ, rather Paul is the Christ" was altered to the Petrine theme that "Jesus is the Christ, not Paul". To do this, Polycarp had to make Paul into an "antichrist", without actually referring to him by name. Additionally, the theme that "the day of Christ has arrived" was altered to "the day of Antichrist has not yet arrived". The interpolation stands out also because there are few if any prophecies in the Apostolicon. The phrase "despise not prophecies" (1st Thessalonians 5:20) is likely a Polycarpian interpolation as well.

[(2.1) Now we ask of you, brothers and sisters, concerning the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him:

(2.2) that ye not be quickly shaken from your mind, nor be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of Christ has arrived!

(2.3) let no one in any way deceive you: For this may not come, except the repudiation *of the law* come first; and the lawless man revealed: the son of destruction;

(2.4) (the one who opposes and lifts himself above every so-called god or object of worship) therefore, in the temple he is to be seated as a god, thus he is attesting to the fact that he is god [Against Marcion 5:16(6)].

(2.5 to 2.9) <> [Verses 2:5 to 2:9a: A post-Tertullian interpolation not present within this Polycarpian interpolation] with all power and lying signs and wonders,

(2.10) <> for them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

(2.11) And for this cause god gives them an instinct to err, <>:

(2.12) that they all might be judged who believed not the truth but have pleasure in unrighteousness. [Against Marcion 5:16(8)]]

(1.14) (for this one must be opposed to and be lifted above every so-called god or object of worship) even so, in the place of the temple, this one must be seated like deity, thus attesting to the fact that this one is the firstborn of GOD.)][r]

[2.13] (1.15) Wherefore we must always give thanks to GOD for you, brothers and sisters, beloved of the Lord, for GOD chose you from the beginning unto salvation in sanctification of the spirit[s] and belief of the truth:

[2.14] (1.16) for this purpose[t] he called you through our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus the Kind One.

[2.15] (1.17) So then, brothers and sisters, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye were taught, whether by word, or by our epistle.

[2.16] (1.18) Now our same Lord Jesus the Kind One, and GOD our Father who loved us and gave us eternal comfort and good hope through grace,

[2.17] (1.19) comfort your hearts and establish them in every good work and word.

[3.1] (2.1) Finally, brothers and sisters, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified, even as also it is with you;

[3.2] (2.2) and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men; for all have not faith.

[3.3] (2.3) But the Lord is faithful, who shall establish you, and guard you from the evil one.

[3.4] (2.4) And we have confidence in the Lord concerning you, that ye are doing and will continue to do what we command.

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[r] These verses contained in red square brackets are the "Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference". Note that I included them also in parentheses because if it is so, as I am asserting, that this represents the equivalent of what existed in the original epistle before it was substituted by Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation, it would be parenthetical.

[s] Verse 1.11 and verse [2.13] 1.15: If you read these two verses without reading either Polycarp's Antichrist Interpolation or my Estimation of Text Based on Supported Inference between them, note how the original flow of thought proceeds uninterrupted once an interpolation is removed: "that the name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our GOD and the Lord Jesus the Kind One. Wherefore we must give thanks to GOD always for you, brothers and sisters, beloved of the Lord, for GOD chose you from the beginning unto salvation in sanctification of the spirit". Also note that if the whole epistle was the work of Polycarp the Antichrist interpolation would not be an interpolation at all and therefore would not interrupt the flow of thought, thus giving some degree of credence to the likelihood that the epistle is of Paul (minus the interpolation).

[t] "Purpose" is singular in the Greek, and must refer to either "sanctification of the spirit" or "belief of the truth", but not both; thus indicating the likelihood that one of these two is an interpolation.

[3.5] (2.5) And the Lord direct your hearts into the love of GOD, and into the patience of the Kind One.
[3.6] (2.6) Now we command you, brothers and sisters, in the name of our Lord Jesus [the Kind One], that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother or sister who walks disorderly, and not after the tradition which they received of us.
[3.7] (2.7) For you know how ye ought to imitate us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you;
[3.8] (2.8) neither did we eat bread without paying for it, but in labor and travail, working night and day, that we might not burden any of you:
[3.9] (2.9) not because we have not the right, but to make ourselves and example unto you, that ye should imitate us.
[3.10] (2.10) For even when we were with you, this we commanded you: if any will not work, neither let him eat[u].
[3.11] (2.11) For we hear of some who walk among you disorderly, that work not at all, but are busybodies.
[3.12] (2.12) Now such persons we command and encourage in the Lord Jesus [the Kind One], that with quietness they work, and earn their own living.
[3.13] (2.13) But ye, brothers and sisters, be not weary in well-doing.
[3.14] (2.14) If anyone obey not our word by this epistle, take note of such, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.
[3.15] (2.15) And yet do not regard him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.
[3.16] (2.16) Now the same Lord of peace give you peace at all times in all ways. The Lord be with you all.
[3.17] (2.17) The salutation of me Mark with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write.
[3.18] (2.18) The grace of our Lord Jesus the Kind One be with you all.

[u] Against Marcion 5:16(13).

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Addendum

From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian: A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of 2nd Thessalonians

{1} We are obliged from time to time to recur to certain topics in order to affirm truths which are connected with them.
{2} "with whom it is a righteous thing to recompense tribulation to them who afflict us, and to ourselves, who are afflicted, rest, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed as coming from heaven with the angels of His might and in flaming fire." {5922 2 Thessalonians 1:6-7} The heretic, however, has erased the flaming fire.
{3} "to take vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the gospel, who," he says, "shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power" {5923 2 Thessalonians 1:8-9}.
{4} mentioned separately "those who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ," {5925 2 Thessalonians 1:8}.
{5} "From the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power," {5927 2 Thessalonians 1:9}.
{6} who is the man of sin, the son of perdition," who must first be revealed before the Lord comes; "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; who is to sit in the temple of God, and boast himself as being God?" {5929 2 Thessalonians 2:3-4}.
{7} Marcion's view, it is really hard to know whether He might not be (after all) the Creator's Christ; because according to him He is not yet come.
{8} "in all power, and with lying signs and wonders?" {5933 2 Thessalonians 2:9} "Because," he says, "they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for which cause God shall send them an instinct of delusion {5934 Instinctum fallaciæ} (to believe a lie), that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." {5935 2 Thessalonians 2:10-12}.
{9} how happens it that he {5937 Marcion, or rather his Christ, who on the hypothesis absurdly employs the Creator's Christ on the flagrantly inconsistent mission of avenging his truth, i.e. Marcionism} can suborn the Creator's Christ to avenge his truth?
{10} Satan, an angel of the Creator, necessary to his purpose? Why, too, should Antichrist be slain by Him.

{11} the wrath, and the jealousy, {5940 Æmulatio} and "the sending of the strong delusion," {5941 2 Thessalonians 2:11} on those who despise and mock, as well as upon those who are ignorant of Him. {12} he who has been brought out to view {5944 Productus est} once for all in one only copy of the gospel— and even that without any sure authority—which actually makes no secret of proclaiming another god? {13} "if any would not work, neither should he eat," {5946 2 Thessalonians 3:10}.

Book Seven of the Apostolicon
The Epistle
of the Apostle Paul

To the Laodiceans

Table of Contents

Preface....4
What is the Apostolicon?....4
Reconstructing and Translating....5
Sources....7
Color Codes....7
The Controversy....8
The Marcionite Prologue....11
To the Laodiceans....11

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Preface

What is the Apostolicon?

The Apostolicon (together with the Evangelicon) is the original canon of Christian scripture; compiled by Marcion of Sinope[a]; and, according to one tradition, delivered by him to John the Apostle. The Apostolicon contains ten epistles of the Apostle Paul as follows:

1. Galatians
2. Corinthians
3. Corinthians (2)
4. Romans
5. Thessalonians
6. Thessalonians (2)
7. Laodiceans (Ephesians)
8. Colossians
9. Philemon
10. Philippians

The Evangelicon is a gospel narrative carefully compiled by Marcion from only the most reliable sources available in his day (about 110 to 145 AD). It was considered, by the adherents of the Marcionite faith, to be equivalent to "The Gospel of Paul" (Galatians 1:8-9, 1:11, 2:2, 2:7, Romans 2:16, Thessalonians 1:5, Thessalonians (2) 2:14). It was from about 170 to 180 AD that the Catholic Church wrote "The Four Gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), using older gospels as source material[b]. For the "Gospel of Luke", the Evangelicon was used as the primary source for its writing.

The so-called epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus are non-canonical works of the second century; apparently written in opposition to the Marcionite faith as they contain explicit anti-Marcionite theology.

There are no surviving manuscripts of the Apostolicon. However, the Apostolicon (in Latin and Greek) was quoted extensively by early Catholic Fathers. By careful examination of their quotes and their descriptions of the differences between the Apostolicon and the books of the Catholic scriptures the Apostolicon can be reconstructed.

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a Without Marcion, there likely would not have been any surviving letters of Paul.

b For an examination considering the dating of The Four Gospels, see Charles Burlingame Waite's work, "The History of the Christian Religion, to the Year Two Hundred", particularly chapter 26.

Potential interpolations

Potential interpolations are identified by the characteristics described by Melissa Cutler[c]:

- They do not match the writing style of the original author. Sometimes this is so obvious that it can be seen even in an English translation of the text.
- They do not fit in with the original flow of thought – they often cause the text to jump abruptly to a new subject, and then back to the original subject when the interpolation ends, in a confusing and disjointed way.
- They do not fit in with the structure of the text – ancient documents had a logical structure with sections that introduced the topic, contained background information, and summarized the conclusions, etc. – Interpolations do not fit in with this structure, as the original author did not plan for them to be there.
- They disrupt the original text – sometimes sentences that were meant to refer back to something that had just been mentioned will be separated from it by the inserted text, so that they become confusing or meaningless. Sometimes interpolations were added mid-sentence, disrupting even the sentence structure.
- They often express ideas and opinions that contradict those of the original author.

Confirmed interpolations

Interpolations are "confirmed" if evidence can be found in a reconstruction source that the interpolation could not have been present in the Apostolicon. Confirmed interpolations are removed and unconfirmed interpolations remain, but are marked in red.

How quotes are incorporated into the Apostolicon

Where a reconstruction source has a quote from the Apostolicon, and it is determined that the quote is essentially the same as the text from a commonly accepted Greek manuscript, that Greek text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon; regardless of whether the quote is in Latin or Greek. In the case where the two are substantially the same, except for only one or two words, and unimportant verbal differences, the Greek with those words inserted into the text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon. In the case where the quote is significantly different from any commonly accepted Greek manuscript a translation of the quote is incorporated directly

c Quotation from "Misogynistic Interpolations in the Letters of Paul": http://www.original-bible.com/Misogynistic-Interpolations-in-Paul.html .

into the reconstruction, this is then considered to be the same as the Apostolicon.

Strong implication

Where a certain meaning is strongly implied in the Greek, but that implication becomes weak when translated into English, a few words are added to the translation in order to strengthen the implication in English. All words added to strengthen an implied meaning are *italicized*.

Estimation of lost text

In some cases where there are reasons to believe original text was completely removed, but a reasonable estimation of the lost text can be recreated, then, in as few words as possible, an estimation of the lost text is provided in the translation. All words added for an estimation of lost text are both *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*].

Special words

Where it can be determined that "God" refers to the Father of Jesus, "GOD" (all capitals) is used. Where it can be determined that "God" does not refer to the Father of Jesus, "god" is used. Otherwise, when there is uncertainty, "God" is used. Where it can be determined that "Christ" refers to Jesus, "the Good One" is used. Evidence suggests that "chrestos", meaning "the good one", was changed to "christos", meaning "the messiah", by copyists.

Sources

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

1. "Against Marcion" by Tertullian, book 5, chapters 17-18;
2. "Panarion" by Epiphanius of Salamis, book 42, passage 11, verse 8;

I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Color Codes

Light Green – Text unchanged as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Green – Text substantially the same, except for some unimportant verbal differences, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Dark Green – Text different, original text restored, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Red - Unconfirmed interpolation

Because most of the text of the Apostolicon is in black, it may appear that there are large portions of the text with no information; however, keep in mind that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages with important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

The Controversy

Concerning the Controversy over the First Recipients of the Epistle and the Reconstruction of the Marcionite Prologue

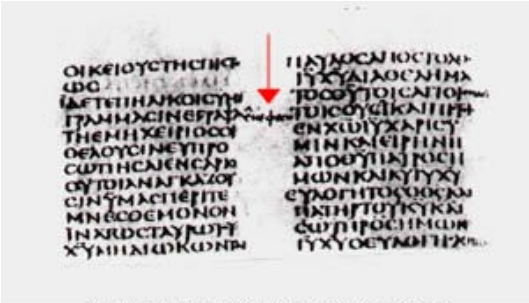
Only in the Epistle to the Laodiceans is it necessary to reconstruct the Marcionite Prologue. Perhaps the reason for this is due to the confusion at a very early date about whether the Epistle was written to the Laodiceans or to the Ephesians. No doubt the Marcionite prologue made it clear that the Epistle was to the Laodiceans and therefore could not be included in early Latin Bibles which held that the Epistle was to the Ephesians. But the substitute Latin prologue 'To the Ephesians' can be a starting point toward the reconstruction, since there seems to be little reason to believe that anything other than the intended destination of the epistle was changed. This is the Latin Ephesian Prologue: "Ephesii sunt Asiani. Hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide. Hos conlaudat apostolus, scribens eis a Roma de carcere!" The translation is as follows: "Ephesians are of Asia. These accepted the word of truth, and persisted in their faithfulness, These the apostle praises, writing to them from prison in Rome!"

The next clue to the reconstruction of the Laodicean Prologue is the Colossian Prologue; Colossians immediately follows Laodiceans in the Marcionite canon. The Colossian Prologue: "Colossians, these also like the Laodiceans, are of Asia; and likewise they had been reached beforehand by false apostles. The apostle himself did not come to them either; but these also by a letter he corrects. For they had heard the word from Archippus; who also accepted a ministry unto them. Therefore the apostle, already in custody, writes to them from Ephesus." From this we learn additional information about the Laodicean Prologue, that they had been reached beforehand by false apostles, the Apostle had not come to them yet, and the Epistle in some way corrects them. It is interesting to note that this closely parallels the message to Ephesus in Revelation 2: "To the angel of the church in Ephesus write . . . I know your deeds and your toil and perseverance, and that you cannot tolerate evil men, and you put to the test those who call themselves apostles, and they are not, and you found them to be false; and you have perseverance and have endured for My name's sake, and have not grown weary. But I have this against you, that you have left your first love." The author of Revelation may have known of the Marcionite Prologue; at any rate it seems reasonable to assume that the correction of the Epistle has to do with leaving there first love, seeing that the Epistle has much to say about how the relationship between a husband and wife is as the relationship between Jesus and the church.

Based on this afore going information I submit the following reconstruction and estimation of the Marcionite Prologue to the Laodiceans: "Laodiceans are

of Asia. These accepted the word of truth, and when false apostles approached them, they even reproved them, and persisted in their faithfulness to the gospel. These the apostle praises, writing to them from prison in Rome!"

Now, with regard to the controversy about to whom this Epistle was addressed, it is exceedingly clear that the earliest tradition, that of the Marcionites of course, is that the epistle is to the Laodiceans. The phrase "in Ephesus" is lacking in many early manuscripts. In three cases the phrase was beyond doubt a scribble addition, as for example:



First Page of Ephesians in Codex Sinaiticus with "in Ephesus" added in between the columns

The epistle says that it's recipients are "gentiles" (see: Lao. 2:11-12), and if we are to believe the so-called 'history' of the 'Acts of the Apostles' (for the sake of argument, as it were) then Ephesus could not have been the intended destination since we are informed there that the Christians in Ephesus were Jewish. What one could speculate is that the epistle was indeed sent to the Laodiceans, but if, after the epistle was later sent to other cities from Laodicea, and the Laodiceans did not see to it that the epistle was returned to them, copyist, in those cities where the manuscript then actually was, might leave out the words "in Laodicea". As more copies were made, the words "in Ephesus", the name of the principle city in Asia, may have been added from which the epistle had come to the knowledge of the whole Christian church.

The evidence that suggests that the original epistle was sent to the Laodiceans also suggests that the epistle is older than the Catholic Church's acceptance of it, or perhaps even the existence of the Catholic Church itself. Even the evolution unto the later common opinion that it was sent to Ephesus pre-dates the Catholic Church's acceptance of the epistle and probably their acceptance of Paul as a true apostle! In light of this, consider the historical perspective of the Pauline/Marcionite Church relative to the Catholic Church, which did accept Paul and his epistles long before the Catholic Church did so.

"I determined to know nothing among you except Jesus the Good One, and Him crucified"
Corinthians 2:2

The Epistle of the Apostle Paul To the Laodiceans

The Marcionite Prologue[d]

[Laodiceans are of Asia. These accepted the word of truth, and when false apostles approached them, they even reproved them, and persisted in their faithfulness to the gospel. These the apostle praises, writing to them from prison in Rome!]

To the Laodiceans

[1:1] Paul, an apostle of the Good One Jesus through the will of GOD, to the saints that are at Laodicea[e], and the faithful in the Good One Jesus:

[1:2] Grace to you and peace from GOD our Father and the Lord Jesus the Good One.

[1:3] Blessed be the GOD and Father of our Lord Jesus the Good One, who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavens in the Good One:

[1:4] even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love:

[1:5] having foreordained us unto adoption as children through Jesus the Good One unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will,

[1:6] to the praise of the glory of his grace, which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved:

[1:7] in whom we have our redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace,

[1:8] which he made to abound toward us in all wisdom and prudence,

[1:9] making known unto us the mystery of his will, according to that good pleasure, which GOD hath purposed in the mystery of his will,

[1:10] that in the dispensation of the fullness of times He might sum up all things in the Good One, both which are in the heavens and which are on earth[f].

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d The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin.

e Against Marcion 5:17(1).

f Against Marcion 5:17(2).

[1:11] In him also we were made a heritage, having been foreordained according to the purpose of him who works all things after the counsel of his will;
[1:12] to the end that we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in the Good One:
[1:13] In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel; in whom ye believed, and were sealed with the spirit of promise[g],
[1:14] which is an earnest of our inheritance, unto the redemption of God's own possession, unto the praise of his glory.
[1:15] For this cause I also, having heard of the faith in the Lord Jesus which is among you, and the love which ye show for all the saints,
[1:16] cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers;
[1:17] that the GOD of our Lord Jesus the Good One, the Father of glory[h], may give unto you a spirit of wisdom[i] and revelation in the knowledge of him;
[1:18] The eyes of your understanding having been enlightened[j], that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and the riches of his inheritance in the saints[k],
[1:19] and what the exceeding greatness of his power toward us who believe, according to that working of the strength of his might
[1:20] which he wrought in the Good One, when he raised him out from the dead, and made him to sit at his right hand, <>
[1:21] <>
[1:22] (1:21) <> putting all things in subjection under his feet[l], and gave him to be head over all things to the church,
[1:23] (1:22) which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all.
[2:1] And ye were dead in trespasses and sins,
[2:2] wherein ye had walked in accord with the aeon of the world-system, the archon of human-rule, the pneumatic spirit now operating in the children of those in obstinate opposition to divine will;

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g Against Marcion 5:17(3-4).
h Against Marcion 5:17(5).
i Against Marcion 5:17(6).
j Against Marcion 5:17(7).
k Against Marcion 5:17(8).
l Against Marcion 5:17(9), Text substantially the same, except for an interpolation, as confirmed by quotation.

[2:3] among whom we also all once lived[m] in the passions of our flesh, doing the will of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as the rest[n].

[2:4] But GOD, being rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,

[2:5] even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with the Good One <>[o],

[2:6] and raised us up with him, and made us to sit with him in the heavens, in the Good One Jesus:

[2:7] that in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace in kindness toward us in the Good One Jesus:

[2:8] for by grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of GOD;

[2:9] not of works, that no one should glory.

[2:10] For we are his workmanship, created in the Good One Jesus[p] for good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them.

[2:11] Wherefore remember, that ye were once the Gentiles <>, called uncircumcision by that which has the name of circumcision in the flesh made by hands;

[2:12] that at that time ye were without the Good One, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants and their promise, having no hope, and without gods in the world.

[2:13] But now in the Good One, ye who were once afar off are made nigh by his blood.

[2:14] For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and the middle wall has been broken down[q];

[2:15] having nullified the enmity in the flesh[r], even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that he might create in himself of the two one new man, so making peace;

[2:16] that He might reconcile both in one body unto God, having slain therein the enmity through the cross:

[2:17] and he came and preached peace to them that were near and to them which were afar off[s] <>[t]:

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m Against Marcion 5:17(10,12).

n Against Marcion 5:17(13-15).

o Parenthetical redundancy: most likely a copyist's notation (which appears to be the case with most of the interpolations found in this epistle).

p Against Marcion 5:17(16,23).

q Against Marcion 5:17(17-20), Panarion 42:11:8(1(36)).

r Against Marcion 5:17(20-21).

s Against Marcion 5:17(22,24-26).

t Parenthetical redundancy, most likely a copyist's notation.

[2:18] for through him we both have our access <> unto the Father[u].

[2:19] So then ye are now no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,

[2:20] built upon the foundation of the apostles <>[v], the Good One Jesus himself being the chief corner stone[w];

[2:21] in whom each several building, fitly framed together, is growing into a holy temple in the Lord;

[2:22] in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the spirit.

[3:1] For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of the Good One Jesus on behalf of you Gentiles,

[3:2] if indeed ye have heard of the dispensation of that grace of GOD which was given to for you;

[3:3] how that by revelation was made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote before in few words,

[3:4] whereby, when ye read, ye can perceive my understanding in the mystery of the Good One;

[3:5] which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it hath now been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the spirit;

[3:6] to wit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in the Good One Jesus through the gospel,

[3:7] of which I was made a minister, according to the gift of that grace of GOD which was given me, according to the working of his power.

[3:8] Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, <>[x]

[3:9] to enlighten all as to what was the fellowship of the mystery, which has been hidden from the aeons; hidden from god, *that is*, the one who created all things[y];

[3:10] in order that, through the church, the manifold wisdom of God might now be revealed unto the archons and spiritual-sovereigns, in the heavens[z],

[3:11] according to the purpose of the aeons which he carried out in the Good One Jesus our Lord:

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u Against Marcion 5:17(26).

v Against Marcion 5:17(26-27), interpolation: "and prophets", most likely a copyist's notation.

w Against Marcion 5:17(28).

x Against Marcion 5:18(30).

y Against Marcion 5:18(30, 33), as Tertullian mentions, this verse clearly indicates that the creator-deity "is himself reckoned among these archons" (Against Marcion 5:18(32)).

z Against Marcion 5:18(31).

[3:12] in whom we have boldness and access in confidence through our faith in him.
[3:13] Wherefore I ask that ye be not despondent at my tribulations for you, which are your glory.
[3:14] For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father,
[3:15] from whom every family in the heavens and on earth is named,
[3:16] that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, that ye may be strengthened with power through his spirit in the inward being;
[3:17] that the Good One may dwell in your hearts through faith; to the end that ye, having been rooted and grounded in love,
[3:18] may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth,
[3:19] and to know the love of the Good One which surpasses knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fullness of God.
[3:20] Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that works in us,
[3:21] unto him be the glory in the church and in the Good One Jesus unto all the generations of the aeon of the aeons. Amen.
[4:1] I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye were called,
[4:2] with all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love;
[4:3] giving diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.
[4:4] One body, one spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling;
[4:5] one Lord, one faith, one baptism,
[4:6] one GOD and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all[aa].
[4:7] But unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of the Good One.
[4:8] Wherefore the saying, "When he ascended on high, he led captivity captive[bb], And gave gifts unto men".
[4:9] (Now this, 'he ascended', what is it but that he also 'descended[cc]' into the lower parts of the earth?
[4:10] He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things.)
[4:11] And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;

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aa Panarion 42:11:8(1([40])).
bb Against Marcion 5:18(34).
cc Gospel 1:1, "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Jesus came down to Capernaum"

[4:12] for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of the Good One:
[4:13] till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of GOD, unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of the Good One:
[4:14] that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error;
[4:15] but speaking truth in love, we may grow up in all things into him, who is the head, even the Good One;
[4:16] from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplies, according to the working in due measure of each several part, causes the growth of the body unto the building up of itself in love.
[4:17] (5:1) This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye no longer walk as the Gentiles also walk, in the vanity of their mind,
[4:18] (5:2) being darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardening of their heart;
[4:19] (5:3) who being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.
[4:20] (5:4) But ye did not so learn of the Good One;
[4:21] (5:5) if indeed ye heard him, and were taught in him, even as truth is in Jesus:
[4:22] (5:6) that ye put away, as concerning your former manner of life, the old man, that waxes corrupt after the lusts of deceit;
[4:23] (5:7) and that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind,
[4:24] (5:8) and put on the new man, that after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth.
[4:25] (5:9) Wherefore, putting away falsehood, speak ye truth each one with his neighbor[dd]: for we are members one of another.
[4:26] (5:10) Be ye angry and sin not, let not the sun go down upon your wrath[ee],
[4:27] (5:11) nor give place to the adversary.
[4:28] (5:12) Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have something to give to him that hath need.
[4:29] (5:13) Let no corrupt speech proceed out of your mouth, but such as is good for edifying as the need may be, that it may give grace to them that hear.
[4:30] (5:14) And grieve not the spirit, the holy one of God, in whom ye were sealed unto the day of redemption.

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dd Against Marcion 5:18(35).
ee Against Marcion 5:18(36).

[4:31] (5:15) Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and railing, be put away from you, with all malice:

[4:32] (5:16) and be ye good one to another, tenderhearted, dealing graciously among each other, even as god also in the Good One deals graciously with you.

[5:1] (5:17) Be ye therefore imitators of god *in the Good One*, as beloved children;

[5:2] (5:18) and walk in love, even as the Good One also loved you, and gave himself up for us, 'an offering and a sacrifice' to god for 'an odor of a sweet smell'.[ff]

[5:3] (5:19) But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not even be named among you, as is proper among saints;

[5:4] (5:20) nor filthiness, nor foolish talking, or jesting, which are not befitting: but rather giving of thanks.

[5:5] (5:21) For this ye know of a surety, that no fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous person, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of the Good One and god.

[5:6] (5:22) Let no one deceive you with empty words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of god upon those in obstinate opposition to divine will.

[5:7] (5:23) Be not ye therefore partakers with them[gg];

[5:8] (5:24) For ye were once darkness, but are now light in the Lord: walk as children of light

[5:9] (5:25) (for the fruit of the light is in all goodness and righteousness and truth),

[5:10] (5:26) proving what is well-pleasing unto the Lord;

[5:11] (5:27) and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness[hh], but rather even reprove them;

[5:12] (5:28) for the things which are done by them in secret it is a shame even to speak of.

[5:13] (5:29) But all things when they are reproved are made manifest by the light: for everything that is made manifest is light.

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ff Even though the god of this world is among the "wicked spiritual hosts in the heavens", yet he now "deals graciously" with those who are "in the Good One" because the offering of the Good One on the cross removed the debt that enslaved us to the creator. Now that our relationship to the creator-deity is debt-free we are able to "deal graciously" with him.

gg Righteous behavior is proper among saints, but a clear detachment is established, we who are "in the Good One" are not a part of the "kingdom of the god of this world", but merely subject ourselves to their rule to "deal graciously" with them. This is 'Kenosis', a Marcionite principle spelled out in Philippians 2:5-7, "Let this disposition be in you, which was also in the Good One Jesus: who being inherently in the form of a god, considered being equal with god not something to hold unto, but emptied [kenosis (Greek)] himself, taking on the form of a slave ... etc". It must also be remembered that Jesus is now, "the head of all archons and spiritual-sovereigns" (Colossians 2:10). Therefore, as long as one is "in the Good One", the god of this world is a subject within the kingdom of Jesus. This is why the verse puts 'the Good One' first before 'god' in the phrase "the kingdom of the Good One and god". However, if someone is in obstinate opposition to divine will by subjecting oneself to the creator-deity alone and his law instead of subjecting to Jesus the Good One, then such is separated from the Good One and left to the wrath of the creator-deity.

hh Against Marcion 5:18(37).

[5:14] (5:30) Wherefore the saying, "Awake, you sleeper, and arise from the dead, and the Good One shall give you light"[ii].
[5:15] (5:31) Look therefore carefully how ye walk, not as unwise, but as wise;
[5:16] (5:32) redeeming the time, because the days are evil.
[5:17] (5:33) Wherefore be ye not foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is.
[5:18] (5:34) And be not drunken with wine, wherein is riot[jj], but be filled with the spirit;
[5:19] (5:35) speaking one to another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody with your heart to the Lord[kk];
[5:20] (5:36) giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus the Good One to him who is GOD, even the Father.
[5:21] (5:37) Subject yourselves one to another in the fear of the Good One.
[5:22] (5:38) Wives ought to be in subjection to their husbands[ll], as unto the Lord.
[5:23] (5:39) For the husband is the head of the wife[mm], even as the Good One is the head of the church[nn], being himself the savior of the body.
[5:24] (5:40) But as the church is subject to the Good One, so let the wives also be to their husbands in everything.
[5:25] (5:41) Husbands, love your wives, (for he who loves his wife, loves his own flesh), even as the Good One loved the church[oo], and gave himself up for it;
[5:26] (5:42) that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word,
[5:27] (5:43) that he might present the church to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.
[5:28] (5:44) Even so ought husbands also to love their own wives as their own bodies. He who loves his own wife loves himself:
[5:29] (5:45) for no one ever hated his own flesh; but nourishes and cherishes it, even as the Lord also does the church.
[5:30] <>

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ii Panarion 42:11:8(2(37)).
jj Against Marcion 5:18(38).
kk Against Marcion 5:18(39).
ll Against Marcion 5:18(40).
mm Against Marcion 5:18(41).
nn Against Marcion 5:18(42).
oo Against Marcion 5:18(43).

[5:31] (5:46) Corresponding to her[pp] shall a man leave his father and his mother, and they two shall be one flesh.

[5:32] (5:47) This mystery is great: But I am speaking, of the Good One and the church[qq].

[5:33] (5:48) Nevertheless do ye also severally love each one his own wife even as himself; and let the wife see that she fear her husband.

[6:1] (5:49) Children should obey their parents[rr] in the Lord: for this is right.

[6:2] (5:50) Honor thy father and mother <>[ss],

[6:3] (5:51) that it may be well with you, and you may live long on the earth.

[6:4] (5:52) And, ye Parents, <> bring up your children in the discipline and instruction of the Lord[tt].

[6:5] (5:53) Servants, be obedient unto them that according to the flesh are your masters, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto the Good One;

[6:6] (5:54) not in the way of eye service, as person-pleasers; but as servants of the Good One, doing the will of God from the heart;

[6:7] (5:55) with good will doing service, as unto the Lord, and not unto men:

[6:8] (5:56) knowing that whatsoever good thing each one doeth, the same shall he receive again from the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

[6:9] (5:57) And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, and forbear threatening: knowing that he who is both their Master and yours is in the heavens, and there is no respect of persons with him.

[6:10] (6:1) Finally, be strong in the Lord, and in the strength of his might.

[6:11] (6:2) Put on the whole armor of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the adversary[uu].

[6:12] (6:3) For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against the archons and spiritual-sovereigns, against the system-holders of the darkness of this aeon, against the wicked spiritual hosts in the heavens[vv].

[6:13] (6:4) Wherefore take up the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and, having done all, to stand.

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pp "Her", (rather than "this") feminine in the Apostolicon; so as to refer to the church.

qq Against Marcion 5:18(44-46), Panarion 42:11:8(3(38)).

rr Against Marcion 5:18(47).

ss Against Marcion 5:18(48).

tt Against Marcion 5:18(49).

uu Against Marcion 5:18(51).

vv Against Marcion 5:18(50, 52, 54).

[6:14] (6:5) Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness,
[6:15] (6:6) and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace;
[6:16] (6:7) withal taking up the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one.
[6:17] (6:8) And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God:
[6:18] (6:9) with all prayer and supplication praying at all seasons in the spirit, and watching thereunto in all perseverance and supplication for all the saints,
[6:19] (6:10) And on my behalf, that utterance may be given unto me in opening my mouth, making known the mystery of the gospel,
[6:20] (6:11) for which I am an ambassador in chains[ww]; that in it I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.
[6:21] (6:12) But that ye also may know my affairs, how I do, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things:
[6:22] (6:13) whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts.
[6:23] (6:14) Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from GOD the Father and the Lord Jesus the Good One.
[6:24] (6:15) Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus the Good One with a love incorruptible.

WW Against Marcion 5:18(55-56).

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Book Eight of the Apostolicon
The Epistle
of the Apostle Paul

To the Colossians

Table of Contents

Preface....4
What is the Apostolicon?....4
Reconstructing and Translating....5
Sources....7
Color Codes....7
The Creation Hymn Interpolation....8
The Marcionite Prologue....9
To the Colossians....9

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Preface

What is the Apostolicon?

The Apostolicon (together with the Evangelicon) is the original canon of Christian scripture; compiled by Marcion of Sinope[a]; and, according to one tradition, delivered by him to John the Apostle. The Apostolicon contains ten epistles of the Apostle Paul as follows:

1. Galatians
2. Corinthians
3. Corinthians (2)
4. Romans
5. Thessalonians
6. Thessalonians (2)
7. Laodiceans (Ephesians)
8. Colossians
9. Philemon
10. Philippians

The Evangelicon is a gospel narrative carefully compiled by Marcion from only the most reliable sources available in his day (about 110 to 145 AD). It was considered, by the adherents of the Marcionite faith, to be equivalent to "The Gospel of Paul" (Galatians 1:8-9, 1:11, 2:2, 2:7, Romans 2:16, Thessalonians 1:5, Thessalonians (2) 2:14). It was from about 170 to 180 AD that the Catholic Church wrote "The Four Gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), using older gospels as source material[b]. For the "Gospel of Luke", the Evangelicon was used as the primary source for its writing.

The so-called epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus are non-canonical works of the second century; apparently written in opposition to the Marcionite faith as they contain explicit anti-Marcionite theology.

There are no surviving manuscripts of the Apostolicon. However, the Apostolicon (in Latin and Greek) was quoted extensively by early Catholic Fathers. By careful examination of their quotes and their descriptions of the differences between the Apostolicon and the books of the Catholic scriptures the Apostolicon can be reconstructed.

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a Without Marcion, there likely would not have been any surviving letters of Paul.

b For an examination considering the dating of The Four Gospels, see Charles Burlingame Waite's work, "The History of the Christian Religion, to the Year Two Hundred", particularly chapter 26.

Potential interpolations

Potential interpolations are identified by the characteristics described by Melissa Cutler[c]:

- They do not match the writing style of the original author. Sometimes this is so obvious that it can be seen even in an English translation of the text.
- They do not fit in with the original flow of thought – they often cause the text to jump abruptly to a new subject, and then back to the original subject when the interpolation ends, in a confusing and disjointed way.
- They do not fit in with the structure of the text – ancient documents had a logical structure with sections that introduced the topic, contained background information, and summarized the conclusions, etc. – Interpolations do not fit in with this structure, as the original author did not plan for them to be there.
- They disrupt the original text – sometimes sentences that were meant to refer back to something that had just been mentioned will be separated from it by the inserted text, so that they become confusing or meaningless. Sometimes interpolations were added mid-sentence, disrupting even the sentence structure.
- They often express ideas and opinions that contradict those of the original author.

Confirmed interpolations

Interpolations are "confirmed" if evidence can be found in a reconstruction source that the interpolation could not have been present in the Apostolicon. Confirmed interpolations are removed and unconfirmed interpolations remain, but are marked in red.

How quotes are incorporated into the Apostolicon

Where a reconstruction source has a quote from the Apostolicon, and it is determined that the quote is essentially the same as the text from a commonly accepted Greek manuscript, that Greek text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon; regardless of whether the quote is in Latin or Greek. In the case where the two are substantially the same, except for only one or two words, and unimportant verbal differences, the Greek with those words inserted into the text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon. In the case where the quote is significantly different from any commonly accepted Greek manuscript a translation of the quote is incorporated directly

c Quotation from "Misogynistic Interpolations in the Letters of Paul": http://www.original-bible.com/Misogynistic-Interpolations-in-Paul.html .

into the reconstruction, this is then considered to be the same as the Apostolicon.

Strong implication

Where a certain meaning is strongly implied in the Greek, but that implication becomes weak when translated into English, a few words are added to the translation in order to strengthen the implication in English. All words added to strengthen an implied meaning are *italicized*.

Estimation of lost text

In some cases where there are reasons to believe original text was completely removed, but a reasonable estimation of the lost text can be recreated, then, in as few words as possible, an estimation of the lost text is provided in the translation. All words added for an estimation of lost text are both *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*].

Special words

Where it can be determined that "God" refers to the Father of Jesus, "GOD" (all capitals) is used. Where it can be determined that "God" does not refer to the Father of Jesus, "god" is used. Otherwise, when there is uncertainty, "God" is used. Where it can be determined that "Christ" refers to Jesus, "the Good One" is used. Evidence suggests that "chrestos", meaning "the good one", was changed to "christos", meaning "the messiah", by copyists.

Sources

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

1. "Against Marcion" by Tertullian, book 5, chapter 19;
2. "Panarion" by Epiphanius of Salamis, book 42, passage 11, verse 8;

I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Color Codes

Light Green – Text unchanged as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Green – Text substantially the same, except for some unimportant verbal differences, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Dark Green – Text different, original text restored, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Red - Unconfirmed interpolation

Because most of the text of the Apostolicon is in black, it may appear that there are large portions of the text with no information; however, keep in mind that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages with important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

The Creation Hymn Interpolation

Once removed, the Creation Hymn Interpolation appears as: "The Word (mentioned by Tertullian in connection with this verse, Against Marcion 5:19(8) "if He is not the Word of the Creator?") came forth before every creation; for by him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, the visible and the invisible, all things have been created through him, and unto him; and in him all things consist". It is as Tertullian sarcastically admitted: Against Marcion 5:19(12) "our false apostles and Judaizing gospellers have introduced all these things out of [our] own stores".

This is a reconstruction and estimation of the original text: "[1:15] who is the image of the invisible GOD. [*The creator-deities*] came forth before every creation; [1:16] whether thrones or dominions or archons or spiritual-sovereigns; [1:17] and he is before all of these *creator-deities*." The explanation for this reconstruction and estimation is as follows: We know that "The Creation Hymn" was an interpolation; it is therefore reasonable to assume that once this interpolation is removed both the text in Colossians and the interpolation could each stand alone and make sense. This is so with one exception, the phrase: "whether thrones or dominions or archons or spiritual-sovereigns", once the two are separated, do not fit well into either. What is believed is that some part of the original text was so unacceptable to the Catholic redactors that it had to be removed completely; then to fill the void and reinforce Catholic dogma, the Creation Hymn was inserted.

The lost text can be correctly estimated if all these conditions remain true:

1. It must maintain the same context established both before and after, which context is that Jesus is "before all" and preeminent.
2. The missing text had something to do with the creation. This is why the Catholic redactors used an interpolation about creation.
3. The phrase, "whether thrones or dominions or archons or spiritual-sovereigns" must fit in somewhere.
4. Tertullian's comments about these verses (Against Marcion 5:19(5), 5:19(11)) must still be applicable.

All these conditions can be meant if the aim of the missing text was to say that the "thrones or dominions or archons or spiritual-sovereigns" were the creators (rather than Jesus), but Jesus was even before them.

"Blessed is he that condemns not himself in that thing which he allows!"
Romans 14:22

The Epistle of the Apostle Paul To the Colossians

The Marcionite Prologue[d]

Colossians, these also like the Laodiceans, are of Asia; and likewise they had been reached beforehand by false apostles. The apostle himself did not come to them either; but these also by a letter he corrects. For they had heard the word from Archippus; who also accepted a ministry unto them. Therefore the apostle, already in custody, writes to them from Ephesus.

To the Colossians

[1:1] Paul, an apostle of the Good One Jesus through the will of GOD, and Timothy our brother,
[1:2] To the saints and faithful brethren in the Good One that are at Colossae: Grace to you and peace from GOD our Father.
[1:3] We give thanks to GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus the Good One, praying always for you,
[1:4] having heard of your faith in the Good One Jesus, and of the love which ye have for all the saints,
[1:5] because of the hope laid up for you in the heavens, which ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel,
[1:6] which is come unto you; as it is also in all the world[e] bearing fruit and increasing, as it has been doing in you also, since the day ye heard and understood the grace of GOD in truth;
[1:7] even as ye were taught of Epaphras our beloved fellow-servant, who is a faithful minister of the Good One on our behalf,
[1:8] who also declared unto us your love in the spirit.
[1:9] For this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray and make request for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding,
[1:10] to walk in a manner worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, bearing fruit in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God;
[1:11] strengthened with all power, according to the might of His glory, unto all patience and longsuffering with joy;

d The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin.

e Against Marcion 5:19(1).

[1:12] giving thanks unto the Father, who qualified us to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;

[1:13] who delivered us out of the jurisdiction of darkness[f], and translated us into the kingdom of the son of His love;

[1:14] in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins:

[1:15] who is the image of the invisible GOD[g]. [*The creator-deities*][h] came forth before every creation[i];

[1:16] <>[j] whether thrones or dominions or archons or spiritual-sovereigns[k];

[1:17] he is before all of these[l] *creator-deities*. <>[m]

[1:18] And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all he might have the preeminence.

[1:19] For in him all the fullness was pleased to dwell[n];

[1:20] and through him to reconcile all, by himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross[o]; <>[p]

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f Jurisdiction of darkness = jurisdiction of Jehovah and the archons.

g Against Marcion 5:19(2).

h Against Marcion 5:19(4), "If Christ is not "the first-begotten before every creature"", Against Marcion 5:19(7), "if He is not "the first-born of every creature"". Tertullian, the source for the confirmation of this part of the interpolation, did not say that the phrase "the first-born of every creature" was not in the Apostolicon, but only that "Christ" is not the one who is referred to as being "the first-born of every creature". From the context of what is in the Apostolicon, it is reasonable to estimate that it was the "thrones, dominions, archons, and spiritual-sovereigns" that the Apostolicon said were "the first-born of every creature". In order to keep the estimation as brief as possible the phrase "[*The creator-deities*]" is inserted.

i "Came forth before every creation" is a different rendering from the Greek rather than using "the first-born of every creature".

j Against Marcion 5:19(5), "if "all things were" not "in Him created, whether in heaven or on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities [archons], or powers [spiritual-sovereigns]"; if "all things were" not "created by Him and for Him" (for these truths Marcion ought not to allow concerning Him)", Against Marcion 5:19(11), "Marcion has removed from it, -even those that were "created in Christ, whether in heaven or on earth," whether angels or men? which is not made of the things that are visible and invisible? which consists not of thrones and dominions and principalities [archons] and powers [spiritual-sovereigns]?"

k Parenthetical within the interpolation and therefore considered to be genuine text in the Apostolicon.

l Against Marcion 5:19(6), "The apostle could not have so positively laid it down, that "He is before all." (Ante omnes). For how is He before all, if He is not before all things?". "All" (omnes), in the Apostolicon, was changed to "all" (omnia), presumably by Catholic redactors. "All" (omnes) (depending on the context) could mean "all persons", whereas "all" (omnia) (regardless of the context) could not mean "all persons". It is contended that "all" (omnes) originally referred to all "the thrones, dominions, archons, and spiritual-sovereigns".

m The phrase "and in him all things consist" was not referred to by Tertullian, but is considered part of the interpolation because it fits best in the context of the interpolation rather than the context of the Colossians original text.

n Against Marcion 5:19(10).

o Against Marcion 5:19(14).

p Against Marcion 5:19(11), "Marcion has removed from it,-even those that were "created in Christ, whether in heaven or on earth," whether angels or men? which is not made of the things that are visible and invisible? which consists not of thrones and dominions and principalities [archons] and powers [spiritual-sovereigns]?".

[1:21] And although you, who were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works[q],
[1:22] yet now he has reconciled in his body <>[r] through death, to present you holy and without blemish and beyond reproach before him:
[1:23] if indeed ye continue in the faith, grounded and steadfast, and not moved away from the hope of the gospel which ye heard, which was preached in all creation under heaven; whereof I Paul was made a minister.
[1:24] Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, *which* fills up that which is lacking of the afflictions of the Good One in his flesh[s] for his body's sake, which is the church[t];
[1:25] whereof I was made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which was given me toward you, to complete *the canon of* the word of God[u],
[1:26] even the mystery which has been hidden from the aeons and the generations: but now has it been manifested to His saints,
[1:27] to whom GOD was pleased to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is the Good One in you, the hope of glory:
[1:28] whom we proclaim, admonishing everyone and teaching everyone in all wisdom, that we may present everyone perfect in the Good One;
[1:29] for this purpose I labor also, striving according to his working, which works in me mightily.
[2:1] For I would have you know how greatly I strive for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh;
[2:2] that their hearts may be comforted, they having been knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, that they may know the mystery of GOD, even the Good One,
[2:3] in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.
[2:4] This I say, that no one may delude you with persuasiveness of speech.

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q Against Marcion 5:19(16).

r Against Marcion 5:19(19), "reconciled in His body through death", verse quoted by Tertullian without the words "of his flesh".

s Comment: The "flesh" of the Good One here refers to the flesh of Paul, a member of the body of the Good One, which is the church.

t Against Marcion 5:19(17).

u Literally: "To fill completely full the word of God". Only the writings of Paul were referred to in scripture as scripture or as the word of God (1st Corinthians 14:36, 1st Thessalonians 2:13, see also: 2nd Peter 3:16).

[2:5] For though I am absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, rejoicing to behold your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in the Good One.

[2:6] As therefore ye received the Good One Jesus the Lord, so walk in him,

[2:7] rooted and built up in him, and established in your faith, even as ye were taught, abounding in thanksgiving.

[2:8] Take heed lest there shall be any one that takes you captive through subtle words and philosophy, even vain deceit, after the tradition of men, and the rudiments of the world[v], and not after the Good One:

[2:9] for in him dwells all the fullness of the deity[w] in bodily form,

[2:10] and in him ye are made complete, who is the head of all archons and spiritual-sovereigns:

[2:11] in whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the stripping off of the *whole* body of the flesh[x], in the circumcision of the Good One;

[2:12] having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him out from among the dead.[y]

[2:13] And you, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, did he make alive together with the Good One, forgiving us our trespasses[z];

[2:14] having blotted out the bond written in ordinances that where against us, which where contrary to us: and he has taken them out of the way, nailing them to the cross;

[2:15] having despoiled the archons and spiritual-sovereigns, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.

[2:16] Let no one therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath,

[2:17] which things are shadows of the things to come. But now the body is the Good One's[aa][bb].

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v Against Marcion 5:19(20).

w "Deity" probably refers to the archons as indicated in verse 10.

x Ritual castration (spiritual circumcision), which precedes the resurrection rite (baptism).

y "Who raised him out from the dead". This is a good example of how a translator's bias effects the translation. Many translations leave the word "out" ([ek] –Greek) out. But the resurrection is not the resurrection of the flesh, but a rising-up spiritually leaving the dead flesh behind.

z Against Marcion 5:19(26).

aa Against Marcion 5:19(27), Panarion 42:11:8(1(39)).

bb Comment: "Things (plural) to come", not the body (singular) of the Good One (which is light and therefore, cannot cast a shadow!). These "shadows", are "the jurisdiction[s] of darkness" (vs. 1:13), which includes the jurisdiction of Jehovah, that is, the jurisdictions of the archons (of which Jehovah is one).

[2:18] Let no one rob you of your prize by voluntary asceticism and worshiping of the angels[cc], presuming upon that which he has not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,

[2:19] and not holding the head, from whom all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increasing with the increase of God.

[2:20] If ye died with the Good One from the rudiments of this worldly system, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances?

[2:21] Handle not, you must not touch, you must not taste,

[2:22] (all which things are to perish with the using), following the commandments and doctrines of men.[dd]

[2:23] Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in self-made religion, and asceticism, and severity to the body; but are not of any value as a remedy for sensual indulgence of the flesh.

[3:1] If then ye were raised together with the Good One, seek the things that are above, where the Good One is, seated on the right hand of God.

[3:2] Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth.

[3:3] For ye died, and your life is hid with the Good One in god.

[3:4] When the Good One, who is our life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with him, be manifested in glory.

[3:5] Put to death therefore your members which are upon the earth: fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry;

[3:6] for which things' sake come the wrath of god upon the children of those in obstinate opposition to divine will:

[3:7] wherein ye also once walked, when ye lived in these things;

[3:8] but now do ye also put them all away: anger, wrath, malice, railing, and shameful speaking out of your mouth:

[3:9] lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man, with its doings,

[3:10] and putting on the new, which is being renewed unto knowledge, after the image of the One creating it:

[3:11] where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but the Good One is all, and in all.

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cc Comment: A "god" is anything that is worshiped; worshiping Jehovah makes him a god; even though he may only be an angel; or an archon (vs 15).

dd Verses 2:18-22. Against Marcion 5:19(28), 5:19(29), 5:19(30) ""you must not touch; you must not taste" -in a voluntary humility; (at the same time) "vainly puffed up in the fleshly mind; and not holding the Head;" . . . "as if it was at the suggestion of superstitious angels that he had enacted his prohibition of sundry aliments" . . . "following the commandments and doctrines of men;"".

[3:12] Put on therefore, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, goodness, lowliness, meekness, longsuffering;
[3:13] forbearing one another, and forgiving each other, if anyone has a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye:
[3:14] And above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness.
[3:15] And let the peace of the Good One rule in your hearts, to which also ye were called in one body; and be ye thankful.
[3:16] Let the word of the Good One dwell in you richly; in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts unto God.
[3:17] And whatsoever ye do, in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to GOD the Father through him.
[3:18] Wives, be in subjection to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord.
[3:19] Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.
[3:20] Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well-pleasing in the Lord.
[3:21] Fathers, provoke not your children, that they be not discouraged.
[3:22] Servants, obey in all things them that are your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as people-pleasers,
[3:23] but in singleness of heart, fearing the Lord[ee]: whatsoever ye do, work heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men;
[3:24] knowing that from the Lord ye shall receive the recompense of the inheritance: ye serve the Lord the Good One.
[3:25] For he that does wrong shall receive again for the wrong that he has done: and there is no respect of persons.
[4:1] Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in the heavens.
[4:2] Continue steadfastly in prayer, watching therein with thanksgiving;
[4:3] withal praying for us also, that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of the Good One, for which I am also in bonds;
[4:4] that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak.
[4:5] Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time.

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ee "Fearing the Lord": Tertullian made mention that, "he [Marcion] refuses to say that He [GOD the Father] is an object to be feared" (Against Marcion 5:19(21)). "Lord's" are "feared", GOD the Father is never referred to as "Lord" in the Apostolicon, and He is not to be feared; whereas the Lord Jesus is feared. The god of this world may be feared as a courtesy by us who are invited guests in his kingdom, but the god of this world is not our "lord" either.

[4:6] Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer each one.

[4:7] All my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord:

[4:8] whom I have sent you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts;

[4:9] together with Onesimus, the faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things that are done here.

[4:10] Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner sends you his greeting, and Mark[ff], the cousin of Barnabas (touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him),

[4:11] and Jesus (whom we call Justus), these only, out of the circumcision, are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of god, men that have been a comfort unto me.

[4:12] Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of the Good One Jesus, sends you his greeting, always striving for you in his prayers, that ye may stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God.

[4:13] For I bear him witness, that he has much labor for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for them in Hierapolis.

[4:14] Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas salute you.

[4:15] Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that is in their house.

[4:16] And when this epistle has been read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea.

[4:17] And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which you have received in the Lord, that you may fulfill it.

[4:18] The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you.

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ff Perhaps a reference to Marcion.

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Book Nine of the Apostolicon
The Epistle
of the Apostle Paul

To Philemon

Table of Contents

Preface....3
What is the Apostolicon?....3
Reconstructing and Translating....4
Sources....6
Color Codes....6
A Play on Words and Women in the Church....7
The Marcionite Prologue....8
To Philemon....8

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1. Galatians
2. Corinthians
3. Corinthians (2)
4. Romans
5. Thessalonians
6. Thessalonians (2)
7. Laodiceans (Ephesians)
8. Colossians
9. Philemon
10. Philippians

The Evangelicon is a gospel narrative carefully compiled by Marcion from only the most reliable sources available in his day (about 110 to 145 AD). It was considered, by the adherents of the Marcionite faith, to be equivalent to "The Gospel of Paul" (Galatians 1:8-9, 1:11, 2:2, 2:7, Romans 2:16, Thessalonians 1:5, Thessalonians (2) 2:14). It was from about 170 to 180 AD that the Catholic Church wrote "The Four Gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), using older gospels as source material[b]. For the "Gospel of Luke", the Evangelicon was used as the primary source for its writing.

The so-called epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus are non-canonical works of the second century; apparently written in opposition to the Marcionite faith as they contain explicit anti-Marcionite theology.

There are no surviving manuscripts of the Apostolicon. However, the Apostolicon (in Latin and Greek) was quoted extensively by early Catholic Fathers. By careful examination of their quotes and their descriptions of the differences between the Apostolicon and the books of the Catholic scriptures the Apostolicon can be reconstructed.

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a Without Marcion, there likely would not have been any surviving letters of Paul.

b For an examination considering the dating of The Four Gospels, see Charles Burlingame Waite's work, "The History of the Christian Religion, to the Year Two Hundred", particularly chapter 26.

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Potential interpolations are identified by the characteristics described by Melissa Cutler[c]:

- They do not match the writing style of the original author. Sometimes this is so obvious that it can be seen even in an English translation of the text.
- They do not fit in with the original flow of thought – they often cause the text to jump abruptly to a new subject, and then back to the original subject when the interpolation ends, in a confusing and disjointed way.
- They do not fit in with the structure of the text – ancient documents had a logical structure with sections that introduced the topic, contained background information, and summarized the conclusions, etc. – Interpolations do not fit in with this structure, as the original author did not plan for them to be there.
- They disrupt the original text – sometimes sentences that were meant to refer back to something that had just been mentioned will be separated from it by the inserted text, so that they become confusing or meaningless. Sometimes interpolations were added mid-sentence, disrupting even the sentence structure.
- They often express ideas and opinions that contradict those of the original author.

Confirmed interpolations

Interpolations are "confirmed" if evidence can be found in a reconstruction source that the interpolation could not have been present in the Apostolicon. Confirmed interpolations are removed and unconfirmed interpolations remain, but are marked in red.

How quotes are incorporated into the Apostolicon

Where a reconstruction source has a quote from the Apostolicon, and it is determined that the quote is essentially the same as the text from a commonly accepted Greek manuscript, that Greek text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon; regardless of whether the quote is in Latin or Greek. In the case where the two are substantially the same, except for only one or two words, and unimportant verbal differences, the Greek with those words inserted into the text is considered to be the same as the Apostolicon. In the case where the quote is significantly different from any commonly accepted Greek manuscript a translation of the quote is incorporated directly

c Quotation from "Misogynistic Interpolations in the Letters of Paul": http://www.original-bible.com/Misogynistic-Interpolations-in-Paul.html .

into the reconstruction, this is then considered to be the same as the Apostolicon.

Strong implication

Where a certain meaning is strongly implied in the Greek, but that implication becomes weak when translated into English, a few words are added to the translation in order to strengthen the implication in English. All words added to strengthen an implied meaning are *italicized*.

Estimation of lost text

In some cases where there are reasons to believe original text was completely removed, but a reasonable estimation of the lost text can be recreated, then, in as few words as possible, an estimation of the lost text is provided in the translation. All words added for an estimation of lost text are both *italicized* and [*contained in square brackets*].

Special words

Where it can be determined that "God" refers to the Father of Jesus, "GOD" (all capitals) is used. Where it can be determined that "God" does not refer to the Father of Jesus, "god" is used. Otherwise, when there is uncertainty, "God" is used. Where it can be determined that "Christ" refers to Jesus, "the Good One" is used. Evidence suggests that "chrestos", meaning "the good one", was changed to "christos", meaning "the messiah", by copyists.

Sources

This reconstruction is based on the following source(s):

1. "Against Marcion" by Tertullian, book 5, chapter 21;

I will also incorporate references to other sources if and when I become aware of them.

Color Codes

Light Green – Text unchanged as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
Green – Text substantially the same, except for some unimportant verbal differences, as confirmed by quotation or paraphrase in the reconstruction sources
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Red - Unconfirmed interpolation

Because most of the text of the Apostolicon is in black, it may appear that there are large portions of the text with no information; however, keep in mind that Tertullian and Epiphanius focused there attention mainly on passages with important differences between the two versions. As a result, the passages for which we have no information are places where both versions of the text are likely to be the same.

A Play on Words and Women in the Church

There are apparently no interpolations in Philemon. Tertullian said, "To this epistle alone did its brevity avail to protect it against the falsifying hands of Marcion" (Against Marcion 5:21); which, of course, means that the Catholic redactors decided to leave this one alone. It is, however, still assumed that each occurrence of 'Christ' was 'Chrest' (meaning "the Good One") in the original Apostolicon. This assumption opens up a nice play on words in verse 6, "in the knowledge of every good thing coming through you, from the Good One", not unlike the play on words with Onesimus in verses 10 and 11.

It is noteworthy that 'sister Apphia', a woman, is addressed as equals in the greeting to Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus, which is then immediately followed by "and to the church in your house". The implication is that sister Apphia was a leader of the church. Epiphanius said, "They [the Marcionites] even permit women to administer baptism!" (Panarion 42:4:5). Considering how immense the rite of baptism is in the Marcionite faith the significance of allowing women to perform the rite cannot be underestimated. Baptism is referred to as the "resurrection rite" and those who undergo this rite are considered to have already attained to the resurrection! Early accounts of Paul depict him as one who considers Christian women equal with Christian men. One such account is the 'Acts of Paul and Thecla'. The following from page 25 of Waite's book, the 'History of the Christian Religion to the year Two Hundred':

One of the earliest Christian writings, was the Acts of Paul and Thecla. It was a sort of romance. Thecla, who was engaged to be married, had heard, from an upper window, Paul, preaching. She had fallen in love with him; had deserted her lover and relatives, and had followed Paul; had become a devoted Christian; had baptized; first baptizing herself. Then she worked miracles, became a saint, and finally a martyr. She was held in the highest veneration by the fathers. But the book gave implied sanction to the right of women to baptize. On that account it was declared heretical, and search was made for the author; an unusual proceeding in those days. It was traced to a presbyter of one of the eastern churches, who acknowledged he had written it "for the honor of Paul." He was tried for the offense, and being convicted, was deposed from the ministry (Tertullian, de Baptismo, ch. 17; Jerome. de Vir. 1. 7. Jerome states, erroneously, that Tertullian had said he was convicted before John).

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in the Good One Jesus."
Galatians 3:28

The Epistle of the Apostle Paul To Philemon

The Marcionite Prologue[d]

To Philemon he sends a private letter for Onesimus his slave, and writes to him from Rome out of prison.

To Philemon

[1:1] Paul, a prisoner of the Good One Jesus, and brother Timothy, to Philemon our beloved and fellow-worker,
[1:2] and to sister Apphia[e], and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in your house:
[1:3] Grace to you and peace from GOD our Father and the Lord Jesus the Good One.
[1:4] I thank my GOD always, making mention of you in my prayers,
[1:5] hearing of your love, and of the faith which you have toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all the saints;
[1:6] that the fellowship of your faith may become effectual, in the knowledge of every good thing coming through you, from the Good One[f].
[1:7] For I had much joy and comfort in your love, because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through you, brother.

---

d The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin.

e Note that the Apostle also addresses the epistle to a woman. Sister Apphia is listed as equals in the greeting to Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus, which is then immediately followed by "and to the church in your house". Hence, the only implication in the greeting is that sister Apphia was one of the leaders of the church. In accord with this Marcion is said to have permitted women to assume prominent leadership positions. Epiphanius said, "They [the Marcionites] even permit women to administer baptism!" (Panarion 42:4:5). If you consider just how immense the rite of baptism is to the Marcionite faith the significance of allowing women to perform the rite cannot be underestimated. For the Marcionite faith baptism is supreme! It is referred to as the "resurrection rite" and those who undergo this rite are considered to have already attained to the resurrection out from the dead! Most Marcionite believers remain Catechumen most of their lives, waiting until their deathbed to be baptized. As the heavens are higher than the earth, baptism is a higher rite than marriage, so it is sacrilegious to partake of marriage after baptism. "Those who are considered worthy to attain to that age and the resurrection out from the dead [baptism], neither marry nor are given in marriage" (Luke 20:35).

f A play on words, "every good thing coming through you, from the Good One". This play on words would not be evident if the Greek word 'christos' (the anointed one) was not restored to the original 'chrestos' (the good one).

[1:8] Therefore, though I have all confidence in the Good One to command you to do what is proper,
[1:9] yet for love's sake I rather make an appeal, being such a one as Paul the aged[g], and now a prisoner also of the Good One Jesus:
[1:10] I appeal to you for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds, Onesimus[h],
[1:11] who once was unprofitable to you, but now is profitable both to you and to me:
[1:12] whom I have sent back to you in person, with my very heart:
[1:13] whom I would wish to have kept with me, that on your behalf he might minister unto me in the bonds of the gospel:
[1:14] but I don't want to do anything without your consent; that your goodness should not be of necessity, but of free will.
[1:15] For perhaps he was for this reason separated from you for a season, that you should have him for ever more;
[1:16] no longer as a slave, but more than a slave, a beloved brother, especially to me, yet more so to you, both in the flesh and in the Lord.
[1:17] If then you regard me a partner, receive him as you would me.
[1:18] But if he has in any way wronged you, or owes you anything, put that to my account;
[1:19] I put it in writing with my own hand, 'I Paul will repay it', (not mentioning how you even owe to me yourself as well).
[1:20] Yes, brother, let me have joy of you in the Lord: refresh my heart in the Good One.
[1:21] Having confidence in your obedience I write unto you, knowing that you will do even beyond what I say.
[1:22] But prepare me also lodging: for I hope that through your prayers I shall be given to you.
[1:23] Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in the Good One Jesus, greets you;
[1:24] and so does Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers.
[1:25] The grace of our Lord Jesus the Good One be with your spirit. Amen.

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g Paul is an old man at the time of this letter.

h 'Onesimus', a common name for a slave, means 'profitable', hence a play on words: "Onesimus, who once was unprofitable to you, but now is profitable both to you and to me".

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Table of Contents

Preface....3
What is the Apostolicon?....3
Reconstructing and Translating....4
Sources....6
Color Codes....6
Marcionite Kenosis....7
The Marcionite Prologue....9
To the Philippians....9
Addendum....17
From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian:
A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of Philippians....17

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2. "Panarion" by Epiphanius of Salamis, book 42, passage 11, verse 8;

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Marcionite Kenosis

Kenosis is a Greek word for emptiness, which is used as a theological term. The ancient Greek word κένωσις kénōsis means an "emptying", from κενός kenós "empty". The word is mainly used, however, in a Christian theological context, for example Philippians 2:7, "Jesus made himself nothing (ἐκένωσε ekénōse) ..." (NIV) or "...he emptied himself..." (NRSV), using the verb form κενόω kenóō "to empty". See also Strong's G2758. (From: askdefine.com).

"Let this disposition be in you, which was also in the Good One Jesus: who being inherently in the form of a god, considered being equal with god not something to hold unto, but emptied himself, taking on the form of a slave, and was made in the likeness of human beings; and being found in a fashion like a human, he humbled himself, becoming obedient to the point of death: even the death of the cross" (Philippians 2:5-8).

Paul explains just how we can have this disposition in us by saying: "act out the salvation that is inherently yours with fear and trembling" (Philippians 2:12). In other words, Jesus has already given us salvation in him, but act as if you don't have it (an act of humility) by working out your salvation with fear and trembling. Paul, setting an example for us, does likewise as is explained in verses 10-15.

To understand the simplicity of what Paul said to the Philippians by saying that Jesus "emptied" (kenosis) himself; we must empty ourselves of the false assumption that this has anything to do with the Orthodox doctrine of the incarnation. To understand Marcionite Kenosis we must unlearn Orthodox Kenosis. All the genuine epistles of Paul are Marcionite, not Orthodox or Catholic. Trying to interpret Marcionite doctrine as if it were actually Catholic doctrine would be much like a Christian taking up the Koran of Islam and, treating it as scripture, trying to understand how doctrines taught therein agree with Christian doctrine.

Marcionite Kenosis is simply following the example of Jesus and Paul by not holding on with pride to what or who you are in the Good One, but instead holding an attitude of humility, serving others, and holding others in higher esteem than yourself. Jesus acted as if he was human, an act of humility, so he could serve us. Only by adding non-Pauline dogma into the picture does it become complicated.

Some Orthodox Christians, upon hearing that Marcionite Christians speak of Jesus 'acting as if' he were a human, though he was not, may make the accusation that this means that Jesus was a liar. Kenosis is humility, not deceit. Compare it to the Orthodox teaching with regard to the Eucharist. According to Catholic doctrine, the Eucharist is literally the body and blood of Jesus and it only appears to be bread and wine. This is an act of humility (not deceit) for Jesus to appear as if he is only bread and wine, though he is

not bread and wine, say the Orthodox. You could call this 'the Kenosis of the Eucharist'. The real problem to understanding this is our own dogmatic hang-ups. The Orthodox cannot permit themselves to question their own dogma. Orthodox dogma is that Jesus was true God and true man; and since Paul is in the Orthodox canon of scripture they must also believe that Paul could not have taught that Jesus was neither God nor man!

Paul the Marcionite Apostle, speaking to the Marcionite faithful in Philippi, understood that Jesus was inherently much the same as "god", meaning the archon who is the god of this world and its creator. Jesus was inherently "the head of all archons and spiritual-sovereigns" (Colossians 2:10). Paul did not mean GOD the Father because the invisible GOD has no "form". Most references to "god" mean the archons who created the world because GOD the Father of Jesus cannot be known in any way except in Jesus the Good One.

Then Jesus humbled himself and was made "in the likeness" of human beings; and being found "in a fashion like" a human. If Paul meant that Jesus became an actual human being he would have said that. If Paul had said that Jesus was not god, an argument could be made that he didn't mean it because he was acting humble, but on the other hand, if Paul said that Jesus was not a man an argument could not be made that he didn't mean it based on Jesus acting humble! If Paul didn't mean that Jesus was "in a fashion like" a human, what it would really have to be is that Jesus wasn't even anywhere close to being a human! To say that Paul really meant that Jesus became completely and truly a human goes against the overall context (i.e. acting humble) and therefore this could not be the case. Only someone hopelessly entangled in the trap of his own dogmatic hang-ups could understand "in the likeness of human beings" and "in a fashion like a human" to mean to be exactly the same thing as an actual human being! There's no question about it, Paul was Docetic! This was the original orthodoxy established by the Marcionite Apostle Paul. And, there is no record of anyone opposing this original orthodoxy until near the end of the second century.

When the spirit of Jesus comes to dwell in our hearts by faith it is our flesh that becomes Jesus' body. We who are in the Good One have died on the cross, so that we may live, not in the body of the flesh nor according to the flesh, but in the body of the spirit; which life we now have in exchange for the flesh. This is how our Lord Jesus came down to connect with us. He is far more than just a friend; he lives inside us and we inside him!

"Are you so foolish? Having begun spiritually; are you now made perfect by the flesh?"
Galatians 3:3

The Epistle of the Apostle Paul To the Philippians

The Marcionite Prologue[d]

Philippians are Macedonians. These accepted the word of truth and persisted in their faithfulness; nor did they receive false apostles. These the apostle praises; writing to them from Rome out of prison by Epaphroditus.

To the Philippians

[1:1] Paul and Timothy, servants of the Good One Jesus, to all the saints in the Good One Jesus that are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons:
[1:2] Grace to you and peace from GOD our Father and the Lord Jesus the Good One.
[1:3] I thank my GOD each time I remember you,
[1:4] always making my supplication with joy, in every prayer for you all;
[1:5] for your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel from the first day until now;
[1:6] being confident of this very thing, that he who began a good work in you, will complete it until the day of Jesus the Good One:
[1:7] For it is right for me to feel this way about you, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as, both in my bonds and in the defense and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers with me of grace.
[1:8] For God is my witness: how I long for you all in the compassions of the Good One Jesus.
[1:9] And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all discernment;
[1:10] so that ye may approve the things that are good; that ye may be sincere and without offence 'til the day of the Good One;
[1:11] having been filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are through Jesus the Good One, unto the glory and praise of GOD.
[1:12] Now I would have you know, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have turned out rather unto the progress of the gospel;

d The "Marcionite" prologues are found in many ancient Latin Catholic biblical manuscripts. Surprisingly they were accepted by the Catholics, in spite of the fact that they complement the Marcionite interpretation of the letters. Many scholars believe that these prologues are of Marcionite origin.

[1:13] so that my bonds became manifest in the Good One throughout the whole praetorian guard, and to all the rest;
[1:14] that most of the brethren in the Lord, becoming confidant by my bonds, are more fearless in speaking the word <>[e].
[1:15] Some indeed preach the Good One even out of envy and strife; and again others out of the good reputation of the word[f]:
[1:16] the latter do it out of love[g], knowing that I am set for the defense of the gospel;
[1:17] but the former proclaim the Good One out of contention[h], not sincerely, thinking to be my rival[i] in my bonds.
[1:18] What then? Only that in every way, whether it be in pretence or in truth, the Good One is proclaimed[j]; and in this I am rejoicing, and shall rejoice.
[1:19] For I know that this shall turn out to my salvation, through your prayers and the supply of the spirit of Jesus the Good One,
[1:20] according to my earnest expectation and hope, that in nothing shall I be put to shame, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also the Good One shall be magnified in my body, whether by life, or by death.
[1:21] For to me to live in the Good One and to die is joy[k].
[1:22] But if to live in the flesh shall bear fruit from my work, then I do not know which to choose.
[1:23] I am pushed in two directions, having the desire to depart and be with the Good One; for this is far better *for me*:
[1:24] yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake.
[1:25] And having this confidence, I know that I shall remain, and abide with you, for your progress and joy in the faith;
[1:26] so that your confidence may abound in the Good One Jesus in me through my presence with you again.
[1:27] Only be ye citizens, conducting yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of the Good One: so that, whether I come to see you or remain absent, I may hear of your state, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mindset striving for the faith of the gospel.
[1:28] And be not in any way terrified by your opponents: which is an evident token of destruction for them, but of you: salvation; and this from God.

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e Against Marcion 5:20(1).

f "Out of good-will" (Against Marcion 5:20(1)), however Marcion understood "out of good-will" to mean "out of the good reputation of the word" ("Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem", Edited and translated by Ernest Evans 1972, Appendices 2 "Marcion's Treatment of the New Testament").

g Against Marcion 5:20(1).

h Against Marcion 5:20(1).

i Against Marcion 5:20(1).

j Against Marcion 5:20(2).

k "Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem", Edited and translated by Ernest Evans 1972, Appendices 2 "Marcion's Treatment of the New Testament".

[1:29] For unto you it has been graciously granted for the sake of the Good One, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for him:
[1:30] having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me.
[2:1] If there is therefore any encouragement in the Good One, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any tender mercies and compassions,
[2:2] make full my joy, that ye be of the same disposition, having the same love, being of one accord, of one disposition;
[2:3] doing nothing through strife or vainglory, but in humility let each esteem the other to be better than one's self;
[2:4] looking out for nothing of your own, but each of you to that of others.
[2:5] Let this disposition be in you, which was also in the Good One Jesus:
[2:6] who being inherently in the form of a god[l], considered being equal with god not something to hold unto,
[2:7] but emptied[m] himself, taking on the form of a slave, and was made in the likeness of human beings;
[2:8] and being found in a fashion like a human[n], he <> became obedient to the point of death[o]: even the death of the cross[p].
[2:9] Wherefore God supremely exalted him, and gave him the supreme name which is above every name;
[2:10] that in the name of 'Jesus' every knee should bow: all who are in the heavens[q] and all who are on earth and all who are under the earth,
[2:11] and every tongue shall confess that Jesus the Good One is Lord, to the glory of GOD the Father.
[2:12] So then, my beloved, just as ye have always obeyed, not in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, act out the salvation that is inherently yours with fear and trembling;
[2:13] for it is god who acts through you both to will and to act, for his good pleasure.
[2:14] Do all things without murmurings and questionings:
[2:15] that ye may become blameless and harmless, children of God without blemish in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom ye are seen as lights in the world,

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l i.e. an archon.
m Exhausit (Latin) kenosis (Greek)
n Against Marcion 5:20(4).
o Against Marcion 5:20(7).
p Against Marcion 5:20(8).
q "All who are in the heavens" = the archons – 'god' bows the knee to Jesus!

[2:16] holding forth the word of life; that I may have something to glory in the day of the Good One, that I did not run in vain neither labor in vain.

[2:17] But even if I am poured out upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I rejoice, and rejoice with you all:

[2:18] and in the same manner do ye also joy, and rejoice with me.

[2:19] But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy shortly unto you, that I also may be encouraged, when I know your state.

[2:20] For I have no one likeminded, who will truly care for your welfare.

[2:21] For they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus the Good One.

[2:22] But ye know the proof of him, that, as a child serves a father, so he served with me in the furtherance of the gospel.

[2:23] Him therefore I hope to send right away, as soon as I shall see how it will go with me:

[2:24] but I trust in the Lord that I myself also shall come shortly.

[2:25] Yet I deemed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, and your messenger and minister to my need;

[2:26] since he longed after you all, and was sore troubled, because ye had heard that he was sick:

[2:27] for indeed he was sick near unto death: but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow.

[2:28] I have sent him therefore the more earnestly, that, when ye see him again, ye may rejoice, and that I may be the more free of sorrow.

[2:29] Receive him therefore in the Lord with all joy; and hold such in honor:

[2:30] because for the work of the Good One he came close unto death, risking his life to supply that which was lacking in your service to me.

[3:1] For the rest, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord. To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not a problem, but for you it is a safeguard.

[3:2] Beware of the curs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the maimcision:

[3:3] for we are the ones who cut off the passions[r], who offer divine service spiritually to God, and glory in the Good One Jesus rather than placing confidence in the flesh[s]:

[3:4] though I myself might have confidence even in the flesh: <>

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r Peritomē (Greek) by implication means: "the ones who cut off the passions".

s Against Marcion 5:20(9).

[3:5] circumcised[t] the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin[u], a Hebrew of the Hebrews[v]; <> a Pharisee[w];

[3:6] <>[x]

[3:7] (3:6) But those things which I had once accounted gain, are to me[y] loss[z] <>.

[3:8] (3:7) <>[aa] and I do count them but dung for the excellence of the knowledge of the Good One <>[bb],

[3:9] (3:8) <> not having a righteousness of mine own, which is of the law, but that which is through him<>, the righteousness which is of God <>[cc]:

[3:10] (3:9) that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, becoming conformed unto his death;

[3:11] (3:10) if somehow I may attain unto the resurrection out from among the dead.

[3:12] (3:11) Not that I have already obtained, or have already been perfected: but I pursue and seek to hold on to what I also already do hold on to by the Good One Jesus[dd].

[3:13] (3:12) Brethren, I don't count myself yet to have laid hold: but one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are ahead,

[3:14] (3:13) I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in the Good One Jesus.

[3:15] (3:14) Let us therefore, as many as are perfect[ee], be thus minded: and if in anything ye are otherwise minded, this also shall God reveal unto you:

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t Against Marcion 5:20(9).

u Against Marcion 5:20(9).

v Against Marcion 5:20(9).

w Against Marcion 5:20(9).

x <"as touching zeal, persecuting the church; as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless"> Not only is this interpolation confirmed because the confirmation source (Tertullian) quotes both before and after but leaves out the text in question, but it is also confirmed as an interpolation because at the place where Tertullian quoted verse 7 he referenced verse 5 as "the preceding verse": ""those things which he had once accounted gain," and which he enumerates in the preceding verse—"trust in the flesh," the sign of "circumcision," his origin as "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," his descent from "the tribe of Benjamin," his dignity in the honours of the Pharisee" (Against Marcion 5:20(9)).

y Against Marcion 5:20(9).

z Against Marcion 5:20(10).

aa The confirmation source (Tertullian) quotes both before and after but leaves out the text in question.

bb Against Marcion 5:20(11).

cc Tertullian makes mention of an argument used by Marcionites in regards to this verse: "according to this distinction [between the righteousness of the law and the righteousness of God] the law did not proceed from the God of Christ" (Against Marcion 5:20(12)).

dd This could be referred to as 'the kenosis of Paul'. Due to the context, it becomes clear that Paul had attained unto the resurrection (possibly meaning the resurrection rite or baptism). But Paul emptied himself of his resurrection by acting as if the resurrection was a goal yet to be attained.

ee The "perfect" refer to those who have attained unto the resurrection (or the resurrection rite).

[3:16] (3:15) only, unto what we have attained, by that same rule let us walk.

[3:17] (3:16) Brethren, be ye imitators together of me, and mark them that so walk even as ye have us for an example.

[3:18] (3:17) For many walk, of whom I told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of the Good One:

[3:19] (3:18) whose end is destruction, whose god is the belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.

[3:20] (3:19) For our citizenship is in the heavens[ff]; whence also we wait for a savior, the Lord Jesus the Good One:

[3:21] (3:20) who shall transfigure[gg] our humble body, to resemble his glorious body[hh], according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself.

[4:1] Wherefore, my brethren beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my beloved.

[4:2] I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche, to be of the same mind in the Lord.

[4:3] And, I ask you also, true friend, help these women, for they labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life.

[4:4] Rejoice in the Lord always: again I will say, Rejoice.

[4:5] Let your forbearance be known unto all men. The Lord is near.

[4:6] In nothing be anxious; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God.

[4:7] And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, shall guard your hearts and your thoughts in the Good One Jesus.

[4:8] For the rest, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good repute; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

[4:9] The things which ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, these things do: and the God of peace shall be with you.

[4:10] But I rejoice in the Lord greatly, that now at length ye have revived your thought for me; wherein ye did indeed take thought, but ye lacked opportunity.

[4:11] Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content.

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ff Against Marcion 5:20(14).

gg transfigurabit (Latin).

hh Against Marcion 5:20(16).

[4:12] I know how to be abased, and I know also how to abound: in everything and in all things have I learned the secret both to be filled and to be hungry, both to abound and to be in want.
[4:13] I can do all things in him who strengthens me.
[4:14] Nevertheless ye did well that ye had fellowship with me in my affliction.
[4:15] And ye yourselves also know, ye Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church had fellowship with me in the matter of giving and receiving but ye only;
[4:16] for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need.
[4:17] Not that I seek for the gift; but I seek for the fruit that increases to your account.
[4:18] But I have all things, and abound: I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the things that came from you; an odor of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.
[4:19] And my God shall supply every need of yours according to his riches in glory in the Good One Jesus.
[4:20] Now unto our GOD and Father be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.
[4:21] Salute every saint in the Good One Jesus. The brethren that are with me salute you.
[4:22] All the saints salute you, especially they that are of Caesar's household.
[4:23] The grace of the Lord Jesus the Good One be with your spirit.

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Addendum

From "Against Marcion" by Tertullian: A numerical list of excerpts, with footnotes included, used for the reconstruction of Philippians

{1}"waxing confident by his bonds, were more fearless in speaking the word," while others "preached Christ even out of envy and strife, and again others out of good-will," many also "out of love," and certain "out of contention," and some "in rivalry to himself," {6096 Philippians 1:14-17}
{2}"whether it be in pretence or in truth that Christ is preached," {6099 Philippians 1:18}
{3}the majority of persons everywhere now-a-days are of our way of thinking, rather than on the heretical side
{4}"being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God; {6102 Compare the treatise, De Resur. Carnis, c. vi. (Oehler)} but emptied {6103 Exhausit ekenose} Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant," not the reality, "and was made in the likeness of man," not a man, "and was found in fashion as a man," {6104 Philippians 2:6, 7}
{5}"the image of the invisible God." {6105 Colossians 1:15}
{6}as He was found to be God by His mighty power, so was He found to be man by reason of His flesh
{7}"become obedient unto death," {6108 Philippians 2:8}
{8}"even the death of the cross." {6109 Philippians 2:8}
{9}"those things which he had once accounted gain," and which he enumerates in the preceding verse—"trust in the flesh," the sign of "circumcision," his origin as "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," his descent from "the tribe of Benjamin," his dignity in the honours of the Pharisee {6113 Candidæ pharisaeæ: see Philippians 3:4-6}
{10}"loss" to himself; {6114 Philippians 3:7}
{11}"which he counts but dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ" {6115 Philippians 3:8}
{12}"whilst he has not his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through Him," i.e. Christ, "the righteousness which is of God." {6116 Philippians 3:9} Then, say you, according to this distinction the law did not proceed from the God of Christ. Subtle enough!

{13}"Not (the righteousness) which is of the law, but that which is through Him," he would not have used the phrase through Him of any other than Him to whom the law belonged.
{14}"Our conversation," says he, "is in heaven." {6117 Philippians 3:20}
{15}"one star differeth from another star in glory." {6119 1 Corinthians 15:41}
{16}"shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body," {6120 Philippians 3:21. (I have adhered to the original Greek, by a trifling verbal change, because Tertullian's argument requires it.)}
{17}"We shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord (in the air)." {6123 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17}
{18}At 1: 15 Marcion translated, or interpreted, 'of goodwill' as if it meant 'by the good reputation of the word'
{19}At 1: 21 he read for to me to live in Christ and to die is joy.

ANTITHESIS

Contradictions Between the Old Testament Diety and the New Testament God.

O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and ***Contradictions*** *[antithesis] of gnosis falsley so called.*

- from the pseudo-Pauline epistle of I Timothy 6:20 (circ.150 C.E.).

This page represents a short exercise on my part (rather loose and by no means comprehensive)- the purpose of which is to provide a brief glimpse into Marcion's lost work, "Antithesis", which can be best described as a Marcionite commentary on the New Testament, which set forth contrasts on passages(via narrative commentary, or by the presentation of OT and NT scriptures side-by-side) between the Hebrew diety and the Alien God. It is not certain how this work was actually arranged, whether a separate work apart from Marcion's canon, or a commentary incorporated into it. For the first part of this exercise, an attempt is made here to extract and construct from Tertullian's hostile witness (Adversus Marcionem) a Marcionite narrative, so as to allow the marcionite voice to express its views on the following three subjects:
I. The Creator God and the Supreme God,
II. The Inconsistancies of the Creator God, and
III. The Two Christs.

For the second half of this exercise, a simple side-by-side presentation of OT and NT scriptures is given, which demonstrates the contradictions between the OT Creator God and the NT Supreme God. I must emphasize that this is a loose presentation, in that I have not confined myself to citing only passages which appeared in Marcion's canon, but have made free use of other canonical material as well. In any event, this will at least provide the reader a general idea of what Marcion's work "Antithesis" may have been like. For a further in-depth discussion on Marcion's "Antithesis", see Adolf Von Harnack's work, "Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God" (pp.53-63; E.T. Labyrinth Press, 1990).

I. The Creator God and the Supreme God

For an evil tree bringeth forth not good fruit; neither does a good tree bring forth evil fruit. For every tree is known by his own fruit. Luke 6:43,44a

I am the Lord, and there is none else; I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil...
Isaiah 45:6,7

I create evil - This god is the author of evil - there must be another God, after the analogy of the good tree producing its good fruit. In Christ is found a different disposition, one of a simple and pure benevolence - which differs from the Creator.
In Christ a new God is revealed.

The Creator God is judicial, harsh, and mighty in war.
The Supreme God is gentle and simply good and excellent.

The title "God" is a vague one, and applied to other Beings as well; as it is written, " He standeth in the congregation of the mighty"; "He judgeth among the gods" (Psalm 82:1,6), "Ye are gods". Thus as the attribute of supremacy would be inappropriate to these, although they be called gods, so it is to the Creator.

Jesus Christ and none else revealed a new God, who, in the Old world and in the Old time and under the Old God was unknown and unheard of ; Whom is accounted by no one through long centuries back, and ancient in men's very ignorance of Him - even in ancient names He was unknown and concealed. He had remained unknown by any works from the beginning. Even the Creator was unaware of the Supreme God being above himself, Who, although He did not manifest Himself from the beginning and by means of the creation, has yet revealed Himself in Christ Jesus.

To be sure, this world is a grand work, worthy of a god. Yet the Supreme God has a creation of His own, and His own world, and His own sky. One work is sufficient for our God: He has delivered man by His supreme and most excellent goodness, which is preferable to the creation of all the locusts. A primary and perfect goodness is shed voluntarily and freely upon strangers without any obligation of friendship, on the principle that we are bidden to love our enemies, who as such on that very account are strangers to us.

The Supreme God is susceptible to no feeling of rivalry, or anger, or damage, or injury . He inflicts no punishment and takes no offence, and is not feared, as a good being ought not to be an object of fear, as a judicial being, in whom resides the grounds for fear - anger, severity, judgements, vengence, and condemnation.

II. The Inconsistencies of the Creator God

The Creator God is inconsistent, in respect of persons, sometimes disapproving where approbation is deserved; or else lacking in foresight, bestowing approbation on men who ought rather be reprobated, as if he either censured his own past judgements, or could not forecast his future ones.

With fickleness and improvidence he repented, or on some recollection of some wrong-doing, because the Creator actually says "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king" (1 Samual 15:11), his repentence in the sense of an acknowledgement of some evil work or error. This is also the case in the matter of the Ninevites, when the Book of Jonah (3:10) states, "And God repented of the evil that he had said he would do unto them; and he did not."

The Creator called out to Adam, "Where art thou?" as if ignorant of where Adam was; and when Adam alleged that the shame of his nakedness was the reason for hiding himself, the Creator inquired whether he had eaten of the tree, as if he were in doubt (Genesis 3:9-11).

In the case of Sodom and Gomorrha, he says "I will go down now, to see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which is come to me; and if not, I will know"; another instance of his uncertainty in ignorance.

The Creator God was even mean enough in his very fierceness, when, in his wrath against the people for their consecration of the golden calf, he makes this request to Moses: "Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make thee a great nation" (Exodus 32:10). Moses is better than his God, as the deprecatur and indeed, the averter of his anger, "For Thou shalt not do this; or else destroy me along with them" (Exodus 32:32).

III. The Two Christs

The Christ who in the days of Tiberius was, by a previously unknown God, revealed for the salvation of all nations, is a different being from him who was ordained by the Creator God for the restoration of the Jewish state, and who is yet to come.

The Creator's Christ is to be a warrior, a bearer of arms, and mighty in war.
The Christ of the Good God, who has come, is a far different being from the Creator's Christ.

Isaiah's description of Christ in no point suits the Christ of the Good God. Isaiah's Christ is to be called Emmanuel (Isaiah 7:14); then, he takes the riches of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of Assyria (Isaiah 8:4). But yet, He who is come was neither born under such a name, nor ever engaged in such a war-like enterprise.

A Christ had come who had never been foreannounced, but the Christ predicted had not yet appeared. The Jews were themselves quite certain that it was some other who came; so they

not only rejected Him as a stranger, but slew Him as an enemy, though they would have acknowledged Him, and with all religious devotion followed Him, if He had been one of them.

The difference between the two Christs, is that the Jewish Christ was ordained by the Creator for the restoration of the people alone from its dispersion,
while our Christ was appointed by the supremely Good God for the liberation of the whole human race.
Who among the nations can turn to the Creator, when those whom the prophets name are proselytes of individually different and private conditions?

It is the Christ of the Other, Supreme God Who was driven to the cross by the hostile powers and authorities of the Creator. The suffering of the cross was not predicted of the Creator's Christ; moreover, it should not be believed that the Creator would expose his son to that kind of death on which he himself had pronounced a curse. "Cursed" says he, "is everyone who hangeth on a tree" (Deuteronomy 21:3, Galatians 3:13).

ANTITHESIS

The CREATOR GOD of this World	The GOOD GOD Revealed by Christ
And out of the ground the Lord Yahweh made every tree to grow...the tree of the knowledge of good and evil . Gen.2:9; 3:1ff.	"For a corrupt tree bringeth forth not good fruit; neither does a good tree bringeth forth corrupt fruit." Luke 6:43 ["Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by its fruit." Mt.12:33]
And the Lord Yahweh called unto Adam, and said unto him, "Where art thou?" Genesis 3:9	But when Jesus perceived their thoughts, He answering said unto them, "Why do you reason in your hearts?" Luke 5:22
Eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot... Exodus 21:24	And unto him that smiteth thee on the cheek offer also the other... Luke 6:29
And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, "If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty". And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty. 2 Kings 1:9, 10	[Jesus' disciples] :"Lord, wilt Thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elijah did?" But He turned and rebuked them, and said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of ; for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them" Luke 9:54,55
...there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him [Elisha]...and [he] cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty two children of them. 2 Kings 2:23,24	And they brought young children to Him...and His disciples rebuked those that brought them. But Jesus ...said unto them "Allow the little children to come to Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." Mark 10:13,14
And if a woman have issue, and if her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days; whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even... and if a woman have an issue of her blood ...beyond the time of her separation, ...she shall be unclean. Leviticus 15:19,25	And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which had spent all her living on physicians, neither could be healed of any, came up behind [Jesus], and touched the border of His garment: and immediately her issue of blood ceased. Luke 8:43,44
When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. Deuteronomy 24:1	Whosoever divorces his wife, and marries another, commits adultery against her (Mk 10:11). Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, allowed you to put away your wives: but from the beginning this was not so. Matthew 19:8
Psalm 21:12 Therefore shalt thou make them turn their back, when thou shalt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them (Psalm 21:12).Yea, he sent out his arrows, and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them. (Psalm 18:4) Clouds and darkness are round about him... (97:2a) He sent darkness, and made it dark...(Psalm 105a).He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, and indignation, and trouble, by sending evil angels among them (Psalm 78:49).	Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that you may be able to withstand the evil one...taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery arrows of the wicked (Ephesians 6:16). For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this Aeon, against spiritual wickedness in high places Ephesians 6:12
I form light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord Yahweh do all these things (Isaiah 45:7). Do they not err that devise evil? (Proverbs 14:22a	God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all (1 John 1:5b) God is love (1 John 4:16); [Love] thinketh no evil (1 Corinthians 13:5d).
I the Lord your God am a jealous God (Exodus 20:5)....for the Lord, Whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God (Exodus 34:14).	Love knows no jealousy... 1 Corinthians 13:4
He is a Jealous God; He will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins. If you forsake the Lord, then He will turn and do you hurt, and consume you...(Joshua 24:13,14) For I the Lord God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the third and fourth generation	Love is never rude, never irritated, never resentful (1 Corinthians 13:5) Then came Peter to Him, and said, "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Until seven times?" Jesus said to him, "I say not to you, until seven times: but , until seventy times seven."

of them that hate me (Exodus 20:5).

I am Yahweh, that is my name-
And my glory to another will I
not give... Isaiah 42:8

And the sun stood still, and the moon
stayed, Until the people had avenged
themselves upon their enemies...for
the Lord fought for Israel.
Joshua 10:12-14

Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast
led captivity captive: Thou hast received
tribute from men. Psalm 68:18

Matthew 18:23-22

And now, O Father, glorify Thou
Me with thine own self with the
glory I had with Thee before the
world was. John 17:5

Be ye angry, yet not committing sin;
Let not the sun be going down
upon your wrath.
Ephesians 4:26

Wherefore He saith, "When He
ascended on high, He led captivity
captive, and gave gifts unto men."
Ephesians 4:8

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Adolf von Harnack

Adolf Harnack (1851-1930) was a German theologian, scholar and historian.

In some ways von Harnack was a critic of Christian traditions; he argued that all aspects of Christian history should be subjected to academic scrutiny. His work challenged many traditional Christian views, for example he argued that the Gospel of John contained no authentic information about the life of the historical Jesus. However, Harnack's critical approach to Christian history was much less radical than that of the Tübingen school, who challenged the very foundations of Christian faith.

The Tübingen school sought to explain the origin of Christianity in entirely naturalistic terms, and approach that has since become standard. Some see the work of Harnack as a reaction to this development; Harnack embraced the historical-critical method for interpreting the bible, and was very willing to challenge the authenticity of some biblical texts, whilst at the same time he defended key aspects of the traditional interpretation of Christian history, for example by arguing the the book of Acts was composed at an early date.

In 1920 he published a very thorough book on Marcion called *Marcion, das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (*Marcion and the Gospel of the Alien God*), a work which is widely regarded as pivotal to the development of modern study of this subject.

The idea that the Marcionite version of the epistles of Paul pre-dated the conventional version did not fit in well with Harnack's view of history; he was firmly convinced that the epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius were genuine, and thus believed that Catholic copies of the epistles of Paul pre-dated Marcion. For this reason his reconstruction of the Marcionite bible was partly based on the view that Marcion removed from the documents many statements that contradicted Marcionite beliefs.

Online resources by Harnack:

Marcion, an extract from the History of Dogma
Part 1
Part 2

The English translation of *Marcion and the Gospel of the Alien God* is still under copyright, however the German text (which includes Harnack's reconstruction of the Marcionite Bible) has risen into the public domain, and is avalible at Archive.org:
Marcion Das Evangelium Vom Fremden Gott

Marcion

Adolf Von Harnack
History of Dogma,
vol. I (pp.266-281).
Translated by N. Buchanan.
Published by Boston, Little (1901).

MARCION'S ATTEMPT TO SET ASIDE THE OLD TESTAMENT FOUNDATION OF CHRISTIANITY, TO PURIFY TRADITION, AND TO REFORM CHRISTENDOM ON THE BASIS OF THE PAULINE GOSPEL.

MARCION cannot be numbered among the Gnostics in the strict sense of the word. 1 For (1) he was not guided by any speculatively scientific, or even by an apologetic, but by a soteriological interest. 2 (2) He therefore put all emphasis on faith, not on Gnosis. 3 (3) In the exposition of his ideas he neither applied the elements of any Semitic religious wisdom, nor the methods of the Greek philosophy of religion. 4 (4) He never made the distinction between an esoteric and an exoteric form of religion. He rather clung to the publicity of the preaching, and endeavoured to reform Christendom, in opposition to the attempts at founding schools for those who knew and mystery cults for such as were in quest of initiation. It was only after the failure of his attempts at reform that he founded churches of his own, in which brotherly equality, freedom from all ceremonies, and strict evangelical discipline were to rule. 5 Completely carried away with the novelty, uniqueness and grandeur of the Pauline Gospel of the grace of God in Christ, Marcion felt that all other conceptions of the Gospel, and especially its union with the Old Testament religion, was opposed to, and a backsliding from' the truth. 6 He accordingly supposed that it was necessary to make the sharp antitheses of Paul, law and gospel, wrath and grace, works and faith, flesh and spirit, sin and righteousness, death and life, that is the Pauline criticism of the Old Testament religion, the foundation of his religious views, and to refer them to two principles, the righteous and wrathful god of the Old Testament, who is at 'the same time identical with the creator of the world, and the God of the Gospel, quite unknown before Christ, who is only love and mercy. 7 This Paulinism in its religious strength, but without dialectic, without the Jewish Christian view of history, and detached from the soil of the Old Testament, was to him the true Christianity. Marcion, like Paul, felt that the religious' value of a statutory law with commandments and ceremonies, was very different from that of a uniform law of love. 8 Accordingly, he had a capacity for appreciating the Pauline idea of faith; it is to him reliance on the unmerited grace of God which is revealed in Christ. But Marcion shewed himself to be a Greek, influenced by the religious spirit of the time, by changing the ethical contrast of the good and legal into the contrast between the infinitely exalted spiritual and the sensible which is subject to the law of nature, by despairing of the triumph of good in the world and, consequently, correcting the traditional faith that the world and history belong to God, by an empirical view of the world and the course of events in it,9 a view to which he was no doubt also led by the severity of the early Christian estimate of the world. Yet to him systematic speculation about the final causes of the contrast actually observed, was by no means the main thing. So far as he himself ventured on such a speculation he seems to have been influenced by the Syrian Cerdo. The numerous contradictions which arise as soon as one attempts to reduce Marcion's propositions to a system, and the fact that his disciples tried all possible conceptions of the doctrine of principles, and defined the relation of the two Gods very differently, are the clearest proof that Marcion was a religious character, that he had in general nothing to do with principles, but with living beings whose power he felt, and thai what he ultimately saw in the Gospel was not an explanation of the world, but redemption from the world, 10--redemption from a world, which even in the best that it can offer, has nothing that can reach the height of the blessing bestowed in Christ. 11 Special attention may be called to the following particulars.

1. Marcion explained the Old Testament in its literal sense and rejected every allegorical interpretation. He recognised it as the revelation of the creator of the world and the god of the Jews, but placed it, just on that account, in sharpest contrast to the Gospel. He demonstrated the contradictions between the Old Testament and the Gospel in a voluminous work (the antithesis). 12 In the god of the former book he saw a being whose character was stern justice, and therefore anger, contentiousness and unmercifulness. The law which rules nature and man appeared to him to accord with the characteristics of this god and the kind of law revealed by him, and therefore it seemed credible to him that this god is the creator and lord of the world (kosmokratos). As the law which governs the world is inflexible, and yet, on the other hand, full of contradictions, just and again brutal, and as the law of the Old Testament exhibits the same features, so the god of creation was to Marcion a being who united in himself the whole gradations of attributes from justice to malevolence, from obstinacy to inconsistency. 13 Into this conception of the creator of the world, the charactenstic of which is that it cannot be systematised, could easily be fitted the Syrian Gnostic theory which regards him as an evil being, because he belongs to this world and to matter. Marcion did not accept it in principle, 14 but touched it lightly and adopted certain inferences. 15 On the basis of the Old Testament and of empirical observation, Marcion divided men into two classes, good and evil, though he regarded them all, body and soul, as creatures of the demiurge. The good are those who strive to fulfil the law of the demiurge. These are outwardly better than those who refuse him obedience. But the distinction found here is not the decisive one. To yield to the promptings of Divine grace is the only decisive distinction, and those just men will shew themselves less susceptible to the manifestation of the truly good than sinners. As Marcion held the Old Testament to be a book worthy of belief, though his disciple, Apelles, thought otherwise, he referred all its predictions to a Messiah whom the creator of the world is yet to send; and who, as a warlike hero, is to set up the earthly kingdom of the "just" God. 16

2.Marcion placed the good God of love in opposition to the creator of the world. 17 This God has only been revealed in Christ. He was absolutely unknown before Christ, 18 and men were in every respect strange to him. 19 Out of pure goodness and mercy, for these are the essential attributes of this God who judges not and is not wrathful, he espoused the cause of those beings who were foreign to him, as he could not bear to have them any longer tormented by their just and yet malevolent lord. 20 The God of love appeared in Christ and proclaimed a new kingdom (Tertull., adv. Marc. III. 24. fin.). Christ called to himself the weary and heavy laden, 21 and proclaimed to them that he would deliver them from the fetters of their lord and from the world. He shewed mercy to all while he sojourned on the earth, and did in every respect the opposite of what the creator of the world had done to men. They who believed in the creator of the world nailed him to the cross. But in doing so they were unconsciously serving his purpose, for his death was the price by which the God of love purchased men from the creator of the world. 22 He who places his hope in the Crucified can now be sure of escaping from the power of the creator of the world, and of being translated into the kingdom of the good God. But experience shews that, like the Jews, men who are virtuous according to the law of the creator of the world, do not allow themselves to be converted by Christ; it is rather sinners who accept his message of redemption. Christ, therefore, rescued from the underworld, not the righteous men of the Old Testament (Iren. I. 27. 3), but the sinners who were disobedient to the creator of the world. If the determining thought of Marcion's view of Christianity is here again very clearly shewn, the Gnostic woof cannot fail to be seen in the proposition that the good God delivers only the souls, not the bodies of believers. The antithesis of spirit and matter, appears here as the decisive one, and the good God of love becomes the God of the spirit, the Old Testament god the god of the flesh. In point of fact, Marcion seems to have given such a turn to the good God's attributes of love, and incapability of wrath, as to make Him the apathetic, infinitely exalted Being, free from all affections. The contradiction in which Marcion is here involved is evident, because he taught expressly that the spirit of man is in itself just as foreign to the good God as his body. But the strict asceticism which Marcion demanded as a Christian, could have had no motive, without the Greek assumption of a metaphysical contrast of flesh and Spirit, which in fact was also apparently the doctrine of Paul.

3.The relation in which Marcion placed the two Gods, appears at first sight to be one of equal rank.23 Marcion himself, according to the most reliable witnesses, expressly asserted that both were uncreated, eternal, etc. But if we look more closely we shall see that in Marcion's mind there can be no thought of equality. Not only did he himself expressly declare that the creator of the world is a self-contradictory being of limited knowledge and power, but the whole doctrine of redemption shews that he is a power subordinate to the good God. We need not stop to enquire about the details, but it is certain that the creator of the world formerly knew nothing of the existence of the good God, that he is in the end completely powerless against him, that he is overcome by him, and that history in its issue with regard to man, is determined solely by its relation to the good God. The just god appears at the end of history, not as an independent being, hostile to the good God, but as one subordinate to him, 24 so that some scholars, such as Neander, have attempted to claim for Marcion a doctrine of one principle, and to deny that he ever held the complete independence of the creator of the world, the creator of the world being simply an angel of the good God. This inference may certainly be drawn with little trouble, as the result of various considerations, but it is forbidden by reliable testimony. The characteristic of Marcion's teaching is just this, that as soon as we seek to raise his ideas from the sphere of practical considerations to that of a consistent theory, we come upon a tangled knot of contradictions. The theoretic contradictions are explained by the different interests which here cross each other in Marcion. In the first place, he was consciously dependent on the Pauline theology, and was resolved to defend everything which he held to be Pauline. Secondly, he was influenced by the contrast in which he saw the ethical powers involved. This contrast seemed to demand a metaphysical basis, and its actual solution seemed to forbid such a foundation. Finally, the theories of Gnosticism, the paradoxes of Paul, the recognition of the duty of strictly mortifying the flesh, suggested to Marcion the idea that the good God was the exalted God of the spirit, and the just god the god of the sensuous, of the flesh. This view, which involved the principle of a metaphysical dualism, had something very specious about it, and to its influence we must probably ascribe the fact that Marcion no longer attempted to derive the creator of the world from the good God. His disciples who had theoretical interests in the matter, no doubt noted the contradictions. In order to remove them, some of these disciples advanced to a doctrine of three principles, the good God, the just creator, of the world, the evil god, by conceiving the creator of the world sometimes as an independent being, sometimes as one dependent on the good God. Others reverted to the common dualism, God of the spirit and god of matter. But Apelles, the most important of Marcion's disciples, returned to the creed of the one God (mik arke), and conceived the creator of the world and Satan as his angels, without departing from the fundamental thought of the master, but rather following suggestions which he himself had given. 25 Apart from Apelles, who founded a Church of his own, we hear nothing of the controversies of disciples breaking up the Marcionite church. All those who lived in

the faith for which the master had worked-viz., that the laws ruling in nature and history, as well as the course of common legality and righteousness, are the antitheses of the act of Divine mercy in Christ, and that cordial love and believing confidence have their proper contrasts in self-righteous pride and the natural religion of the heart, -those who rejected the Old Testament and clung solely to the Gospel proclaimed by Paul, and finally, those who considered that a strict mortification of the flesh and an earnest renunciation of the world were demanded in the name of the Gospel, felt themselves members of the same community, and to all appearance allowed perfect liberty to speculations about final causes.

4. Marcion had no interest in specially emphasising the distinction between the good God and Christ, which according to the Pauline Epistles, could not be denied. To him Christ is the manifestation of the good God himself. 26 But Marcion taught that Christ assumed absolutely nothing from the creation of the Demiurge, but came down from heaven in the I5th year of the Emperor Tiberius, and after the assumption of an apparent body, began his preaching in the synagogue of Capernaum. 27 This pronounced docetism which denies that Jesus was born, or subjected to any human process of development, 28 is the strongest expression of Marcion's abhorrence of the world. This aversion may have sprung from the severe attitude of the early Christians toward the world, but the inference which Marcion here draws, shews, that this feeling was, in his case, united with the Greek estimate of spirit and matter. But Marcion's docetism is all the more remarkable that, under Paul's guidance, he put a high value on the fact of Christ's death upon the cross. Here also is a glaring contradiction which his later disciples laboured to remove. This much, however, is unmistakable, that Marcion succeeded in placing the greatness and uniqueness of redemption through Christ in the clearest light and in beholding this redemption in the person of Christ, but chiefly in his death upon the cross.

5.Marcion's eschatology is also quite rudimentary. Yet he assumed with Paul that violent attacks were yet in store for the Church of the good God on the part of the Jewish Christ of the future, the Antichrist. He does not seem to have taught a visible return of Christ, but, in spite of the omnipotence and goodness of God, he did teach a twofold issue of history. The idea of a deliverance of all men, which seems to follow from his doctrine of boundless grace, was quite foreign to him. For this very reason, he could not help actually making the good God the judge, though in theory he rejected the idea, in order not to measure the will and acts of God by a human standard. Along with the fundamental proposition of Marcion, that God should be conceived only as goodness and grace, we must take into account the strict asceticism which he prescribed for the Christian communities, in order to see that that idea of God was not obtained from antinomianism. We know of no Christian community in the second century which insisted so strictly on renunciation of the world as the Marcionites. No union of the sexes was permitted. Those who were married had to separate ere they could be received by baptism into the community. The sternest precepts were laid down in the matter of food and drink. Martyrdom was enjoined; and from the fact that they were "palaipwoi kai misoumenoi" in the world, the members were to know that they were disciples of Christ. 29 With all that, the early Christian enthusiasm was wanting.

6. Marcion defined his position in theory and practice towards the prevailing form of Christianity, which, on the one hand, shewed throughout its connection with the Old Testament, and, on the other, left room for a secular ethical code, by assuming that it had been corrupted by Judaism, and therefore needed a reformation. 30 But he could not fail to note that this corruption was not of recent date, but belonged to the oldest tradition itself. The consciousness of this moved him to a historical criticism of the whole Christian tradition. 31 Marcion was the first Christian who undertook such a task. Those writings to which he owed his religious convictions, viz., the Pauline Epistles, furnished the basis for it. He found nothing in the rest of Christian literature that harmonised with the Gospel ot Paul. But he found in the Pauline Epistles hints which explained to him this result of his observations. The twelve Apostles whom Christ chose did not understand him, but regarded him as the Messiah of the god of creation. 32And therefore Christ inspired Paul by a special revelation, lest the Gospel of the grace of God should be lost through falsifications. 33 But even Paul had been understood only by few (by none?). His Gospel had also been misunderstood nay, his Epistles had been falsified in many passages, 34 in order to make them teach the identity of the god of creation and the God of redemption. A new reformation was therefore necessary. Marcion felt himself entrusted with this commission, and the church which he gathered recognised this vocation of his to be the reformer. 35 He did not appeal to a new revelation such as he presupposed for Paul. As the Pauline Epistles and an authentic "evangelion of the Lord" were in existence, it was only necessary to purify these from interpolations, and restore the genuine Paulinism which was just the Gospel itself. But it was also necessary to secure and preserve this true Christianity for the future. Marcion, in all probability, was the first to conceive and, in great measure, to realise the idea of placing Christendom on the firm foundation of a definite theory of what is Christian- but not of basing it on a theological doctrine- and of establishing this theory by a fixed collection of Christian writings with canonical authority. 36He was not a systematic thinker; but he was more, for he was not only a religious character, but at the same time a man with an organising talent, such as has no peer in the early Church. If we think of the lofty demands he made on Christians, and, on the other hand, ponder the results that accompanied his activity, we cannot fail to wonder. Wherever Christians were numerous about the year 160, there must have been Marcionite communities with the same fixed but free organisation, with the same canon and the same conception of the essence of Christianity, pre-eminent for the strictness of their morals and their joy in martyrdom. 37 The Catholic Church was then only in process of growth, and it was long ere it reached the solidity won by the Marcionite church through the activity of one man, who was animated by a faith so strong that he was able to oppose his conception of Christianity to all others as the only right one, and who did not shrink from making selections from tradition instead of explaining it away. He was the first who laid the firm foundation for establishing what is Christian, because, in view of the absoluteness of his faith, 38 he had no desire to appeal either to a secret evangelic tradition, or to prophecy, or to natural religion.

II. REMARKS and LITERATURE

Marcion

Adolf Von Harnack
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Remarks. - The innovations of Marcion are unmistakable. The way in which he attempted to sever Christianity from the Old Testament was a bold stroke which demanded the sacrifice of the dearest possession of Christianity as a religion, viz., the belief that the God of creation is also the God of redemption. And yet this innovation was partly caused by a religious conviction, the origin of which must be sought not in heathenism, but on Old Testament and Christian soil. For the bold Anti-judaist was the disciple of a Jewish thinker, Paul, and the origin of Marcion's antinomianism may be ultimately found in the prophets. It will always be the glory of Marcion in the early history of the Church that he, the born heathen, could appreciate the religious criticism of the Old Testament religion as formerly exercised by Paul. The antinomianism of Marcion was ultimately based on the strength of his religious feeling, on his personal religion as contrasted with all statutory religion That was also its basis in the case of the prophets and of Paul, only the statutory religion which was felt to be a burden and a fetter was different in each case. As regards the prophets, it was the outer sacrificial worship, and the deliverance was the idea of Jehovah's righteousness. In the case of Paul, it was the pharisaic treatment of the law, and the deliverance was righteousness by faith. To Marcion it was the sum of all that the past had described as a revelation of God: only what Christ had given him was of real value to him. In this conviction he founded a Church: Before him there was no such thing in the sense of a community, firmly united by a fixed conviction, harmoniously organised, and spread over the whole world. Such a Church the Apostle Paul had in his mind's eye, but he was not able to realise it. That in the century of the great mixture of religion the greatest apparent paradox was actually realised: namely, a Paulinism with two Gods and without the Old Testament; and that this form of Christianity first resulted in a church which was based not only on intelligible words, but on a definite conception of the essence of Christianity as a religion, seems to be the greatest riddle which the earliest history of Christianity presents. But it only seems so. The Greek, whose mind was filled with certain fundamental features of the Pauline Gospel (law and grace), who was therefore convinced that in all respects the truth was there, and who on that account took pains to comprehend the real sense of Paul's statements, could hardly reach any other results than those of Marcion. The history of Pauline theology in the Church, a history first of silence, then of artificial interpretation, speaks loudly enough. And had not Paul really separated Christianity as religion from Judaism and the Old Testament? Must it not have seemed an inconceivable inconsistency, if he had clung to the special national relation of Christianity to the Jewish people, and if he had taught a view of history in which for paedagogic reasons indeed, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort had appeared as one so entirely different?

He who was not capable of translating himself into the consciousness of a Jew, and had not yet learned the method of special interpretation, had only the alternative, if he was convinced of the truth of the Gospel of Christ as Paul had proclaimed it, of either giving up this Gospel against the dictates of his conscience, or striking out of the Epistles whatever seemed Jewish. But in this case the god of creation also disappeared, and the fact that Marcion could make this sacrifice proves that this religious spirit, with all his energy, was not able to rise to the height of the religious faith which we find in the preaching of Jesus.

In basing his own position and that of his church on Paulinism, as he conceived and remodelled it, Marcion connected himself with that part of the earliest tradition of Christianity which is best known to us, and has enabled us to understand his undertaking historically as we do no other. Here we have the means of accurately indicating what part of this structure of the second century has come down from the Apostolic age and is really based on tradition, and what does not. Where else could we do that? But Marcion has taught us far more. He does not impart a correct understanding of early Christianity, as was once supposed, for his explanation of that is undoubtedly incorrect, but a correct estimate of the reliability of the traditions that were current in his day alongside of the Pauline. There can be no doubt that Marcion criticised tradition from a dogmatic stand-point. But would his undertaking have been at all possible, if at that time a reliable tradition of the twelve Apostles and their teaching had existed and been operative in wide circles? We may venture to say no. Consequently, Marcion gives important testimony against the historical reliability of the notion that the common Christianity was really based on the tradition of the twelve Apostles. It is not surprising that the first man who clearly put and answered the question, "What is Christian?" adhered exclusively to the Pauline Epistles, and therefore found a very imperfect solution. When more than 1600 years later the same question emerged for the first time in scientific form, its solution had likewise to be first attempted from the Pauline Epistles, and therefore led at the outset to a onesidedness similar to that of Marcion. The situation of Christendom in the middle of the second century was not really more favourable to a historical knowledge of early Christianity, than that of the 18th century, but in many respects more unfavourable. Even at that time, as attested by the enterprise of Marcion, its results, and the character of the polemic against him, there were besides the Pauline Epistles, no reliable documents from which the teaching of the twelve Apostles could have been gathered. The position which the Pauline Epistles occupy in the history of the world is, however, described by the fact that every tendency in the Church which was unwilling to introduce into Christianity the power of Greek mysticism, and was yet no longer influenced by the early Christian eschatology, learned from the Pauline Epistles a Christianity which, as a religion, was peculiarly vigorous. But that position is further described by the fact that every tendency which courageously disregards spurious traditions, is compelled to turn to the Pauline Epistles, which, on the one hand, present such a profound type of Christianity, and on the other, darken and narrow the judgment about the preaching of Christ himself, by their complicated theology. Marcion was the first, and for a long time the only Gentile Christian who took his stand on Paul. He was no moralist, no Greek mystic, no Apocalyptic enthusiast, but a religious character, nay, one of the few pronouncedly typical religious characters whom we know in the early Church before Augustine. But his attempt to resuscitate Paulinism is the first great proof that the conditions under which this Christianity originated do not repeat themselves, and that therefore Paulinism itself must receive a new construction if one desires to make it the basis of a Church. His attempt is a further proof of the unique value of the Old Testament to early Christendom, as the only means at that time of defending Christian monotheism. Finally, his attempt confirms the experience that a religious community can only be founded by a religious spirit who expects nothing from the world.

Nearly all ecclesiastical writers, from Justin to Origen, opposed Marcion. He appeared already to Justin as the most wicked enemy. We can understand this, and we can quite as well understand how the Church Fathers put him on a level with Basilides and Valentinus, and could not see the difference between them. Because Marcion elevated a better God above the god of creation, and consequently robbed the Christian God of his honour, he appeared to be worse than a heathen (Sentent. episc. LXXXVII., in Hartel's edition of Cyprian, I. p. 454; "Gentiles quamvis idola colant, tamen summum deum patrem creatorem cognoscunt et confitentur [!]; in hunc Marcion blasphemat, etc."), as a blaspheming emissary of demons, as the first-born of Satan (Polyc., Justin, Irenaenus). Because he rejected the allegoric interpretation of the Old Testament, and explained its predictions as referring to a Messiah of the Jews who was yet to come, he seemed to be a Jew (Tertull., adv. Marc. III.). Because he deprived Christianity of the apologetic proof (the proof from antiquity) he seemed to be a heathen and a Jew at the same time (see my Texte u. Unters. I. 3, p. 68; the antitheses of Marcion became very important for the heathen and Manichaean assaults on Christianity). Because he represented the twelve Apostles as unreliable witnesses, he appeared to be the most wicked and shameless of all heretics. Finally, because he gained so many adherents, and actually founded a church, he appeared to be the ravening wolf (Justin, Rhodon), and his church as the spurious church. (Tertull., adv. Marc. IV. 5). In Marcion the Church Fathers chiefly attacked what they attacked in all Gnostic heretics, but here error shewed itself in its worse form. They learned much in opposing Marcion (see Bk. II.). For instance, their interpretation of the regula fidei and of the New Tesfament received a directly Antimarcionite expression in the Church. One thing, however, they could not learn from him, and that was how to make Christianity into a philosophic system. He formed no such system, but he has given a clearly outlined conception, based on historic documents, of Christianity as the religion which redeems the world.

Literature.-All anti-heretical writings of the early Church, but especially Justin, Apol. 1. 26, 58; Iren; I. 27; Tertull., adv. Marc. I-V.; de ,praescr.; Hippol., Philos.; Adamant., de recta in deum fidei; Epiph. h. 42; Ephr. Syr.; Esnik. The older attempts to restore the Marcionite Gospel and Apostolicum have been antiquated by Zahn's Kanonsgeschichte, 1. c.. Hahn (Regimonti, 1823) has attempted to restore the Antitheses. We are still in want of a German monograph on Marcion (see the whole presentation of Gnosticism by Zahn, with his Excursus, 1. c.). Hilgenfeld, Ketzergesch. p.316 f. 522 f.; cf. my works, Zur Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus, 1873; de Apelles Gnosis Monarchia, T 874; Beitrage z. Gesch. der Marcionitischen Kirchen (Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol. 1876). Marcion's Commentar zum Evangelium (Ztschr. f. K. G. Bd. IV 4) Apelles Syllogismen in the Texte u, Unters. VI. H. 3. Zahn, die Dialoge des Adamantius in the Ztschr. f. K.-Gesch. IX. p. 193 ff. Meyboom, Marcion en de Marcionieten, Leiden, 1888.

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Adolf von Harnack

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Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage.

Der ersten Auflage habe ich im Jahre 1923 „Neue Studien zu Marcion" („Texte u. Unters.," Bd. 44, 4) nachgesandt, in denen ich die zahlreichen Kritiken dieses Werks verzeichnet und meinen Standpunkt gegenüber den Auffassungen von W. Bauer und H. Frhr. v. Soden festgehalten und schärfer begründet habe. In der neuen Auflage bin ich darauf nicht zurückgekommen, habe aber einige Ausführungen bestimmter gefaßt und vor Mißverständnissen geschützt.

Bereichert ist die neue Auflage durch mehrere Stücke, unter denen der Laodicenerbrief der Vulgata, der von mir als Marcionitische Fälschung entlarvt worden (s. Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1923, 1. Nov.), das wichtigste ist.

Die Probleme, welche der Bibeltext Marcions bietet, können so lange keine Förderung erfahren, als der sog. 𝔚Text und der Tatian-Text nicht sicherer bekannt und gründlicher durchgearbeitet sind. Das hat mich die dankenswerte Studie von Pott, der ich jedoch in wichtigen Ergebnissen nicht beizustimmen vermag, aufs neue gelehrt. Den Bibeltext Marcions so vollständig und zuverlässig zu rekonstruieren, als die Überlieferung es zuläßt, war hier mein Hauptziel; alles übrige in dem Buche, die Gesamtgeschichte des Bibeltextes anlangend, bitte ich daher als etwas Vorläufiges zu betrachten. —

Meine Studie über Marcion ist eine Monographie — patristische Texte sind in dem letzten Menschenalter in großer Fülle herausgegeben worden, und an religionsgeschichtlichen Begriffs- und Formenuntersuchungen ist kein Mangel; aber wo bleiben die Monographien? Sie fehlen nahezu für alle bedeutenden Väter und Häretiker; denn die alten Monographien, soweit solche vorhanden, reichen längst nicht mehr aus und werden deshalb auch nicht mehr gelesen. Das Verständnis aber der ältesten Kirchengeschichte und das Interesse für sie kann ohne tüchtige Monographien nicht ge-

weckt werden und nicht erhalten bleiben. Heute muß das lebendige Wort des Lehrers alles tun; denn Texte und Kompendien allein schaffen kein Verständnis und kein Interesse. Videant consules! Es ist eine Ehrenpflicht der jüngeren und der kommenden Generation von Kirchenhistorikern, daß sie ihren Dank für die Texte und Vorarbeiten, die ihr bereitgestellt worden sind, in biographischen Monographien abstattet. Bleiben sie aus, so wird die Geschichtsschreibung der alten Kirche im nächsten Menschenalter verkümmern.

Berlin, September 1924.

v. Harnack.

Vorwort zur ersten Auflage.

Vor fünfzig Jahren stellte die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Dorpat die Preisaufgabe: „Marcionis doctrina e Tertulliani adversus Marcionem libris eruatur et explicetur". Ich übernahm die Aufgabe und erhielt am Stiftungstage der Universität, den 12. Dezember 1870, den Preis; zugleich forderte die Fakultät mich auf, die Arbeit zu revidieren und zu veröffentlichen. Das ist damals nicht geschehen; aber ich habe das Thema stets im Auge behalten und es erweitert. Nun lege ich diese Monographie vor; von der Jugendarbeit ist natürlich auch nicht ein Satz stehen geblieben.

Durch Marcion bin ich in die Textkritik des Neuen Testaments, in die älteste Kirchengeschichte, in die Geschichtsauffassung der Baurschen Schule und in die Probleme der systematischen Theologie eingeführt worden: es konnte keine bessere Einführung geben! Er ist daher in der Kirchengeschichte meine erste Liebe gewesen, und diese Neigung und Verehrung ist in dem halben Jahrhundert, das ich mit ihm durchlebt habe, selbst durch Augustin nicht geschwächt worden.

Marcion wird von der heutigen Wissenschaft als Textkritiker nicht vernachlässigt und auch in der Dogmengeschichte fort und fort aufmerksam behandelt — in meinem Lehrbuch dieser Disziplin ausführlicher als in den anderen —; aber keines der Probleme, die hier vorliegen, ist bisher erschöpfend erörtert, Wichtiges

ist verkannt geblieben, und eine Monographie, wie sie M. gebührt, fehlt noch; denn durch Meybooms Arbeit (Marcion en de Marcioniten, 1888) ist die Aufgabe nicht erledigt.

Marcion reicht uns den Schlüssel, um die Mehrzahl der schwierigen Probleme zu erschließen, die der Übergang der Kirche aus dem nachapostolischen in das altkatholische Zeitalter bietet. Man kann hier jeden einzelnen Gnostiker ohne Schaden wegdenken, aber Marcion kann man nicht beiseite lassen, wenn man die gewaltige Entwicklung, ja die Metamorphose verstehen will, die in die Zeit jenes Übergangs fällt — nicht nur weil der Katholizismus gegen Marcion erbaut worden ist, sondern in noch höherem Grade, weil er Grundlegendes von diesem Häretiker übernommen hat.

Noch größer ist Marcions bisher schwer vernachlässigte Bedeutung in der allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte; denn er ist der einzige Denker in der Christenheit, der mit der Überzeugung vollen Ernst gemacht hat, daß die Gottheit, welche von der Welt erlöst, mit der Kosmologie und der kosmischen Teleologie schlechterdings nichts zu tun hat. Das neue Leben des Glaubens und der Freiheit war ihm der Welt gegenüber etwas so „Fremdes", daß er seiner Entstehung dieselbe verzweifelt-kühne Hypothese untergelegt hat, durch welche Helmholtz die Entstehung der Organismen auf der Erde erklären wollte. Dadurch erhielt Christus eine so erhaben-isolierte Stellung als der Begründer der wahren Religion wie in keinem anderen Religionssystem, und die Paulinisch-Johanneische Dialektik in bezug auf Welt und Gott, Gesetz und Gnade, Moralismus und Religion wurde zum Abschluß gebracht, aber zugleich „aufgehoben", so daß eine neue Religionsstiftung auf dem Grunde des Paulinischen Evangeliums in die Erscheinung trat. Paulus selbst ist kein Religionsstifter gewesen; aber was in seinen religiösen Konzeptionen wie eine neue Religionsschöpfung verstanden werden konnte und auch von seinen judaistischen Gegnern so verstanden worden ist, das hat Marcion ergriffen und gestaltet.

Diese Bedeutung Marcions wäre längst erkannt worden, hätte man nicht den „fremden" Gott, den er eingeführt hat, irrig mit dem „unbekannten" Gott, der in seiner Zeit in Wahrheit schon längst der „bekannte" war, identifiziert, und hätte man nicht einen Teil der Quellen fast ganz unbeachtet gelassen. Mar-

cions Korrekturen am Evangelium und den Paulusbriefen und die Berichte der Kirchenväter über seine Lehre hat man herangezogen; aber sein großes Werk „Antithesen" mit den zahlreichen exegetischen Bemerkungen sowie der Bibeltext, den er stehen gelassen hat, sind bisher wenig berücksichtigt worden.

Ich habe Jahr um Jahr das Material gesammelt und Vollständigkeit angestrebt; aber im einzelnen gibt es hier noch viele Probleme, an denen weiter gearbeitet werden muß. Es winken hier Aufgaben, die ein Recht haben, die Bemühungen um die nahezu erschöpften Probleme, welche die Apostolischen Väter bieten, abzulösen; denn es gilt, die bedeutendste kirchengeschichtliche Erscheinung nach Paulus und vor Augustin auch zur hellsten zu machen.

In drei Hauptberufen stehend, habe ich diese Arbeit in abgestohlenen Stunden, ja in halben Stunden niederschreiben müssen und manchmal an der Vollendung verzweifelt. Der Abschluß des Werks ist mir doch vergönnt worden, und ich kann nur hoffen, daß die Spuren seiner mühsamen Entstehung nicht allzu deutlich sind. Das Inhaltsverzeichnis habe ich so ausführlich gefaßt, daß sich die Beigabe eines Registers erübrigte.

Meinem verehrten Kollegen, Herrn Prof. Carl Schmidt, danke ich auch an dieser Stelle herzlich für seine freundliche Unterstützung bei der Drucklegung des Werks.

Berlin, den 27. Juni 1920.

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Seite

I. Einleitung. Die religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der christlichen Verkündigung Marcions und die innere Lage der Christenheit bei seinem Auftreten 1

1. Der bekannte, der unbekannte und der fremde Gott: Marcion 1

2. Die Spannung zwischen Synkretismus und Eindeutigkeit im ältesten Christentum: Die „apostolische" Verkündigung, Paulus, die Häretiker und Marcion 5

3. Die vollendete Religion der Erlösung: Marcion 18

II. Marcions Leben und Wirksamkeit 21

III. Der Ausgangspunkt M.s: Gesetz und Evangelium; die Erlösung von der Welt, dem Gesetz und dem Schöpfer 30

IV. Der Kritiker und Restaurator. Die Bibel Marcions 35

Der judaistische Irrtum und die Verschwörung wider die Wahrheit; die Urapostel, die falschen Apostel und Paulus 35. Die falschen Evangelien und das verfälschte authentische Evangelium 39. Die Feststellung des authentischen Evangeliums 42. M. hat hier absolute Sicherheit nicht in Anspruch genommen 43 f. Die angeblichen judaistischen Fälschungen, d. h. die tendenziösen Korrekturen M.s im Galaterbrief 45, in den Korintherbriefen 47, im Römerbrief 48, in den übrigen Paulusbriefen 49, im Evangelium 52. Das formale kritische Verfahren M.s 61. Die theologischen Motive der Streichungen und Korrekturen 64. Die Ablehnung der allegorischen Erklärungen (Übereinstimmung mit der jüdischen Exegese) 66. Beurteilung des Verfahrens 67, Vergleichung mit dem des

Seite

„Johannes“ 70. Blick auf die bibelkritischen Arbeiten der Schüler, auf Tatian und auf das katholische Neue Testament 72.

V. Die „Antithesen“ Marcions 74

Die „Antithesen“ sind M.s einziges Werk 74. Inhalt und Absicht des Werkes 75, s. auch 85. Ansehen in seiner Kirche 76. Anlage, Widmung und Form 77; nicht bloß Antithesen im engeren Sinn, sondern auch kritisch-geschichtliche und kritisch-dogmatische Darlegungen 78, dazu fortlaufende Bibelauslegungen 80, Unterscheidung zweier Teile 83. Rekonstruktion ist unmöglich, nur der reiche Stoff des Buchs kann aus der Überlieferung zusammengestellt werden 84. Zweck und Geist der Kritik 85. Zusammenstellung wichtiger Antithesen 89.

VI. Das Christentum Marcions und seine Verkündigung 93

Kein Lehrsystem, keine Pneumatik, Mysteriosophie und Philosophie.

1. Die Grundlegung 94
2. Der Weltschöpfer, die Welt und der Mensch . . 97
3. Der Weltschöpfer als der Judengott; die Gerechtigkeit als das Moralische; Gesetz, Propheten, Messias und h. Schrift des Judengottes 106
4. Der Erlösergott als der fremde und als der obere Gott 118
5. Der Erlösergott als der gute Gott, seine Erscheinung in Jesus Christus und das Werk der Erlösung. Die entscheidende Bedeutung des Glaubens. Die Eschatologie 121

Gott der Gute 121. Christus und seine Erscheinung 122. Die „Leiblichkeit“ Christi 124. Das Werk und die Reden Christi 126. Der Descensus ad inferos 129. Der Kreuzestod als Kaufpreis 131. Umfang des Werkes Christi 133. Der Glaube 134. Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Gläubigen 137. Eschatologie und Gericht 137. Untergang der Welt und des Schöpfers 140. Von Christus bis zum Gericht 141.

VII. Die heilige Kirche der Erlösten und ihre Lebensordnung (Kultus, Organisation und Ethik) 143

Die Kirche 143. Taufe, Abendmahl und Sakramentalien 144. Gottesdienst (nichts Enthusiastisches) 145. Organi-

Seite

sation, klerische Rangstufen, aber freiere, keine Arkandisziplin 146. Frauen im Gottesdienst handelnd 147. Verkehr mit den Heiden (Mathematici?) 148. Ethik, Verbot jedes Geschlechtsverkehrs 148. Speiseenthaltung 149. Übermenschentum; Martyrium; die Seligpreisungen als ethische Richtschnur 150. Geschlossenheit und Straffheit der Organisation 151.

VIII. Die Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirche. Die theologischen Schulen in ihrer Mitte und die Sekte des Apelles 153

1. Die äußere Geschichte 153

Ausbreitung 153. Persönliche Berührungen mit Andersgläubigen und Disputationen 153. Öffentlichkeit der Gottesdienste und ihre Gebäude; Name „Marcioniten"; Kleriker und klerische Sukzessionen 154. Höhepunkt der Entwicklung i. d. JJ. 150—190; die große katholische Gegenbewegung in dem folgenden halben Jahrhundert 154; Rückgang im Abendland seit der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts; Erlöschen dort z. Z. des Optatus und Ambrosiaster (Zusammenstellung mit den Sabellianern) 156. Geschichte der Kirche im Orient seit d. Z. des Origenes, Rückzug in den äußersten Osten, geschlossene Gruppierung in Dörfern, bedeutend noch bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts, namentlich in Syrien 156. Marcioniten und Manichäer 158. Ausgänge 159.

2. Die innere Geschichte 160

Marcion kein Schulhaupt 160. Die Entstehung von Schulen in seiner Kirche, ihre Einheitlichkeit und Verschiedenheit, Vertreter einer Zwei-, Drei- und Vierprinzipienlehre (Potitus, Basilikus und Markus; Synerus, Megethius und Prepon) 161. Annäherung an den Manichäismus 167. 168 f. Singuläre und zweifelhafte Lehren 168. Esniks Bericht über die Lehre 169. 171. Christologisches 170. Der selbständige, aber dem Meister treue Schüler Lukanus 172. Veränderungen an der Bibel Marcions 172. Beziehungen zu anderen Sekten 174. Strengste Askese beibehalten 175. Mysterien (Arkandisziplin?) 175. Angebliche Wiederholung der Taufe 175. Taufe für die Verstorbenen 176.

3. Apelles und seine Sekte 177

Sein Leben; seine Genossin Philumene; das Werk „Phaneroseis" und die „Syllogismen" 177. Disput mit

Seite

Rhodon; Grundzüge des Christentums und der Philosophie des A. nach diesem Disput 180—187. Die Lehren des A. in ihrer Verschiedenheit von denen M.s 188. Die einzelnen Hauptlehren 189. Schlußurteil, Verhältnis zu Tatian 194.

IX. Marcions geschichtliche Stellung und seine Bedeutung für die Entstehung der katholischen Kirche 196

Verhältnis zum Gnostizismus 196. Der Kampf gegen das AT und das Jüdische 196. M. und Paulus 198. Der Paulinismus als Revolution in der jüdisch-christlichen Religionsgeschichte und als Fortbildung des Urchristentums in der Richtung auf M.; Inkonsequenz der Paulinischen Lehre vom AT 200. Fortbildung des Paulinismus im Hebräerbrief 203, im Barnabasbrief 203, bei Ignatius 203, bei Johannes 204 in der Richtung auf M. (vgl. S. 70 f.); Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Johannes und M. 205; M.s Trennung vom AT nichts Unvorbereitetes 206. M.s Geschichtskritik und die Semlers und Baurs 207. Der kirchliche Zustand vor M. 208. Die neue Kirchenstiftung M.s auf festem Grunde 210. Ihre Neuheit und Vorbildlichkeit 210. Die große Kirche wurde durch Bekämpfung und Nachahmung der Marcionitischen zur katholischen 212.

X. Marcions Christentum kirchengeschichtlich und religionsphilosophisch beleuchtet 215

1. Der Antinomismus und die Verwerfung des Alten Testaments 215

Begründung der Thesen: Das AT im 2. Jahrh. zu verwerfen, war ein Fehler, den die große Kirche mit Recht abgelehnt hat; es im 16. Jahrhundert beizubehalten, war ein Schicksal, dem sich die Reformation noch nicht zu entziehen vermochte; es aber seit dem 19. Jahrh. als kanonische, dem NT gleichwertige Urkunde im Protestantismus noch zu konservieren, ist die Folge einer religiösen und kirchlichen Lähmung 217.

2. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott und der Panchristismus 223

Luther 225. Tolstoi 226. 228. 232. Gorki 232. „Das Evangelium der armen Seele“ 233.

Beilagen.

Seite

Beilage I: Untersuchungen über die Person und die Lebensgeschichte Marcions nach den ältesten Zeugnissen und späteren Angaben 3*

Die Quellen: Polykarp (Pastoralbriefe) 3*. Justin 6* (Marcioniten, Marcianer, Marciani[s]ten 9*). Papias (Prolog z. Joh. Ev.) 11*. (Ptolemäus, der Valentinianer 14*). Clemens Alex. 14*. Irenäus 15*. Rhodon 16*. Tertullian 17*, ein Brief Marcions 21*. Hippolyt und Epiphanius (Pseudotertullian und Filastrius) 23*. Quelle bei Hieronymus 29*. Edessenische Chronik und Fihrist 29*.

Beilage II: Cerdo und Marcion 31*

Beilage III: Das Apostolikon Marcions . 40*

A. Einleitung: Die Zeugen und die Methode der Wiederherstellung 40*

Das Verdienst Zahns und die Notwendigkeit einer Revision 40* (Origenes 42*). Tertullian (er legt seiner Widerlegung die lateinische Bibel der Marcioniten zugrunde) 43*. Die Dialoge des Adamantius 56*. Epiphanius 64*. Anhang: Eine armenisch erhaltene syrische Schrift gegen M. 67*.

B. Der Text des Apostolikons 67*

C. Die Marcionitischen Prologe 127*

D. Der Laodicener- und Alexandrinerbrief des Paulus (Marcionitische Fälschungen) 134*

E. Untersuchungen zum Apostolikon Marcions . . . 149*

Hauptresultate in bezug auf den Text: ein tendenziös durchkorrigierter 𝔚Text 149*. Der Charakter der ca. 100 Stellen, an denen der Marcion-Text gegen die anderen Hauptrezensionen mit dem 𝔚Text übereinstimmt 153*. Der Charakter der bei M. allein sich findenden Varianten (abgesehen von den tendenziösen) 155*. Welches Verhältnis besteht zwischen dem lateinischen Marcion-Text und dem lateinischen 𝔚Text? Hat jener diesen beeinflußt? Ist er sogar seine Grundlage? Resultat: M.s Apostolikon liegt der 𝔚Text zugrunde; aber jener hat dann diesen (griech. u. lat.) leicht beeinflußt 160*. Über Ephes. 1, 1; Röm. 1, 7. 15; Röm. 15 u. 16; Röm. 16, 25—27 s. S.

Seite

162*. 164*. 165*. Die Reihenfolge der Paulusbriefe bei M. 168*. Hatte das Apostolikon M.s schon eine Capitulatio? 169*. M. und die Pastoralbriefe 170*. M. und die Apostelgesch. u. die Apok. Johannis. Hat M. schon ein katholisches Apostolikon (18 Schriften) vorgefunden? 172*. Das Marcionitische Ersatzbuch für die Apostelgesch. Marcionitische Psalmen 174*.

Beilage IV: Das Evangelium Marcions 177*

A. Einleitung 177*

Tertullian 178*. Adamantius 181*. Epiphanius 182*. Irenäus, Origenes usw. 182*. Ein anonymer syrisch-armenischer Zeuge 183*.

B. Der Text des Evangeliums 183*

C. Untersuchungen zum Evangelium Marcions . . . 240*

Der Charakter des von M. benutzten Textes = ein bereits mit Matth. konformierter 𝔚Text 242*. Leichter Einfluß auf die katholischen Texte 247*. Marcion, das Luk.-Ev. und die drei anderen Evv. 249*. Anhang: M.s Ev. und Tatians Diatessaron 255* . . . . . .

Beilage V: Die Antithesen Marcions (nach Zitaten und Referaten) 256*

(1) Die Widmung 256*. (2) Ein Stück aus dem Prolog 256*. (3) Über die Urapostel, die falschen judaistischen Evangelisten, Paulus und das wahre Evangelium (Verwerfung der Apostelgeschichte und der Apokalypse) 256*. (4) Gegen die allegorische Methode 259*. (5) Die vier Hauptstellen für die Grundlegung der Lehre 260*. (6) Der Gegensatz von Gesetz und Evangelium 261*. (7) Der gerechte und der gute Gott (kein Gegensatz des Gottes des Lichts und der Finsternis) 262*. (8) Der richtende, eifernde und wilde Gott und der gütige, milde und geduldige Gott, der nicht richtet 264*. (9) Der bekannte Gott und Schöpfer dieser Welt und der fremde unbekannte Gott, der nur Unsichtbares geschaffen hat 265*. (10) Der widerspruchsvolle Gott und der weise eindeutige Gott 268*. (11) Der kleinliche und klägliche Schöpfergott; das Erbärmliche und Beschwerliche der Schöpfung 269*. (12) Der Schöpfergott als πονηρός (schlimm-beschwerlich), als conditor malorum und als böse (Schöpfung, bezw. Duldung von Sünde, Tod und Teufel; der Sündenfall zeigt seine schlimme Schwäche) 271*; er begünstigt schlimme Menschen 272*; seine schlechte Welt

Seite

und schmutzige Zeugungseinrichtung 273*. (13) Der Weltschöpfer zwar Gott, aber deus inferior 274*. (14) Keine, sondern nur scheinbare Gleichheit der beiden Götter 275*. (15) Die Materie 276*. (16) Das Kleinliche der Gesetzgebung 276*. (17) Notwendigkeit des strengsten asketischen Verzichts auf die Welt (Zölibat und Fasten) 277*. (18) Zusammenfassung über die Eigenschaften des Weltschöpfers 278*. (19) Einzelne Antithesen in bezug auf das geschichtliche Verhalten der beiden Götter (Raub der ägyptischen Gefäße, jus talionis usw.) 279*. (20) Die beiden Christus, Herabstieg und Erscheinung Christi 283*. (21) Plötzliche Erscheinung und „Leiblichkeit" Christi, Ablehnung der ATlichen Weissagungen als unwirkliche und unnötige 284* (vgl. 290*). (22) Einheit des guten Gottes und seines Christus 286*. (23) Leugnung der Geburt Christi usw. 286*. (24) Fremdheit Christi den Menschen gegenüber und ihr Ankauf durch den Kreuzestod 288*. (25) Der Judenchristus 289*. (26) Weissagungen auf den Heiland-Christus gibt es nicht 290*. (27) Die Seligpreisungen und Antithesen in bezug auf die Lehre Christi 291*. (28) Eschatologie 293*. (29) Errettung von Kain usw. 294*. (30) Errettung nur der Seelen 295*. (31) Entscheidende Bedeutung des Glaubens 296*. (32) Die Verfolgungen zeigen den Zorn des Weltschöpfers über die Anhänger des neuen Gottes 296*. — Erklärungen M.s zum Evangelium 297*—305*; Erklärungen zum Apostolos 306*—313* (Kritik der Beschneidung 309*).

Beilage VI: Die Überlieferung über die Lehre Marcions und über seine Kirche 314*

1. Die Polemiker vor Tertullian 314*

Justin (Ptolemäus), ein kleinasiatischer Presbyter bei Irenäus, Dionysius v. Korinth, Philippus v. Gortyna, Modestus, Melito, Theophilus v. Antiochien, Miltiades, der Montanist Proklus, Hegesipp, Acta Pauli, das Muratorische Fragment, der Antimontanist bei Eusebius 314* (Das römische Symbol 316*). Irenäus 318*. Rhodon 321*. Clemens Alex. 322*. Bardesanes 325*. Celsus 325*.

2. Die Polemiker des 3. Jahrhunderts 328*

Tertullian 328*. Hippolyt 332* (Pseudotert.; Filastr.; Prepon gegen Bardesanes; Röm. Adoptianer; der Gnostiker Justin). Viktorin v. Pettau 334*. Cyprian, Saturnin v. Tucca 334*. Der römische Bischof Stephanus, No-

Seite

vatian, Dionysius Rom. 335*. Porphyrius 336*. Laktanz 337*. Julius Afrikanus 337*. Ambrosius, Freund des Orig. 337*. Origenes 337*. Martyrium Pionii 340*. Firmilian, Methodius, Didascalia Apostolica (Apostolische Konstitutionen) 340*.

3. Das Denkmal von Deir-Ali; Licinius und die Ketzer 341*

4. Die orientalischen Polemiker des 4. und der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts 344*

Adamantius 344*. Eusebius 348*. Konstantin, der Kaiser 348*. Die Acta Archelai und Mani 349*. Marcell v. Ancyra 350*. Athanasius 350*. Cyrill v. Jerusalem 351*. Didymus der Blinde 352*. Pseudoklementinische Homilien und Recognit. 352*. Brief des Eustathius an Tiberius; Basilius; Gregor v. Nazianz; Glaubensbekenntnis der Kirche von Laodicea Syr. 353*. Amphilochius, Nicetas v. Remesiana 354*. Aphraates und ein unbekannter Syrer 354*. Ephraem Syrus, Bar Bahlûl 356*. Ein anderer unbekannter Syrer 362*. Zenobius und Rabbulas (Joh. v. Ephesus) 362*. Maruta v. Maipherkat 363*. (Die Chronik von Edessa 29*). Isaak v. Niniveh und Philoxenus 364*. Epiphanius 364*. Die kaiserliche Gesetzgebung gegen die Häretiker 366*. Chrysostomus Theophylakt; Nicephorus, Antirrhet.) 368*. Isidor v. Pelusium 369*. Theodor v. Mopsveste 369*. Fünftes Konzil 369*. Theodoret 369*. (Eusebius v. Emesa hier als Bestreiter M.s genannt). Esnik 372*. Malalas 380*. (Trullanische Synode 380*. Anhang: (1) Artotyriten 381*. (2) Messalianer und Marcianus 382*. (3) Paulicianer (Bogomilen) 382*. Abulfaradsch, Fihrist 384*. Die eigentümlichen Marcionitischen Schriftzeichen 385*. Schahrastani 386*. Abulfaradsch (Barhebräus) 387*.

5. Die occidentalischen Polemiker des 4. und der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts 387*

Lucifer von Calaris 387*. Der gallische Bischof Sabbatius 387*. Optatus 388*. (Der röm. Bischof Zephyrin angeblicher Bestreiter M.s 388*). Ambrosiaster, Ambrosius, Augustin, Pacian, Aponius, Paulin von Nola, Parmenian, Petilian, Cresconius, Julian v. Eklanum, Jovinian, Priszillian, Prosper, unbekannter Arianischer Prediger, Patricius, Leo I., Sabellianer und Marcioniten 389*—393*. Consultatio Zachaei et Apollonii 392*. Prudentius 392*. Hieronymus 393*. Synode v. Braga 393*.

Seite

Carmina Pseudotertull. adv. Marc. 394*. Arnobius minor (Praedestinatus; hier auch Pamphilus); Gennadius; der Schreiber eines Cod. Casin.; Patrizius 399*, s. auch Beilage X.

Beilage VII: Lukanus, der Schüler Marcions 401*

Beilage VIII: Apelles, der Schüler Marcions und Sektenstifter 404*

Rhodon 404*. Tertullian 405*. Hippolyt (Pseudotert., Filastr.) 409*. Epiphanius 410*. Origenes (Ambrosius) 412*. Pamphilus 418*. Cyprian und Stephanus v. Rom 418*. Praedestinatus 418*. Firmilian 419*. Anthimus v. Nikomedien 419*. Theodoret 419*. Paulus v. Taron 419*. Pseudoclementinen 419*. Spätere Häresiologen 420*.

Beilage IX: Ein wahrscheinlich antimarcionitisches Fragment aus der Schrift Melitos von Sardes „Über die Taufe“ 421*

Beilage X: Inhaltsangabe und Fragmente der Schrift eines Patricianers (Neu-Marcioniten), gegen welche Augustin seinen Traktat „Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum“ (lib. II) gerichtet hat 424*

Beilage XI: Marcion in der Manichäischen Literatur genannt 434*

Beilage XII: Boussets Darstellung der Prinzipienlehre Marcions 436*

Beilage XIII: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Neuen Testaments 441*

(1) Hat Marcion seinem Evangelium und Apostolikon einen Gesamtnamen gegeben? 441*. (2) War M. der erste, der Herrnworte und Paulusworte zusammengestellt hat? 441*. (3) Läßt sich die Entstehung des folgenschweren Urteils M.s, die Paulusbriefe seien interpoliert, auch aus den Briefen selbst verständlich machen? 442*. (4) Läßt sich der Homologumenenkanon, wie er für 180—190 für Kleinasien und Rom gesichert ist, als Ergänzung der Bibel M.s begreifen? 442*.

Register 445*

Berichtigungen und Nachträge 454*

„Non putetis quia potuerunt fieri haereses per aliquas parvas animas; non fecerunt haereses nisi magni homines, sed quantum magni, tantum mali montes.“ Augustin.

„Nullus potest haeresim struere, nisi qui ardentis ingenii est et habet dona naturae, quae a deo artifice sunt creata, talis fuit Marcion, quem doctissimum legimus.“

Hieronymus (Origenes).

I. Einleitung.

Die religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der christlichen Verkündigung Marcions und die innere Lage der Christenheit bei seinem Auftreten.

Der Mann, dem die folgenden Blätter gewidmet sind, war ein Religionsstifter; als solchen hat ihn schon sein Zeitgenosse und erster literarischer Gegner, Justin der Apologet, erkannt. Aber Marcion gehörte zu den Religionsstiftern, die selbst nicht wissen, daß sie es sind. Diese Selbsttäuschung war bei ihm entschuldbarer als bei irgendeinem anderen; denn der Apostel Paulus hat keinen überzeugteren Schüler als ihn gehabt, und von keinem anderen Gott wollte M. wissen als von dem, der in dem Gekreuzigten erschienen war.

1.

Im ersten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung las man in Athen und Rom, vermutlich auch in anderen Städten Altarinschriften, die da lauteten: „Den unbekannten Göttern“, oder: „Den Göttern Asiens, Europas und Afrikas, den unbekannten und fremden Göttern“, vielleicht auch: „Dem unbekannten Gott“ [1].

1 S. über sie die eindringenden Untersuchungen Nordens („Agnostos Theos“, 1913, S. 1 ff.).

Diese Inschriften wollten aus dem Motiv der Furcht heraus unliebsamen Eingriffen übersehener oder ausländischer Gottheiten im voraus begegnen („religio eventualis)". Das Attribut „unbekannt" barg also kein theologisches Geheimnis.

Aber schon seit Sokrates gab es in der Religionsphilosophie, wenn auch nicht unter diesem Namen, einen „unbekannten und fremden Gott". „Unbekannt" war er, weil er keinen Namen hat; „fremd" war er, weil er nicht zu den „dii patrii" gehörte. Das Wichtigste aber war, daß er in der Einzahl und als der Eigentliche vorgestellt werden mußte, und daß er daher alle anderen Götter entwertete und auflöste.

Eben dadurch wurde der unbekannte Gott ein kündlich großes Geheimnis und wurde zum bekannten. Zwar blieb er dem Namen nach der unbekannte, ja er erhielt erst jetzt diesen Namen oder ähnliche — denn die patriotische Überlieferung und das Volk kennen ihn nicht —; aber das religiöse Wissen wurde in bezug auf ihn immer beredter und in bezug auf die anderen Götter immer stummer und abschätziger; es arbeitete aus dem negativen Attribut „Unbekannt" eine Fülle positiver Attribute heraus und wußte mit den bekannten Göttern nichts mehr anzufangen. Mit den „unbekannten und fremden Göttern Asiens, Europas und Afrikas" hat dieser Unbekannte gar nichts zu tun; durch eine Weltenferne ist er von ihnen geschieden und lebt in einer ganz anderen Sphäre als sie. Er ist viel ferner und viel näher!

Dennoch, so erzählt die Apostelgeschichte, sind sie und er zusammengebracht worden, und durch keinen Geringeren als den Apostel Paulus in Athen. Daß ihm oder, wie einige meinen, seinem Erzähler — es tut nichts zur Sache — das möglich war, ist auch ein Zeichen der Zeit, d. h. des Synkretismus. Wie man zahlreiche sehr irdische Prophezeiungen damals ins Überirdische umdeutete, so deutete Paulus die gespenstischen oder nur „eventuellen" unbekannten Götter in den unbekannten Gott um. Alsbald aber stellte er diesen unbekannten als nur verkannten Gott dar und predigte von ihm als dem Schöpfer und Leiter der Welt.

Darin ist ihm die große Kirche gefolgt. Sie hat nur dann noch vom unbekannten Gott gesprochen, wenn sie die Blindheit des Heidentums ihm gegenüber ins Auge faßte oder wenn sie die Erhabenheit dieses Gottes über die menschliche Vernunft

und ihre Erkenntnis zu betonen Grund hatte. Sonst kannte sie ihn durch seine Offenbarung in der Welt, in der Geschichte und in Jesus Christus; sie kannte ihn und rief ihn bei Namen.

Aber die christlichen Gnostiker, hellenischen Mystikern und Philosophen folgend, nahmen es mit dem Begriff „unbekannt" ernst: ihr Gott, obgleich der Vater Jesu Christi, war wirklich der unbekannte; denn auf dem langen Wege der Spekulation über ihn von Plato her hatte sich allmählich der Zusammenhang dieses Gottes mit der Welt nicht nur gelockert, sondern ganz aufgelöst. Von inneren Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen aus, die sich immer souveräner geltend machten, vermochten sie den reinen, guten und erhabenen Gott, den sie in ihrem Busen fanden, immer weniger in Beziehung zur äußeren Welt, die so schlecht ist, zu setzen, bis zuletzt das verbindende Band ganz zerriß: der unbekannte Gott ist nicht der Weltschöpfer. Eben darum ist er der unbekannte. Die aus der Innerlichkeit stammenden Attribute Gottes als des Geistigen, Heiligen und Guten erhoben ihn so hoch über die Welt, daß er nicht mehr als ihr Schöpfer und Regierer gedacht werden durfte. In dem Momente aber wurde die Welt vollends unwert, da nicht nur alle Werte, sondern auch alles wahre Sein bei dem Unbekannten zu suchen sind. Sie wurde zum Gefängnis, zur Hölle, zum Sinnlosen, zum eklen Schein, ja zum Nichts. Alle diese Urteile sind im Grunde identisch: das Recht zu sein, war ihr entzogen; also löste ihre sinnenfällige Existenz alle denkbaren Mißempfindungen und Verurteilungen aus.

Aber die Gnostiker machten dabei doch einen gewaltigen Vorbehalt. Der Mensch, mitten in der Welt stehend und durch Leib und Seele ihr zugehörig, besitzt in seinem Geiste einen Funken von dem Sein und Leben des unbekannten Gottes. Diese Ausstattung verbindet ihn so enge mit ihm, daß dieser Gott dem Geiste überhaupt kein Fremder und nur relativ ein Unbekannter ist: der Unbekannte braucht dem verdunkelten und geschwächten Geiste nur zu erscheinen und alsbald erkennt und erfaßt er ihn. Also ist in dieser raumzeitlichen und sinnlichen Welt doch etwas Göttliches vorhanden, und diese Erkenntnis konnte nicht ohne Folgen für die Betrachtung der Welt selbst bleiben: es steckt in diesem Kosmos irgendwie etwas Überirdisches und Wertvolles.

Alle namhaften Gnostiker dachten so, und wie sie ihr Selbstbewußtsein an diesem Gedanken ins Ungemessene zu steigern vermochten, so konnte auch die rettende Tat des erscheinenden Unbekannten nur wie die Einlösung einer gebotenen Verpflichtung erscheinen, die die Selbsterlösung des stammverwandten Geistes lediglich unterstützt.

Da erschien ein religiöser Denker auf dem Plan, der mit dem Hauptansatz dieser ganzen religiösen Betrachtung vollen Ernst machte. Er stand nicht innerhalb ihrer Entwicklungslinie, und war nicht in ihre Halbheiten verwickelt; ebendeshalb konnte er Ernst machen. Er kam von anderen Voraussetzungen her, vom Alten Testament, vom biblischen Christentum, von Paulus. Er hatte Gott an der Erscheinung Jesu Christi ganz und ausschließlich als Vater der Barmherzigkeit und Gott alles Trostes kennen gelernt und war gewiß, daß keine andere Aussage über ihn gültig, ja daß jede andere der schwerste Irrtum sei. Daher verkündigte er diesen Gott konsequent und ausschließlich als den guten Erlöser, zugleich aber als den Unbekannten und als den Fremden. Unbekannt ist er, weil er in keinem Sinn an der Welt und an dem Menschen erkannt werden kann; fremd ist er, weil ihn schlechterdings kein naturhaftes Band und keine Verpflichtung mit der Welt und dem Menschen verbindet, auch nicht mit seinem Geiste. Als ein in jedem Sinn fremder Gast und fremder Herr tritt dieser Gott in die Welt ein. Er ist eine ungeheure Paradoxie, und so darf auch die Religion selbst nur als solche empfunden werden, wenn sie die echte und nicht die falsche sein soll. Nun war wirklich und zum ersten Mal in der Religionsgeschichte „der unbekannte und fremde Gott" zur Erlösung in der Welt, die ihn nichts angeht, weil er nichts in ihr geschaffen hat, aus barmherziger Liebe erschienen. An einen solchen Gott hatten die am wenigsten gedacht, die in ihrer subalternen und furchtsamen Frömmigkeit den „unbekannten und fremden Göttern" Altäre errichteten.

Der Mann, der diesen Gott verkündigte, war der Christ Marcion aus Sinope. Daß sie Fremdlinge auf Erden seien, glaubten damals alle Christen zu wissen. M. korrigierte diesen Glauben: Gott ist der Fremde, der sie aus ihrer Heimat der Bedrückung und des Elends

in ein ganz neues, bisher auch nicht einmal geahntes Vaterhaus führt. Die eine Linie, auf die M. gehört, ist damit bezeichnet: er hat die Religion der Innerlichkeit bis zur äußersten Konsequenz vollendet. Er bringt einen Abschluß einer fünfhundertjährigen Entwicklung in bezug auf die Verinnerlichung der Religion. Der Hellenismus aber lehnte diese Konsequenz ab; denn Gnostiker und Neuplatoniker, sonst so verschieden, blieben darin einig, daß Gott zwar der „Unbekannte", jedoch nicht „der Fremde" ist [1]. Aber Marcion gehört noch auf eine zweite und dritte Linie, und sie sind seine eigentlichen. Um ihm auf diesen die richtige Stelle anzuweisen, muß man ausführlicher werden.

2.

Die Stärke und Anziehungskraft der neuen Religion, die seit den Tagen des Kaisers Claudius aus Palästina in das Reich einzog, lag neben und mit der Verkündigung von Jesus Christus, dem Gekreuzigten und Auferstandenen, in der Fülle der polaren religiösen Elemente, die sie von Anfang an umfaßt hat. Indem sie, die Höchsterscheinung des Spätjudentums, alle diese Überlieferungen und Erkenntnisse mit christlichem Vorzeichen in ihren neuen Lebensbegriff, den „Glauben", aufnahm (einschließlich der für die Gemeinschaftsbildung und den Kultus maßgebenden Ideen), war sie von Anfang an eine eminent synkretistische und eben deshalb von Anfang an die katholische Religion. Als der volle Niederschlag der Religionsgeschichte eines eminent religiösen Volkes war sie nicht zugeschnitten auf die frommen Bedürfnisse eines einzelnen Kreises, sondern auf die zahlreichen und mannigfaltigen Bedürfnisse weitester, durch Anlage und Bildung verschiedener Kreise. Sie konnte im Fortgang ihrer Entwicklung

1 Merkwürdig aber — Marcions größter Gegner, Tertullian, hat einmal (im Apolog. 1) einer ähnlichen Grundstimmung in bezug auf „die Wahrheit" Ausdruck gegeben, wie M. in bezug auf Gott: „Die Wahrheit weiß wohl, daß sie nur als Fremdling auf Erden weilt, daß man unter Fremden leicht Feinde findet und daß sie im übrigen ihre Herkunft, Heimat und Hoffnung, ihren Dank und ihre Würde im Himmel hat". Man darf sich hier, sei es auch von ferne, des Goethe schen Gedankens erinnern: „Jede Idee tritt als ein fremder Gast in die Erscheinung".

wohl komplizierter, aber nicht vielseitiger werden, als sie es schon bei ihrem Eintritt in das römische Reich gewesen.

Infolge dieser Belastung hat die christliche Religion keine Jugend gehabt, ja auch keine urwüchsige Entwicklung. Sie war von Anfang an mit einem Maximum religiöser polarer Gedanken behaftet.

Diese Religion verkündigte einen bisher unbekannten Gott, und sie predigte zugleich den von allen geahnten und vielen schon bekannten Herrn des Himmels und der Erde.

Sie warb Anhänger für einen neuen Herrn und Heiland, der jüngst unter Tiberius gekreuzigt worden, aber sie behauptete zugleich, daß er bereits bei der Schöpfung beteiligt gewesen und sich von den Zeiten der Urväter her in der Menschenbrust und durch Propheten offenbart habe.

Sie verkündigte, daß alles neu sei, was ihr Heiland bringe und schaffe, und sie überlieferte zugleich ein altes heiliges Buch, das sie den Juden entrissen hatte, in welchem seit unvordenklichen Zeiten alles geweissagt sei, was Erkenntnis und Leben bedürfen.

Sie brachte eine unerschöpfliche Fülle erhabener Mythen, und sie predigte zugleich den alles umfassenden Logos, dessen Wesen und Wirken jene darstellen.

Sie verkündigte die Alleinwirksamkeit Gottes und zugleich die Selbstherrlichkeit des freien Willens.

Sie stellte alles auf den hellen Geist und die Wahrheit, und sie brachte doch einen harten und dunklen Buchstaben sowie Sakramente, welche der religiösen Sinnlichkeit und der Mystik entgegenkamen.

Sie erklärte den Kosmos für die gute Schöpfung des guten Gottes, zugleich aber für das üble Herrschaftsgebiet der bösen Dämonen.

Sie verkündigte die Auferstehung des Fleisches und betrachtete und behandelte zugleich dieses Fleisch als den schlimmsten Feind.

Sie schärfte in einer bisher unerhörten Weise durch die Ankündigung des nahen Gerichtstags des zürnenden Gottes die Gewissen, und sie verkündigte diesen Gott, für den sie alle Aussagen des AT in Kraft erhielt, zugleich als den Gott aller Barmherzigkeit und Liebe.

Sie forderte unter Androhung der Verdammung die strengste Lebensführung in Enthaltung und Entsagung, und sie verhieß eine vollkommene Vergebung aller Sünden.

Sie kam der einzelnen Seele so entgegen, als stünde diese allein auf der Welt, und sie berief alle in einen solidarischen Bruderbund, so umfassend wie das menschliche Leben und so tief wie die menschliche Not.

Sie richtete eine religiöse Demokratie auf und war von Anfang an darauf bedacht, diese unter starke Autoritäten zu beugen.

Auch in ihrer Fortentwicklung ist keine andere Religion jemals vielseitiger, komplizierter und „katholischer" gewesen, als es diese Religion — offenkundig und noch mehr latent — schon in ihrem Anfange war trotz ihres kurzen Bekenntnisses „Christus der Herr".

Woher diese Kompliziertheit, diese complexio oppositorum, die von dem oberflächlichen Blick noch immer verkannt und erst der späteren Entwicklung dieser Religion zugeschrieben wird? Die Antwort ist einfach: die Religion, welche Jesum Christum verkündigte, überlieferte mit dem AT auch den komplizierten, aus zahlreichen Quellen geflossenen religiösen Stoff des Spätjudentums mit allen seinen verschiedenen Höhenlagen als ihren „Glauben".

Dieser „Katholizismus" war nicht im Geist des Stifters; man weiß, daß ihm alle Überlieferungen, Lehren und Formen wesentlich gleichgültig waren, wenn nur Gott erkannt, sein Wille befolgt und seinem Reiche Raum gegeben wurde. Eine weitschichtige „Lehre" aufzustellen, lag Jesus Christus ganz fern, da er, Altes hervorholend und Neues verkündigend, stets nur die praktische Religion selbst an ihren entscheidenden Hauptpunkten im Auge hatte. Und auch darin war und blieb er Jude im Sinne der Propheten, daß es ihm ausschließlich auf das Reich Gottes und wiederum auf die „Gerechtigkeit" vor Gott ankam, nur daß er sie an einem anderen Maßstabe maß als die Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer.

Wie er empfanden wahrscheinlich auch die palästinensischen judenchristlichen Gemeinden. Auch sie kannten keine Gott-Welt-Dogmatik. Der ungeheure komplizierte und disparate Stoff, der sich im Spätjudentum zusammengefunden hatte, blieb für sie noch immer strukturlos, war nicht Glaubenslehre, sondern eben

„Stoff" mit unsicherer Geltung, aus dem man Anregungen, Admonitionen und Spekulationen nach Belieben schöpfte. Auf jüdischem Boden war die Verkündigung von Jesus Christus lediglich die Erfüllung der alten messianischen Verheißungen. Eine jahrhundertelange Überlieferung und Übung hatte das Judentum in den Stand gesetzt, sich gegenüber den rezipierten neuen Stoffen dogmatisch gleichsam immun zu erhalten, d. h. zwar ihren Reichtum zu benutzen, aber schließlich doch die Einfachheit des alten Glaubens nicht zu belasten. Diese Haltung und Kunst ging automatisch auch auf das Judenchristentum über.

Aber das änderte sich — man kann sagen, mit einem Schlage —, als die christliche Predigt auf griechischen Boden übertrat. Das Judentum selbst schon hatte diese Änderung erfahren, als es mit dem Griechentum in Berührung getreten war; aber, national und kultisch noch immer eine strenge Einheit bildend, blieb die „alexandrinische" Änderung verdeckt, beargwöhnt und unkräftig, wie sie sich ja auch geschichtlich nur als eine Episode im Judentum darstellt.

Worin bestand die Änderung? Die Religion wurde zur Religionsphilosophie — denn nur als solche verstand sie der höhere griechische Geist —; sie wurde dem Logos unterworfen; zugleich aber enthielt sie die Anweisung, alles das „logisch" durchzuarbeiten und in strenge Einheit und Geltung zu setzen, was nur immer als göttliche Offenbarung überliefert erschien.

Dieses „Offenbarte" aber war ein Stoff von unübersehbarer Fülle. Unübersehbar war vor allem schon das Hauptstück, das Alte Testament. Wer vermochte diesen Reichtum, wenn er sub specie λόγου betrachtet werden sollte, zu erfassen, diese Fülle von Aussagen über Gott und über sein äußeres und inneres Wirken, diese Vielheit von Geschichten und Lehren, von Anweisungen und Trostmitteln? Und wer vermochte die verschiedenen Stufen und Höhenlagen auszugleichen, welche die heilige Urkunde umfaßte, die doch ausgeglichen werden mußten, wenn alles von ein und demselben Geiste eingegeben war? Und mit dem AT flutete ein Strom von Apokalypsen, Weisheitslehren und Spekulationen herüber, jede Welle einen uralten Namen auf ihrem

Kamme tragend, der durch die Offenbarungsurkunde geheiligt erschien.

Staunend steht man vor der Tatsache, daß sich Griechen dieses alles als heilige Offenbarung gefallen ließen. Allein eines hing hier am anderen und hing letztlich am Sechstagewerk, an den Psalmen und an einigen prophetischen Stücken. Sie, und nur sie, haben, wie zahllose Zeugnisse lehren, den ungeheuren Eindruck auf die Seelen und den Geist der Griechen gemacht, der sie bestimmte, auch alles andere als Gotteswort anzuerkennen, was mit diesen Offenbarungen in unlösbarem Zusammenhang stand. Einige von ihnen bekennen dabei frei, daß nicht die Predigt von Jesus Christus sie zunächst überzeugt hat, sondern daß das AT bzw. seine Kernstücke für sie die Brücke gewesen ist, die sie zum Christentum geführt hat und fort und fort bei ihm erhielt. „Evangelio non crederem, nisi me commoveret autoritas Veteris Testamenti", ist unzweifelhaft das Bekenntnis zahlreicher griechischer Christen der ältesten Zeit gewesen. Freilich die höchsten Geister waren es nicht; in die Oberschicht des griechischen Geistes vermochten das AT und die christliche Verkündigung erst einzudringen, als sich diese Oberschicht auflöste.

Was in Palästina Messianismus und Eschatologie war, enthüllte sich auf griechischem Boden als eine Religion, deren Inhalt — infolge der Sättigung des Spätjudentums mit religiösem Stoff — ein Maximum war.

Bis auf den heutigen Tag war und ist es die vornehmste Aufgabe der katholischen Kirchen, der christlichen Religion die ganze Fülle religiösen Kapitals, vor allem die complexio oppositorum, wie sie oben mit einigen Strichen charakterisiert worden ist, und damit die beispiellose religiöse Universalität zu erhalten. Die ganze Dogmengeschichte hat sich aus dieser Aufgabe entwickelt; die Ordnung des Kultus und des Absolutionssystems ist nach ihr eingerichtet, ja selbst die komplizierte Verfassung, die sie ausgebildet hat, ist vollständig nur von hier aus zu verstehen. Aber nicht schon der alten Kirche, sondern erst der aristotelischen Dialektik der mittelalterlichen Scholastik ist es nach vielen Jahrhunderten gelungen, mit dem Gedanken einheitlich den ganzen disparaten und konträren Stoff zu beherrschen.

Es liegt am Tage, daß dieser ganze Stoff auf keiner Stufe seiner Entwicklung „Privatreligion" sein und werden konnte. Mochte der einzelne auch noch so hoch stehen, mochten sein Geist, sein Empfindungsleben und seine religiöse Erfahrung auch noch so tief und bildsam sein und mochte sein lockeres Denken auch noch so viele Zumutungen ertragen, so konnte er doch immer nur Teile für sein inneres Leben aus diesem antithetischen Komplex herausgreifen. Dem Ganzen vermochte er nur Ehrfurcht und Gehorsam entgegenzubringen, und so ist es heute noch. Diese Tatsache schuf mit Notwendigkeit eine Zwischengröße als Trägerin des Ganzen. Jede höhere Religion fordert eine hypostasierte Gemeinschaft; aber hier war sie doppelt gefordert, weil nur eine solche hier stark genug war, das Ganze zu verstehen und zu vertreten und weil die alte Volksgemeinde Isreal der neuen Entwicklung sich versagte — die Kirche. Die Kirche, einst die konkrete Gemeinde von Jerusalem, ist schon im apostolischen Zeitalter neben Christus und über die Gemeinden und die einzelnen getreten; das ist ein Beweis ihrer aus der Sache sich ergebenden Unerläßlichkeit. Aus ihrem Reichtum leben die einzelnen, nähren sich in verschiedener Weise von ihm und überlassen das Verständnis des Ganzen und die Verantwortung für dasselbe gehorsam der Kirche, d. h. dem neuen sich entwickelnden Stande der Berufstheologen.

Daß aber dieser „idealen" Kirche auf Erden auch eine reale Darstellung entsprechen müsse, diese Einsicht hat sich erst im Laufe von zwei Jahrhunderten aus den Nötigungen entwickelt, den ganzen antithetischen Komplex der christlichen Botschaft in Kraft zu erhalten und gegen Verkürzungen und Bereicherungen zu verteidigen. Die sichtbare katholische Kirche ist daher keine „Zufallserscheinung" in der Entwicklung des Christlichen, auch nicht nur ein Produkt derselben im Zusammenwirken mit der umgebenden Welt und ihren eindringenden Kräften, sondern sie war von Anfang an gefordert, wenn alle die polaren Elemente neben und miteinander in Kraft erhalten werden sollten, welche bereits in der frühesten Verkündigung dieser Religion enthalten waren. Dem ungeheuren Exponenten der christlichen synkretistischen Theologie ist als Basis die Kirche untergeschoben.

Aber zu keiner Zeit läßt sich der Trieb in dem denkenden religiösen Menschen unterdrücken, sich das, was ihm als Religion gebracht wird, in seiner Totalität innerlich anzueignen oder, wenn ihm das nicht gelingt, das sich Widersprechende, Unverstandene und Anstößige auszuscheiden. Man muß also erwarten, daß vom Anfang der Kirchengeschichte an und fort und fort Männer nicht gefehlt haben, welche sich durch Ausscheidung, Akzentuierung und einheitliche Organisierung des Stoffes in der Religion heimisch zu machen suchten. Sie wollten ein eindeutiges Christentum lehren und dieses zu einem „Glauben" zusammenfassen, der keine sich widersprechenden oder anstößigen Gedanken aufnötigte. Zwar durch das Mittel der allegorischen Methode konnte das auch gelingen und man konnte mit ihrer Hilfe vieles Disparate zusammenhalten; aber diese Methode war doch nicht überall und immer anwendbar und auch nicht jedermanns Sache.

Schon die werdende katholische Kirche nannte solche Männer, die sich aus der Gesamtüberlieferung ihre eigene Religion zurecht machten und sie jener dann entgegensetzten, „Häretiker", d. h. Lehrer, die dem folgten, was sie sich „erwählt hatten".

Hier bereits ist des vornehmsten christlichen Missionars der ältesten Zeit, des Apostels Paulus, zu gedenken. Seine Stellung ist deshalb eine so einzigartige, weil er sowohl ein Vater der katholischen Kirche als auch der „Häresie" gewesen ist.

Paulus hat stets den höchsten Wert darauf gelegt, seine Predigt mit der der „Urapostel", d. h. mit dem großen Aggregat der christlichen Verkündigung, in Einklang zu halten. Mochte er seine apostolische Selbständigkeit auch noch so sehr betonen, die volle Übereinstimmung mit der alten Verkündigung in ihrer ganzen Breite und Vielseitigkeit sollte dadurch nicht gefährdet sein. Die große Kirche auf dem Grunde der Propheten und Apostel mit dem Eckstein Christus, d. h. die Kirche der Gesamtüberlieferung, hat er gebaut. Aber andrerseits bedrohte er sie nicht nur durch die dezidierte Betonung „seines" Evangeliums, sondern er schied auch einen bedeutenden Teil aus der komplexen Überlieferung stillschweigend oder ausdrücklich aus und akzentuierte andere Elemente so, daß ihre polaren Gegensätze zu verschwinden drohten. Er bahnte den Weg zu einem

eindeutigen Verständnis der christlichen Botschaft; aber ebendas ist es, was diese Botschaft als universale und als complexio oppositorum nicht verträgt. Er gab dem Begriff des Gesetzes einen neuen Inhalt und vernichtete den alten; er schied die religiöse Bedeutung der „Werke" aus; er akzentuierte das „Neue" so, daß das AT seine Gegenwartsbedeutung einzubüßen drohte; er ließ den „Geist" so über den Buchstaben triumphieren, daß dieser transitorisch und unwert erschien; er faßte die „Sünde" und wiederum die „Erlösung" unter einem einzigen Gesichtspunkt und sprach damit allen anderen die Gültigkeit ab.

Alles zusammengefaßt: das Nebeneinander der religiösen und moralischen, der theozentrischen und anthropozentrischen, der prädestinatianischen und ergistischen, der dramatischen und ruhenden Elemente, wie es aus dem Spätjudentum von der christlichen Verkündigung übernommen war, genügte ihm nicht. Von dem Glauben an den gekreuzigten Gottessohn aus trachtete er nach einer Glaubenslehre, die von der Erlösung her die Gegensätze des inneren Lebens und den Gang der Geschichte beleuchtete und eindeutig erklärte. Ob er dabei selbst schon von griechischer Gnosis bestimmt war, ist eine Kontroverse, die hier nicht erörtert zu werden braucht. Auch wenn man sie in gewissem Umfang bejaht, bleibt seine religiöse Selbständigkeit noch groß genug.

Aber merkwürdig — er hat mit den Reduktionen und kraftvollen Vereinfachungen zunächst keine nennenswerten Erfolge gehabt; nur als Fermente gewahrt man sie innerhalb der Entwicklung des nachapostolischen Christentums. Seine großen Erfolge beschränkten sich wesentlich auf die Durchführung des Rechtes der Heiden, ohne weiteres Christen zu werden; im übrigen wirkte seine Predigt mit der der vielen Namenlosen zusammen, die, mehr oder weniger kritiklos, den breiten Strom polarer religiöser Elemente als christliche Verkündigung über die Welt sich ergießen ließen. Das, was man Paulinismus nennt, ist mehr eine Weissagung auf die Zukunft als ein durchschlagendes Moment in der sich zum Katholizismus entwickelnden Kirche gewesen. Die meisten der nachapostolischen christlichen Schriftsteller bis Irenäus zeigen nur geringe Paulinische Einflüsse. In gewisser Weise geht jeder von ihnen noch seinen eigenen Weg;

aber andrerseits stimmen alle zusammen, weil keiner die Verkündigung des anderen bewußt ausschließt. Alle schöpfen sie aus dem ungeheuren Sammelbecken des Spätjudentums, in welches sich auch der christliche Quell ergossen hatte. Keiner von ihnen, „Johannes" ausgenommen, kristallisiert das, was er vorträgt; man hat den Eindruck, daß jeder von ihnen auch anderes hätte hervorholen können. Keiner ist ein „Häretiker", und keiner macht die anderen zu „Häretikern". Es gab noch keine eindeutige Theologie, die mit Akzenten und Exklusiven arbeitete.

Diesen Eindruck hat man, wenn man die Schriften des Lukas, Petrus, Jakobus und die sog. Patres Apostolici liest, Clemens, und Ignatius, Barnabas und Hermas. Aber seitwärts gab es bereits neben und nach Paulus christliche „Häretiker", und seit den Tagen Hadrians wurden sie eine Macht.

Für sie alle ist charakteristisch, daß sie den Synkretismus der religiösen Motive — denn die Complexio oppositorum et variorum ist nichts anderes als Synkretismus der religiösen Motive — nicht bestehen lassen wollten, sondern ihm eine mehr oder weniger eindeutige Religionsempfindung und Lehre entgegensetzten. Mit Recht erkannten sie dabei, daß die Quelle dieses unreinlichen Synkretismus vor allem in dem AT lag, in seinem häufig inferioren Buchstaben und in den Willkürlichkeiten des Verständnisses, zu denen er Anlaß gab. Sie alle verwarfen daher das AT bald vollständig, bald in einigen seiner Hauptteile.

Aber hier bemerkt man die paradoxe Tatsache, daß diese „Häretiker", indem sie sich vom AT, vom Spätjudentum und damit vom Synkretismus der religiösen Motive zu befreien und dem Christentum einen eindeutigen Ausdruck zu geben suchten, von einer anderen Seite her doch wieder einen Synkretismus einführten. Sie alle, wenn auch in verschiedener Weise, machten Anleihen bei Mythen- und Mysterien-Komplexen, die, wie sie schon dem orthodoxen, sei es auch manchem Fremden bereits aufgeschlossenen Judentum als heidnisch-dämonisch erschienen, so auch den Vertretern der christlichen Gesamtüberlieferung befremdlich und unannehmbar waren. In den „Gnostikern" tritt uns die merkwürdige Erscheinung entgegen, daß sie, von der Heilsbedeutung der Person Christi ausgehend und sich daher

an Paulus in der Regel anschließend, dem Christentum durch Ausscheidung zahlreicher religiöser und sittlicher Leitmotive eine eindeutige Struktur gaben, aber dabei bei fremden Mysterienspekulationen die erheblichsten Anleihen machten.

Bis heute ist diese Tatsache geschichtlich und religionspsychologisch nicht scharf erfaßt[1] und daher nicht erklärt. Woher kommt es, daß die ersten eindeutigen christlichen Theologen Gnostiker gewesen sind, d. h. fremde Mythen samt den zugehörigen Spekulationen in das aus dem Judentum stammende Christentum eingeführt haben?

M. E. liegt der Grund hierfür darin, daß das Judentum mit und neben seiner heiligen Urkunde, d. h. mit und neben seinem „Gesetz" keine maßgebende Theologie ausgebildet hat. Es hat zwar in seinen Apokalypsen, Weisheitsbüchern und namentlich in seiner griechischen Literatur eine Fülle von religiösen Motiven und theologischen Spekulationen zum Ausdruck gebracht und an den Buchstaben des ATs geheftet — alles dies ging als formlose Masse in die christliche Verkündigung über —; aber das systematische Bedürfnis war sozusagen schon durch das „Gesetz" erschöpft; daher kam das Judentum in der Systematik im Grunde nicht über den einen Satz heraus: „Höre Israel, der Herr dein Gott ist ein einiger Gott". Und auch dieser Satz war durch die Einführung neuer religiöser Motive bedroht, ohne daß man es recht merkte, weil es eine theologisch-kirchliche Buchführung im Judentum überhaupt nicht gab.

Hatte nun das „Gesetz" mit ihm das Volkstum seine Geltung in den neuen christlichen Gemeinden verloren — welch ein Unterschied von den Judengemeinden! —, so mußte, um

1 Man übersieht es, daß der Gnostizismus negativ die Ablehnung des spätjüdischen Synkretismus der disparaten religiösen Motive und positiv den Versuch der Durchführung eines eindeutigen religiösen Motivs auf dem Boden der christlichen Verkündigung bedeutet, weil man sich den Blick durch die bunte Fülle der von den Gnostikern herangezogenen Mythenspekulationen verwirren läßt. Diese sind ja nur herangezogen, um einem im Grunde einfachen religiösen Glauben einen Unterbau zu geben, da man in ihnen den theologischen Hauptgedanken, den man befolgen wollte, philosophisch und geschichtlich ausgeprägt zu erkennen glaubte.

dem Zerfließen zu begegnen, eine neue bindende Macht eintreten: die katholische Kirche hat sie im Laufe des zweiten Jahrhunderts in dem kombinierten Gedanken „des Glaubens" und „der apostolischen Überlieferung" gefunden und trieb aus diesem Gedanken nach der Schöpfung der apostolischen Schriftensammlung und des apostolischen Amts der Bischöfe vorsichtig und allmählich die umfassende katholische Glaubenslehre hervor. Dennoch mißglückte, kirchlich betrachtet, der erste Abschluß, wie ihn Origenes vorgelegt hatte, und mußte in der Folgezeit durchgreifend korrigiert werden. Das Mißglücken bedeutete aber keine Katastrophe, weil die formalen Autoritäten der heiligen Schriften und der apostolischen Autorität der Kirche im Bunde mit dem ganz kurzen apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis stark genug waren, Erschütterungen zu begegnen und das Bewußtsein eines unendlichen und doch gesicherten und zuverlässigen religiösen Besitzes aufrechtzuerhalten.

Aber die „Häretiker", darin dem Apostel Paulus verwandt, wollten die Herstellung der Glaubenslehre, d. h. die geistige Durchdringung und organische Zentralisierung der Religion, nicht aufschieben[1]. Schon dieses Verlangen zeigt, daß sie Griechen waren — Paulus als Glaubenslehrer ist über sein Volk hinausgewachsen —; aber nicht nur waren sie Griechen, sondern die Hervorragenden unter ihnen müssen bereits, bevor sie Christen wurden, griechische Gnostiker gewesen sein, d. h. aus jener neuen geistigen und religiösen Atmosphäre stammen, die aus der Kombination orientalischer und hellenischer Mysterienweisheit, nicht ohne Einfluß der spätpythagoreischen, -platonischen und -stoischen Philosophie, seit einigen Generationen entstanden war.

Diese „Gnosis", in so mannigfaltigen Gebilden sie sich stoff-

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1 Von den „Apologeten" muß hier abgesehen werden; denn für sie ist es charakteristisch, daß ihre systematischen Versuche, obschon sie den Bemühungen der altkatholischen Väter zugrunde liegen, lediglich der Verteidigung der christlichen Religion, bezw. der Missionsaufgabe dienen, nicht aber aus dem inneren Drange, sich der Religion geistig zu bemächtigen, hervorgegangen sind. Soweit eine solche Absicht bei ihnen doch bemerkbar ist, bleibt sie an Tiefe der Einsicht in das Wesen der Religion hinter den Gnostikern zurück. Doch würden wir vielleicht in bezug auf Justin darüber anders urteilen, wenn wir seine verlorenen Werke besäßen.

lich, kultisch und soziologisch darstellt, ist doch in ihrer christlichen Gestalt eine eindeutige Größe und nimmt in dieser das Stadium vorweg, in welches die nicht-christliche griechische Religionsphilosophie erst durch Jamblichus getreten ist. Die christlichen Gnostiker des 2. Jahrhunderts nehmen dieses Stadium vorweg, indem sie Offenbarungsphilosophen sind und das dramatische und vertikale nachplatonische Gott-Welt-System, sowie das hohe Lied vom Geiste, seinem Abstieg und Aufstieg, mit der christlichen Verkündigung verbinden. Dieser Verkündigung wird dabei der Supremat eingeräumt; denn Jesus Christus ist der Erlöser der Geister, d. h. die göttliche Macht, welche die durch den großen Abfall geschehene widernatürliche Verbindung von Geist und Materie, in welcher der Geist in Fesseln liegt, aufhebt und die Rückkehr des Geistes in seine Heimat ermöglicht.

Die christliche Verkündigung wurde von den Gnostikern — nur von den bedeutenden ist hier die Rede — mit dem hohen Ernste und dem heiligen Enthusiasmus des Paulus ergriffen, den sie als Führer verehrten; aber sie wurde ganz eingebettet in das dualistische System, das ursprünglich und wiederum am Schluß des Dramas als pantheistisches gedacht ist, weil das wieder auf sich selbst zurückgeworfene Kenoma ein Nichts ist. Das Recht zu dieser Kombination schien durch Paulus selbst gewährleistet; denn es fanden sich in seinen Briefen Stellen genug über Gott, Seele, Geist und Fleisch, Gott dieser Welt, Welt- und Geschichtsmysterien usw., die von einem Griechen kaum anders gedeutet werden konnten als im Sinne jenes Systems, und darüber hinaus traten in ihnen Spekulationen entgegen, die von Äonen-Spekulationen kaum verschieden waren. Der Äonen-Spekulationen aber konnten diese Gnostiker nicht entraten, da nur die Nachweisung eines Pleroma von Geistern mit absteigender Göttlichkeit den tatsächlichen Zustand der Welt als einer widernatürlichen und üblen Mischung vom Guten und Bösen zu erklären vermochte. Dem AT mußten diese Gnostiker durchweg mit scharfer Kritik entgegentreten; denn bereits sein grundlegender Anfang, die Schöpfungsgeschichte, war ihnen ganz unannehmbar, weil diese Geschichte das für gut erklärte, was sie als schlecht beurteilten — die Welt in ihrer konstitutiven Zuständlichkeit, ja in ihrem Sein. Aber für das AT tauschten sie die erhabene

Dramatik eines uranfänglichen vorweltlichen Geschehens und das hohe Lied des Geistes ein. Warum sollen sie mit der christlichen Verkündigung unverträglich sein, die doch in ihrer Erhabenheit und in ihrer erschütternden und beseligenden Dramatik sich ihnen als wahlverwandt erweist? Und fordert nicht geradezu das Bekenntnis: „Christus der Herr" dazu auf, diese seine Herrschaft über das All und die Geschichte so zu fassen, wie es die Spekulation hier tut?

Die Situation, in welcher sich die vom Judentum politisch völlig losgelöste christliche Religion zur Zeit Hadrians befand, war die kritischste in ihrer Geschichte. Auf der einen Seite stand die formlose, unkristallisierte, an das AT gebundene, in Wahrheit vom Spätjudentum mit der Fülle seiner Stoffe und widerstreitenden Motive abhängige christliche Verkündigung, entschlossen alles ins „Apostololische" hineinzuziehen und nach Geist und Buchstaben zu bewahren. Auf der andern Seite standen bedeutende Lehrer, die eine eindeutige und feste christliche Gott-Welt-Erkenntnis darboten, in der die Erlösung durch Jesus Christus die höchste Stelle besaß und die die erhabensten Spekulationen der Griechen über die die Welt bewegenden letzten Gegensätze fortbildeten. Jene hielten die Autorität des ATs streng aufrecht, diese verwarfen sie; aber die Situation jener war noch dadurch erschwert, daß sich ihnen selbst die Schwierigkeiten immer mehr aufdrängten, die dieses Buch enthielt. Gehört es den Christen allein oder den Christen und Juden? Für welche seiner Teile gilt noch heute der Buchstabe? Für keinen (so der Barnabasbrief, der das buchstäbliche Verständnis für teuflisch erklärt) oder für alle oder für einige? Darf man etwa eine nur zeitweilige gottgewollte Geltung gewisser Teile annehmen? Ist das Gesetz gegeben worden, um die Sünden zu vermehren? Muß man alles allegorisieren? Wie soll man allegorisieren? Erschöpft sich die Bedeutung des Buchs in dem Typischen, Prophetischen? Ist nicht manches nur zur Kennzeichnung und Strafe der Juden gesagt? usw. Allerseits war man zwar im Katholizismus darüber einverstanden, daß das Zeremonialgesetz den Christen nicht gilt; aber bereits die Begründung dieses Satzes war zweifelhaft, und über ihn hinaus gab es die peinlichsten, bis zum Widerspruch sich steigernden Verschiedenheiten. So traten „die Apostolischen" mit schweren Unsicherheiten in die große Krisis ein.

Aus ihr die Christenheit zu befreien, sah sich Marcion berufen. Kein Synkretismus, sondern Simplifikation, Einheitlichkeit und Eindeutigkeit des Christlichen — das ist die zweite Linie, auf welcher er mit seiner Predigt vom fremden Gott und seiner Kirchenstiftung erscheint. Dem unübersehbaren und vieldeutigen Komplex des Überlieferten soll eine eindeutige religiöse Botschaft entgegengestellt werden. Steht Marcion aber hier nicht nur mit Paulus, sondern auch mit den Gnostikern zusammen und der Kirche gegenüber, so lehnt er gegen diese aufs schärfste den neuen Synkretismus ab, den sie in der verkehrten Meinung einführten, die aus der Mysterienspekulation hinzugebrachten Stoffe seien dem wahren christlichen Gedanken adäquat und daher beifallswert. So ist auch hier Marcion, wie bei seiner rücksichtslosen Durchführung der Paradoxie der Religion, der Konsequente: die wahre Religion muß ebenso eindeutig und transparent sein, wie sie fremd und absolut-paradox sein muß.

3.

Religion ist Erlösung — der Zeiger der Religionsgeschichte stand im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert an dieser Stelle; niemand konnte mehr ein Gott sein, der nicht ein Heiland war. In wundervoller Weise kam die neue christliche Religion dieser Erkenntnis entgegen, und der Apostel Paulus hat sie bereits so gestaltet, daß er Christus als Erlöser zum Mittelpunkte der gesamten christlichen Verkündigung machte. Aber sein Gottesbegriff, vom ATlichen genährt, zeigt im Vergleich mit seinem Christusbegriff noch einen gewaltigen Überschuß. Ob mit Recht oder Unrecht, kann hier noch unerörtert bleiben. Unwidersprechlich ist, daß sich der Vater Jesu Christi bei Paulus keineswegs mit Christus, dem Erlöser, einfach deckt. Er ist nicht nur der Vater der Barmherzigkeit und der Gott alles Trostes, sondern er ist auch der Unerforschliche, der in einem unzugänglichen Lichte wohnt, der Schöpfer der Welt, der Autor der mosaischen Gesetzgebung, der souveräne Lenker der Geschichte, insonderheit der ATlichen, ferner der Zürnende und Strafende und endlich der Richter, der mit dem großen Gerichtstage vor der Tür steht. Gewiß — Paulus hat bereits vieles gestrichen an dem alten

jüdischen Gottesbegriff, teils durch das Mittel der allegorischen Auslegung, teils durch eine geschichtsphilosophische Betrachtung, die es auf Grund des Gedankens der Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts und einer heilsnotwendigen Akkomodation gestattete, zahlreiche Anstöße, zu entfernen. So war nicht nur das Zeremonialgesetz beseitigt, sondern auch ein großer Komplex unerträglicher ATlicher Aussagen. Und neben Paulus standen zahlreiche Lehrer, die an der Aufgabe arbeiteten, den christlichen Gottesbegriff nach dem Heiland Christus zu erfassen und zu bestimmen. Auch auf dieser Linie steht Marcion; aber auch auf ihr ist er bis zur äußersten Konsequenz fortgeschritten. Neben der Erlösung darf schlechthin nichts stehen; sie ist etwas so Großes, so Erhabenes, so Unvergleichliches, daß der, der sie hat und bringt, nichts anderes sein kann als eben der Erlöser. Der christliche Gottesbegriff muß daher ausschließlich und völlig restlos nach der Erlösung durch Christus festgestellt werden. Also kann und darf Gott nichts anderes sein als das Gute im Sinne der barmherzigen und erlösenden Liebe. Alles übrige ist streng auszuscheiden: Gott ist nicht der Schöpfer, nicht der Gesetzgeber, nicht der Richter, er zürnt und straft auch nicht, sondern er ist ausschließlich die verkörperte, erlösende und beseligende Liebe. Damit ist das Trachten der Zeit nach dem Gott der Erlösung und ihre Wertschätzung der Erlösung auf den denkbar schärfsten Ausdruck gebracht.

Die Religion ist die paradoxe Botschaft vom fremden Gott; sie ist schlechthin einheitliche und eindeutige Botschaft, und sie ist die exklusive Botschaft von dem Gott, der der Erlöser ist. Jede dieser Aussagen, die zu einem harmonischen Einklang zusammengehen, entspricht dem gewaltigen Sehnen und Ringen der Zeit, spricht es in einem Maximum aus und bringt ihm die höchste Erfüllung, indem sie diese Erfüllung in der Erscheinung Christi nachweist. In der Verkündigung Marcions „von dem fremden und guten Gott, dem Vater Jesu Christi, der die ihm völlig fremden, elenden Menschen aus den schwersten Banden — nämlich aus seinem ihm anerschaffenen Wesen und aus der der Verhaftung dieses

Wesens unter ein verdammendes Gesetz — zu ewigem Leben durch den Glauben erlöst", hat sie ihren kürzesten, aber doch alles umfassenden Ausdruck gefunden. Die Paradoxie der Religion, ihre eindeutige Kraft und ihr ausschließlicher Charakter als Erlösung sind hier zusammengefaßt. Nicht kehren die Menschen durch die Erlösung in ihr Vaterhaus zurück, sondern eine herrliche Fremde ist aufgetan und wird ihnen zur Heimat.

Das Interesse, das sich an das Auftreten Marcions in der Religions- und Kirchengeschichte knüpft, ist hiermit bezeichnet. Keine zweite religiöse Persönlichkeit kann ihm zur Seite gestellt werden, die im Altertum nach Paulus und vor Augustin an Bedeutung mit ihm rivalisieren könnte. Daher ist alles der höchsten Aufmerksamkeit wert, was uns von ihm erhalten oder über ihn überliefert ist. Das ist nicht wenig: wir besitzen (1) die Berichte seiner Gegner über sein angebliches „System"; wir kennen (2) den Umfang seiner Bibel, und viele Abschnitte aus ihr sind uns im Wortlaut überliefert; wir wissen (3) um die Grundsätze seiner Bibelkritik und zahlreiche seiner Korrekturen liegen vor uns; endlich sind (4) umfangreiche Reste seines großen Werkes „Antithesen" auf uns gekommen samt zahlreichen Erklärungen biblischer Stellen. Aber es fehlt bisher viel an der gebotenen Ausbeutung dieser Quellen; namentlich sind die zweite und vierte ungebührlich vernachlässigt worden, die doch die wichtigsten sind. Infolge davon erscheint sein Christentum unbiblischer, abstrakter und unlebendiger, als es in Wahrheit gewesen ist, zumal da man den Berichten der Gegner den eigenen Ausführungen M.s gegenüber einen viel zu großen Spielraum gelassen hat. Wer z. B. hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß M. eine Reihe von Aussagen stehen gelassen, nach denen die Begriffe „gerecht", „Gerechtigkeit", „rechtfertigen", „Gericht" auch vom guten Gotte gelten? Wer hat bisher den großen Unterschied aufgedeckt, der auch nach ihm zwischen den Uraposteln und den judaistischen Pseudoaposteln besteht? Wer seine Stellung zum Gesetz und zum AT über die dürftige Erkenntnis hinausgeführt, daß er sie verworfen hat? In allen diesen und vielen anderen Problemen hat sich die Geschichtsschreibung bislang wesentlich damit begnügt, die kurzen dezidierten Mitteilungen der Gegner zu wiederholen. Man bewegt sich heute noch durchaus in ihrem Fahrwasser: sie wollten zeigen, daß er Dualist war, aber aus

dem, was er im NT stehen gelassen hat, widerlegt werden kann; der echten Geschichtsschreibung aber ist die Aufgabe gestellt, aus ebendiesem Materiale zu zeigen, was er denn eigentlich gewollt hat. Das ist mehr und tiefer und reicher, als was man bisher ermittelt hat. Auch ist es eine Freude, sich mit einem tief religiösen Mann von intellektueller Reinlichkeit zu beschäftigen, der allen Synkretismus, Allegorie und Sophisterei ablehnt.

II. Marcions Leben und Wirksamkeit [1].

Marcion war nach guter Überlieferung aus Sinope, der wichtigsten griechischen Handelsstadt am Südufer des Schwarzen Meeres, gebürtig, ein Landsmann also des Cynikers Diogenes, worauf Tert. (adv. Marc. I, 1) anspielt[2]. Er mag um das Jahr 85 oder etwas später geboren sein.

Im Pontus gab es in der frühen Kaiserzeit Judengemeinden. Der Mitarbeiter des Paulus, Aquila, stammte von dort (Apostelgesch. 18, 2) und ebenso der Bibelübersetzer gleichen Namens, ein jüdischer Proselyt. Er war ein genauer Zeitgenosse Marcions, ja, wenn man Epiphanius trauen darf, auch aus Sinope gebürtig (Iren. bei Euseb., V, 8, 10; Epiphan., De mens. et pond. 14 f)[3]. Merkwürdig — aus dieser Stadt sind der schärfste Gegner des Judentums und der skrupulöseste Übersetzer der jüdischen heiligen Schrift gleichzeitig hervorgegangen! [4] Gerne würde man

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1 S hierzu die Beilage I: „Untersuchungen über die Person und die Lebensgeschichte Marcions".

2 Nur vom Pontus, nicht von Sinope, hat Tert. gewußt. — In der Bedürfnislosigkeit berührten sich Marcion und Diogenes. Die Gegner nannten diesen „den tollgewordenen Sokrates"; in bezug auf das Verhältnis jenes zu Paulus könnte Übelwollen etwas Ähnliches behaupten.

3 Daß beide Aquila' Pontiker waren, scheint mir unverdächtig (gegen Schürer, Gesch. des Volkes Israel Bd. III S. 435). Sinope als Vaterstadt des Bibelübersetzers wird man gelten lassen dürfen, auch wenn die anderen Angaben des Epiphanius (Aquila ein Verwandter Hadrians, zuerst Christ, als Astrologe ausgeschlossen, dann Jude) dahingestellt bleiben müssen.

4 Nach Epiphanius (l. c. 17 f., vgl. Chron. pasch. I p. 491) soll auch der andere jüdische Bibelübersetzer, Theodotion, aus dem Pontus, ja aus Sinope, stammen, ursprünglich Marcionit gewesen, dann zum Judentum

hier Näheres über die Propaganda des Judentums erfahren und ihre antithetischen Wirkungen; aber die Überlieferung ist schweigsam.

In jedem Sinne antithetisch sind übrigens Marcion und der Bibelübersetzer Aquila nicht, vielmehr besteht sogar eine gewisse Wahlverwandtschaft: auch Marcion will von dem Buchstaben des ATs nichts abmarkten und buchstäbelt in seiner Weise wie Aquila. Das haben seine kirchlichen Gegner wohl bemerkt und ihm vorgerückt. Es läßt sich aber überhaupt die Frage aufwerfen, ob M. nicht eine Zeit erlebt hat, in der er dem Judentum nahe gestanden hat. Von hellenischem Geiste spürt man schlechterdings nichts in ihm, die jüdischen Auslegungen des ATs sind ihm wohlbekannt, und seine ganze Stellung zum AT und Judentum läßt sich am besten als Ressentiment begreifen. Bereits in den „Neuen Studien zu M." S. 15 habe ich die Hypothese aufgestellt: M. bezw. seine Familie kommt vom Judentum her; jüdischer Proselytismus ging der Bekehrung zum Christentum voran, was ja nicht auffallend, sondern bei den Bekehrungen ältester Zeit die Regel gewesen ist. Dafür spricht auch, daß er die messianischen Weissagungen ebenso erklärt wie die Juden[1]; sein Christentum erbaut sich also auf einem Ressentiment in bezug auf das Judentum und seine Religion. Eben deshalb hat er auch eine ähnliche Erfahrung machen können, wie Paulus, nur daß sie extensiv viel weiter greift wie beim Apostel, der nur mit dem Gesetze bricht, nicht aber mit dem Gesetzgeber und dem AT.

Christen im Pontus setzt der erste Petrusbrief voraus, und wie zahlreich und stark die christlichen Gemeinden dort schon

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übergetreten sein und unter Commodus gewirkt haben. Allein soweit man seine Angaben zu kontrollieren vermag, bestehen sie die Probe nicht. Nach Irenäus (l. c.) war Theodotion Ephesier und Proselyt wie Aquila; auch gegen den chronologischen Ansatz des Epiphanius erheben sich starke Bedenken.

1 Er kennt ihre zeitgeschichtlichen Deutungen und er hält das ganze AT für wahre Geschichte und traut seinem Buchstaben. Welche Gnostiker, welche Kirchenlehrer haben das sonst getan? Jene machen Unterscheidungen oder nehmen Lug und Trug an, diese allegorisieren. M. aber hält's mit den Juden! Man erinnere sich hier, daß Tert.s Polemik gegen M. und gegen die Juden auf großen Strecken einfach identisch ist.

z. Z. Trajans waren, lehrt uns der berühmte Brief des Plinius an Trajan. Er ist nach neueren Untersuchungen in oder bei Amisus geschrieben [1]. Auf eine feste Organisation der dortigen Gemeinden am Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts lassen die „Diakonissen" schließen, welche Plinius erwähnt.

Daher hat die auch sonst unverdächtige Nachricht Hippolyts, Marcion sei der Sohn des Bischofs (eines Bischofs) von Sinope gewesen, nichts gegen sich; ja die Entwicklung Marcions wird uns verständlicher, wenn er von frühen Jahren her Christ gewesen ist und in der großen Gemeinde gestanden hat. Zeitlebens hat er, im Unterschied von den Gnostikern, für die große Gemeinde, d. h. die ganze Christenheit, gearbeitet, und niemals hat er ein Sektierer sein wollen. Auch seine Vertrautheit mit dem AT und der, sei es auch zum Abscheu gewordene, Respekt vor seinem Buchstaben erklären sich leichter, wenn er mit dem heiligen Buche aufgewachsen ist.

Aber die andere Nachricht, welche ebenfalls Hippolyt bringt, Marcion sei in Sinope von seinem Vater exkommuniziert worden, weil er eine Jungfrau verführt habe, verdient keinen Glauben. Hippolyt selbst hat sie in seinem späteren antignostischen Werk, der Refutatio, nicht wiederholt; Irenäus, Rhodon, Tertullian, die Alexandriner und Eusebius schweigen über sie; sie entstammt gewiß der polemischen Topik; generell sagt Hegesipp, die Ketzer hätten die Kirche, die reine Jungfrau, verführt [2].

Dagegen braucht man nicht zu bezweifeln, daß M. von seinem eigenen Vater exkommuniziert worden ist. Die Nachricht ist so singulär in der Ketzergeschichte, daß sie schon deshalb Glauben verdient. Ist M. aber in Sinope exkommuniziert worden, so wird es einer Irrlehre wegen geschehen sein, und das ist ja auch der Sinn der Legende, er habe eine Jungfrau verführt.

Exkommunikationen im Sinne der Praxis der späteren Kirche kann es unter Hadrian noch nicht gegeben haben: sie

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1 S. Wilcken im „Hermes" Bd. 49 (1914) S. 120 ff.

2 Die Geschichte deshalb für wahrscheinlich zu halten, weil die strenge sexuelle Askese, die M. nachmals geboten hat, als Ressentiment zu verstehen sei, wäre auch dann noch fragwürdig, wenn die Anekdote genügend bezeugt wäre.

besagten teils mehr, teils weniger. Mehr, denn sie konnten unter so strengen Formen vollzogen worden sein, daß der Ausgestoßene dem Satan übergeben wurde; weniger, denn das Urteil der exkommunizierenden Gemeinde war nicht für andere Gemeinden ohne weiteres gültig. Sicher aber dürfen wir annehmen, daß nur eine schwere Irrlehre die Exkommunikation veranlaßt hat; denn nur im äußersten Fall entschloß man sich damals einen Bruder auszuschließen, wenn er doch Christus als seinen Herrn anerkannte. M. muß also schon damals die Grundzüge seiner der großen Kirche unerträglichen Lehre vertreten haben[1].

Er begab sich nach Kleinasien; es war schon eine Propagandareise. Eine unverächtliche Quelle erzählt, daß er Briefe Pontischer Brüder mit sich führte. Nur Empfehlungsschreiben können es gewesen sein, woraus folgt, daß er in seiner Heimat doch auch Anhänger besaß, daß seine Ausschließung dort also nicht ohne Widerspruch erfolgt war. Allein auch in Kleinasien (Ephesus: so die Quelle; wohl auch Smyrna und vielleicht Hierapolis), wo er Anerkennung bei den Gemeindevorstehern suchte und ihnen seine Auffassung des Evangeliums vorlegte, wurde er abgelehnt und zurückgestoßen. Damals wird wohl jene Begegnung mit Polykarp stattgefunden haben — oder doch erst später in Rom? —, von der uns Irenäus (nach Papias?) berichtet. Den Anerkennung begehrenden wies Polykarp in schärfster Weise ab: „Ich anerkenne dich als Erstgeborenen des Satan.“ M. muß schon seine „Zweigötter“-Lehre und die Verwerfung des AT vorgetragen und der Gemeinde insinuiert haben, wenn Polykarp ihm in dieser grausamen Weise begegnete.

Jetzt begab sich M. nach Rom: Pontus, Kleinasien, Rom be-

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1 Von seinem Bildungsgang wissen wir nichts; aber seine Textkritik beweist, daß er ein gebildeter Mann war, also mindestens auch das übliche philosophische Wissen besaß. Seine dezidierte Abneigung gegen die Philosophie (s. u.) spricht nicht dagegen. „Ardens ingenii et doctissimus“ hat ihn Hieronymus, sicher Origenes ausschreibend (er beruft sich auf eine Überlieferung) Comm. in Osee l. II zu c. 10, 1 genannt; s. d. Motto oben S. 1. Daß die Kirchenväter alle möglichen griechischen Hauptphilosophen für seine Lehrmeister ausgegeben haben, kommt nicht in Betracht; aber ein Mann, den Origenes „doctissimus“ genannt hat, muß erstlich sehr bibelkundig gewesen sein — das können auch wir noch feststellen — und zweitens auch eine gute weltliche Bildung besessen haben.

deuteten auch kirchlich schon damals eine Klimax: wer auf die ganze Christenheit Einfluß gewinnen wollte, mußte in die Welthauptstadt gehen[1]. Auf seinem eigenen Schiffe fuhr er dorthin; denn wir hören aus besten Quellen (Rhodon in Rom, Tertullian), daß er ein begüterter Schiffsherr und in Rom als solcher bekannt war (ὁ ναύτης Μαρκίων, nauclerus [2]). Diese Reise fällt wahrscheinlich in das 1. Jahr des Antoninus Pius, sicher um diese Zeit. Eine Nachricht bei Hieronymus lautet, M. habe schon vorher eine Anhängerin dorthin geschickt, um seine Ankunft vorzubereiten. Das ist undurchsichtig.

Trotz der Abweisungen im Pontus und in Asien empfand und wußte sich M. noch immer als ein Glied der allgemeinen Christenheit und daher als „Bruder"; nach seiner Überzeugung vertrat er das Evangelium, wie es der Christenheit geschenkt war und wie sie es vertreten sollte. Er trat daher der römischen Christengemeinde bei und schenkte ihr bei seinem Eintritt 200 000 Sesterzen. In Rom wird man zunächst nichts von seiner Vorgeschichte und seiner Lehre gewußt haben; aber wenn sie auch bald bekannt geworden sind, so lag nicht sofort eine Nötigung für die Gemeinde vor, ihn auszuschließen. Sie konnten abwarten. Das Geldgeschenk mag auch dazu beigetragen haben, die Kritik an dem neuen Gemeindegliede nicht zu beschleunigen, und M. selbst kann die Propaganda seiner Lehre vorsichtig begonnen haben. Es ist auch für die Zeit nach seinem Bruche mit der großen Kirche charakteristisch, daß uns kein schmähendes oder böses Wort über diese und ihre Mitglieder überliefert ist [3].

Es ist aber auch möglich, ja es hat eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß M. sich zuerst in Rom noch ganz zurückgehalten hat, um in ernster Arbeit die Grundlagen seiner Lehre aufs sicherste auszubilden. Die Herstellung des e c h t e n Textes des Evangeliums und der Briefe des Paulus, d. h. ihre Reinigung

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1 Vielleicht hat auch die Erwägung Marcion zur Reise nach Rom bestimmt, daß dort der Bruch der Kirche mit dem Judentum vollständiger war als in Asien. Man fastete am Sabbat und hielt Ostern nicht mit den Juden zusammen. M. konnte hoffen, dort einen günstigeren Boden zu finden.

2 Wiederholt benutzt Tertullian den weltlichen Beruf Marcions, um ihn zu verspotten.

3 Er entrüstet sich über die Urapostel und die judaistischen Evangelisten; aber die große Kirche seiner Zeit sieht er als verführte an.

von den judaistischen Interpolationen, und sodann die Abfassung des großen kritischen Werkes „Antithesen", das die Unvereinbarkeit des ATs mit dem Evangelium und seine Herkunft von einem anderen Gott erweisen sollte, waren so umfangreiche und gewaltige Aufgaben, daß sie nur in stiller, anhaltender Arbeit erfüllt werden konnten. Da ihnen der Text zugrunde liegt, der uns für Rom und das Abendland stärker bezeugt ist als für das Morgenland, ist es wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht gewiß, daß M. seine grundlegenden Werke erst in Rom verfaßt hat, und da der Bruch mit der römischen Kirche und die sich anschließende große Propaganda sie voraussetzen, muß M. sie im J. 144 abgeschlossen haben; denn in dieses Jahr (Ende Juli) fällt der Bruch. Also hat M. wahrscheinlich als reifer Mann in den ca. 5 Jahren zwischen 139 und 144 sein Neues Testament und sein Antithesenwerk in Rom geschaffen; doch ist die Möglichkeit offen zu lassen, daß das schon in Kleinasien geschehen ist.

Als er sie vollendet hatte, trat er vor die römische Gemeinde hin und forderte ihre Presbyter (wichtig, daß die Quelle [Hippolyt] hier keinen Bischof erwähnt) auf, zu dieser seiner Arbeit und damit zu seiner Lehre Stellung zu nehmen. Es kam zu einer förmlichen Verhandlung — der ersten dieser Art, die wir aus der alten Kirchengeschichte kennen, andererseits aber eine Parallele zum sog. Apostelkonzil. Von Luk. 6, 43 („der gute und der faule Baum") ging M. bei der Verhandlung aus. Auch der in seinem Sinn noch deutlichere Spruch Luk. 5, 36 f. („neuer Wein, alte Schläuche") scheint schon damals eine Rolle gespielt zu haben; jedenfalls bildete auch er eine Grundlage der Ausführungen M.s. Beide Sprüche in ihrer scharfen Antithese sind in der Tat als Ausgangspunkte der Marcionitischen Lehre besonders geeignet.

Die Verhandlungen endeten mit einer scharfen Abweisung der unerhörten Lehre und mit dem Ausschluß M.s; man gab ihm auch die 200 000 Sesterzen zurück. Noch nach zwei Menschenaltern wußte nicht nur Hippolyt in Rom, sondern auch Tertullian in Karthago von diesem eindrucksvollen Vorgang. Es wird für immer denkwürdig bleiben, daß auf der ersten römischen Synode, von der wir wissen, ein Mann vor den Presbytern gestanden hat, der ihnen den Unterschied von Gesetz und Evangelium darlegte

und ihr Christentum für ein judaistisches erklärte. Wer denkt hier nicht an Luther![1]

Schon damals vielleicht oder später erst wurde M. — Tertullian berichtet es — auch ein Brief vorgehalten (vermutlich aus dem Archiv der römischen Kirche), in welchem er selbst bekannt hatte, daß er früher den Glauben der großen Kirche geteilt habe. Man braucht an der Echtheit des Briefs nicht zu zweifeln; und selbst wenn er besagte, daß M. sich, als er nach Rom kam, noch als in Glaubenseinheit mit den römischen Christen stehend gewußt hat (was ja auch der Eintritt in die Gemeinde und das Geldgeschenk beweisen), so ist das nicht auffallend[2]; denn M. nahm ja an, daß seine Lehre die genuine sei und daß sie daher — bis zum Beweise des Gegenteils — auch die Zustimmung der Christengemeinden finden müsse. Ganz vergeblich bemüht sich daher Tertullian, M. aus dem Brief einen Strick zu drehen. Auch sittlich ist es zu rechtfertigen, daß M., nachdem er in Pontus und in Asien abgewiesen war, in Rom nicht sofort als Reformator auftreten, sondern zunächst weiter forschen und seiner Glaubenslehre die volle Begründung geben wollte in der Hoffnung, sie würde in dieser Gestalt von der Gemeinde der Welthauptstadt und dann von der ganzen Christenheit anerkannt werden.

Gewiß mit schwerem Herzen hat M. das Urteil, das ihn ausschloß und seine Lehre als schlimmste Ketzerei ablehnte, entgegengenommen; aber nun zog er mit gewaltiger Energie die Konsequenz und begann seine reformatorische Propaganda im größten Stil. Schon wenige Jahre später, um das J. 150, schreibt Justin in der Apologie, daß sie sich über das ganze Menschengeschlecht erstrecke, und stellt M. neben den Erzketzer Simon Magus, nachdem er bereits vorher in seinem verlorenen Syntagma wider alle Häresien die literarische Bekämpfung dieses „Apostels der Dämonen" begonnen hatte. „Marcions häretische Tradition hat die ganze Welt erfüllt", schreibt auch Tertullian (adv. Marc. V, 19).

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1 M. hat den Römern nicht vom Gott des Lichts und der Finsternis nicht vom Gegensatz des Geistes und der Materie o. ä. gesprochen, sondern von dem Gegensatz des AT.s und des Evangeliums, der die Annahme zweier Götter fordere.

2 Der Brief kann aber auch einer viel älteren Zeit angehören.

Schwerlich länger als etwa 15 Jahre nach dem J. 144 hat M.s Wirksamkeit gedauert; denn keine Quelle berichtet, daß er noch zur Zeit Marc Aurels gelebt hat. Wann und wo er gestorben ist, wissen wir nicht; die Legende bei Tertullian, er habe auf dem Totenbette bereut und um Wiederaufnahme in die Kirche gebeten, verdient keinen Glauben [1].

Leider wissen wir von den Jahren der großen Wirksamkeit M.s gar nichts; wir sehen nur die Früchte, die außerordentliche Verbreitung der Marcionitischen Kirche in allen Provinzen des Reichs schon im Zeitalter der Antonine; denn nicht labile Sekten, sondern eine große Kirche, bestehend aus geordneten und festgefügten Teilgemeinden — die Kirche Jesu Christi — setzte M. im Bewußtsein, der berufene Nachfolger des Paulus zu sein, der großen Kirche entgegen. Eben deshalb hat ihn Justin neben Simon den Magier gestellt. Nur die eine wichtige Nachricht ist noch auf uns gekommen, daß M. mit dem syrischen Gnostiker Cerdo in Rom in Verbindung getreten sei und dieser Einfluß auf ihn gewonnen habe. Einige Kirchenväter, Irenäus folgend, haben diesen Einfluß maßlos übertrieben, um M.s Originalität herabzudrücken und ihn dem landläufigen Gnostizismus unterzuordnen [2]; aber das Hauptstück der Lehre M.s, die Entgegensetzung des guten fremden Gottes und des gerechten Gottes, stammt nicht von Cerdo, der vielmehr den Gegensatz des guten und des schlechten Gottes, wie andere Gnostiker, verkündigte und ein syrischer Vulgärgnostiker war. Da die Marcionitische Kirche u. W. Cerdo nie genannt und ausschließlich M. als ihren Stifter verehrt hat, so beruht das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis, in welches Irenäus und Hippolyt M. gesetzt haben, auf einem Irrtum, bzw. einer Fälschung. Aber andrerseits ist es möglich, daß gewisse Züge der Lehre M.s, die loser mit der Hauptlehre zusammenhängen, dagegen mit syrisch-gnostischen Lehren aufs nächste verwandt sind (die Fassung des Verhältnisses von Geist und Fleisch; der strenge Doketismus), auf den Einfluß Cerdos zurückgehen.

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1 Auch sie gehört höchst wahrscheinlich der polemischen konfessionellen Topik an, die noch heute in Kraft ist, wie die böse Fabel von der Verführung einer Jungfrau.

2 S. die Beilage II: „Cerdo und Marcion“.

Muß dies anerkannt werden, so ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß M., wie Epiphanius behauptet, erst nach seinem Bruch mit der römischen Gemeinde von Cerdo beeinflußt worden ist oder sich gar nunmehr „zur Häresie Cerdos geflüchtet hat"; denn jene Züge der Verwandtschaft treten in der Kritik des Textes des Evangeliums und der Paulusbriefe deutlich hervor sowie in dem Antithesenwerk M.s; diese Arbeiten aber sind (s. o.) schwerlich erst nach dem Bruch mit der Kirche abgefaßt worden [1].

Der Tag dieses Bruchs, unmittelbar nach den Verhandlungen mit den Presbytern der römischen Kirche, d. h. die Stiftung ihrer Reformationskirche, ist im Gedächtnis der Marcionitischen Kirche geblieben; er fiel in den Juli des J. 144; denn die Marcioniten berechneten nach ihm den zeitlichen Abstand zwischen Christus und M. auf 115 Jahre und 6½ Monate.

Daß M. sich persönlich (in Rom?) mit Valentin und Basilides berührt hat („wie ein Älterer mit Jüngeren"), kann man mindestens nicht mit Wahrscheinlichkeit aus einer Stelle bei Clemens (Strom. VII, 18, 107) schließen, und die abgerissene Nachricht im Muratorischen Fragment, Valentin und noch ein anderer hätten für M. ein neues Psalmbuch geschrieben, bleibt ganz dunkel. Ist der christliche römische Lehrer Ptolemäus, den Justin in der sog. zweiten Apologie erwähnt, mit dem bekannten

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1 Von den persönlichen Verhältnissen Cerdos ist so gut wie nichts bekannt. Was die Voraussetzungen seiner Lehre betrifft, so bringt ihn Irenäus mit den Simonianern in Zusammenhang (*ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα*), was nichts besagt, und bezeichnet M. als seinen Diadochen. Hippolyt nennt ihn den Lehrer M.s und sagt, daß er aus Syrien nach Rom gekommen sei. Epiphanius bringt ihn u. a. mit Satornil in Verbindung, zu dem er in der Tat zu gehören scheint. Aber auf guter Kunde beruht die Angabe des Irenäus, daß Cerdo wie Valentin unter dem Bischof Hygin nach Rom gekommen sei und daß sein Verhältnis zur Kirche sich erst allmählich negativ geklärt hat (*πολλάκις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος οὕτως διετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ὑπό τινων ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν θεοσεβῶν συνοδίας*). Dies ist die kostbarste Nachricht, die wir in bezug auf die Schwierigkeiten besitzen, die im vorkatholischen Zeitalter, die Ausscheidung von Häretikern betreffend, bestanden haben, und wirft auch ein Licht auf M.s Verhältnis zur Kirche, bis es zum definitiven Bruch in Rom kam. Beide Häretiker wollten augenscheinlich in der großen Kirche bleiben.

römischen Valentinianer gleichen Namens identisch (was nicht unwahrscheinlich), so kann sich M. mit diesem in Rom berührt haben.

III. Der Ausgangspunkt Marcions.

Der Ausgangspunkt der Kritik M.s an der Überlieferung kann nicht verfehlt werden: er war in dem paulinischen Gegensatz von Gesetz und Evangelium, übelwollender, kleinlicher und grausamer Strafgerechtigkeit einerseits und barmherziger Liebe andrerseits gegeben. M. hat sich in die Grundgedanken des Galater- und Römerbriefs versenkt und in ihnen die volle Aufklärung über das Wesen der christlichen Religion, das AT und die Welt gefunden. Es muß ein Tag voll Lichts für ihn gewesen sein, aber auch voll Schauderns über die Dunkelheit, die dieses Licht in der Christenheit wieder geschwärzt hat, als er erkannte, daß Christus einen ganz neuen Gott darstellt und verkündet, ferner daß die Religion schlechthin nichts anderes ist als der hingebende Glaube an diesen Erlöser-Gott, der den Menschen umschafft, endlich daß das gesamte Weltgeschehen vorher das schlechte und widerliche Drama einer Gottheit ist, die keinen höheren Wert besitzt als die stumpfe und ekelhafte Welt selbst, deren Schöpfer und Regierer sie ist.

Alle religiösen Antithesen des Paulus wurden durch diese Erkenntnis auf den schärfsten Ausdruck gebracht, der sich aber durch diese Steigerung weit von den Absichten des Apostels entfernte. Marcion blieb ihnen nur in der beseligenden Gewißheit der gratia gratis data mit ihrem Kontraste zu der iustitia ex operibus treu, sowie in der Empfindung einer alle Vernunft übersteigenden Befreiung gegenüber dem Zustande einer schrecklichen Heillosigkeit; in dieser Überzeugung war die Universalität der Erlösung gegenüber ihrer Beschränkung auf ein Volk notwendig eingeschlossen. Das Religionsprinzip, welches in dem Gegensatz von Gesetz und Evangelium alle höhere Wahrheit zusammenfaßt, ist auch das Prinzip der Erklärung des gesamten Seins und Geschehens.

Diese Erkenntnis, in welcher sich die Religion der Erlösung und Innerlichkeit in einer nicht zu überbietenden Weise zur alles bestimmenden ethischen Metaphysik steigert, hatte die Preisgabe des AT zur unerbittlichen Folge. Was das aber für einen Frommen bedeuten mußte, der, wie M. mit der allgemeinen christlichen Überlieferung verwachsen gewesen (ja vielleicht vorher mit der jüdischen), ist heute kaum mehr nachzuempfinden. Diese Umwertung des ATs, die den Verzicht auf dasselbe bedeutete, hat sich nur unter tiefster Erschütterung und heißesten Schmerzen bei ihm vollziehen können; denn er mußte verbrennen, was er bisher angebetet hatte, und mußte mit dem Gesetz auch Propheten und Psalmen verurteilen, die doch so vieles enthielten, was mit dem Evangelium zu stimmen oder es vorzubereiten schien. Irrtum! Irrtum! Auch ihre erhebendsten und trostreichsten Worte sind nur Schein und Täuschung! Auch aus ihnen blickt, nur verlarvt, das schreckliche Antlitz des grausamen Judengottes und Weltschöpfers; denn Paulus meint nicht nur das Gesetz im engeren Sinn, wenn er verkündet, daß Christus das Ende desselben sei und daß es gegeben sei, um die Sünden zu vermehren, sondern die ganze alte Heilsordnung mit allen ihren Vertretern, und auch Christus sagt, daß nicht nur das Gesetz, sondern auch die Propheten nur bis Johannes reichen, daß sie also keine Geltung mehr besitzen[1]. Nichts aber kann göttlich sein, was seine Geltung verliert.

Das verkündet Christus selbst in seinem Evangelium; aber er bestätigt überhaupt und durchweg das Paulinische Evangelium. Hat er nicht das Gesetz fort und fort in seinem Leben und durch seine Anweisungen durchbrochen? Hat er nicht den Gesetzeslehrern den Krieg erklärt? Hat er nicht die Sünder berufen, während sie nur Gerechte als Jünger wollten? Hat er nicht den größten Propheten des ATlichen Gottes, Johannes den Täufer, für einen unwissenden und Ärgernis nehmenden Mann erklärt? Und vor allem — hat er nicht kurz und bündig gesagt, daß nur der Sohn den Vater kennt und offenbart, daß also alle, die vor ihm gewesen sind, einen falschen Gott verkündet haben?

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1 Über eine gewisse, hier doch statthabende Einschränkung — weil das Sittengesetz dem Sinnlichen gegenüber zu Recht besteht — siehe später.

Diese Äußerungen sind von einer unerbittlichen Sicherheit und Klarheit; also ist auch die Auslegung zweier programmatischer Sprüche Christi klar und lassen keinen Zweifel zu. Wenn er von den zwei Bäumen geredet hat, dem schlechten und dem guten, die ausschließlich solche Früchte hervorzubringen vermögen, die durch ihre Natur gegeben sind, so kann er damit nur die zwei großen göttlichen Autores meinen, den ATlichen Gott, der ausschließlich Wertloses und Schlimmes schafft, und den Vater Jesu Christi, der ausschließlich Gutes hervorbringt; und wenn er es verbietet, auf ein altes Kleid einen neuen Lappen zu setzen und neuen Wein in alte Schläuche zu gießen, so hat er damit den Seinen aufs strikteste untersagt, seine Predigt mit der ATlichen irgendwie zu verbinden; diese müssen sich vielmehr auf immer fern bleiben, wie sie sich von Haus aus fremd und feindlich sind.

Das AT ist preisgegeben — in dem Momente stand aber die neue Religion nackt und bloß, entwurzelt und schutzlos da. Auf den Altersbeweis, auf alle geschichtlichen und literarischen Beweise überhaupt galt es zu verzichten! Aber eine tiefere Erwägung hat ihn belehrt, daß eben diese Schutz- und Beweislosigkeit von der Sache selbst gefordert ist und sie daher in ihrem wahren Wesen unterstützt. Die Gnade ist „gratis data", so lehren Christus und Paulus, und das ist der ganze Inhalt der Religion. Wie könnte die Gnade aber gratis data sein, wenn der, der sie spendet, auch nur die geringste Verpflichtung hätte, sie zu erweisen? Aber wenn er der Schöpfer des Menschen und wenn er vom Anfang her ihr Erzieher und Gesetzgeber wäre, so müßte er sich ihrer annehmen. Nur eine elende und sich Gott gegenüber schimpflich duckende Sophisterei könnte die Gottheit von dieser Verpflichtung entlasten! Also darf er keinen naturhaft-geschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit den Menschen haben, deren er sich erbarmt und die er erlöst; also kann er nicht der Weltschöpfer und Gesetzgeber sein; also kann auch weder das AT noch sonst eine erträumte Vorgeschichte Anspruch auf Geltung haben. Daß der Erlöser-Gott, der in Wahrheit Gott ist, in keiner Offenbarung irgendwelcher Art vor seiner Erscheinung in Christus an die Menschen herangetreten ist, ist daher durch die Natur seiner Erlösung gefordert:

nur als der absolut Fremde darf er verstanden werden. Daraus ergibt sich aber auch, daß das Feindselige, wovon die Erlösung durch Christus befreit, nichts Geringeres sein kann als die Welt selbst mitsamt ihrem Schöpfer. Da nun M. darin der jüdisch-christlichen Überlieferung treu blieb, daß er den Weltschöpfer und den Judengott identifizierte und in dem AT kein Lügenbuch, sondern die wahrhaftige Darstellung der wirklichen Geschichte sah — eine merkwürdige Einschränkung seines religiösen Antijudaismus! —, so mußte ihm der Judengott samt seiner Urkunde, dem AT, zum eigentlichen Feinde werden.

Man beachte hier noch einmal, wie schlechthin alles in dieser Betrachtung durch das religiöse christliche Prinzip bestimmt ist, welches freilich seine Schwingen nicht, frei über der Zeit schwebend, zu entfalten vermag, weil es die, sei es auch gebrochene, Kette des ATs nicht abstreifen kann. Die erhabene Konsequenz, mit der hier das Prinzip des Guten, als erlösende Kraft und ausschließlich in dieser Eigenschaft, zum obersten Prinzip erhoben ist, und ihm nicht sowohl „die Materie" als vielmehr grundzüglich das vielgestaltige schlimme Ethos der „Welt" zum Gegensatz gegeben wird[1], kontrastiert für uns in abstoßender Weise mit der Rückständigkeit, die vom AT bei aller Verurteilung doch nicht loszukommen vermag. Doch diesen Kontrast haben damals höchstens Griechen wie Celsus empfinden können; den Christen jeglicher Schattierung, die alle in den Ketten des ATs lagen, konnte er gar nicht zum Bewußtsein kommen. Sie sahen nur, daß M. das AT verachtete, aber sahen nicht, daß er in seinem Rahmen dachte.

Nachdem aber Marcion Klarheit über das Grundprinzip und

1 Die Frage, wovon Christus erlöst hat — von den Dämonen, vom Tode, von der Sünde, von der Schuld, vom Fleische (alle diese Antworten finden sich schon in sehr früher Zeit) — beantwortet M. radikal: er hat uns von der Schöpfung (also auch von uns selbst) und ihrem Gott erlöst, um uns zu Kindern eines neuen und fremden Gottes zu machen.

den Grundgegensatz gefunden hatte, begannen erst für ihn die neuen Aufgaben. Er mußte nun den wahren, so schwer verkannten Inhalt der Verkündigung Jesu und des Paulus für Erkenntnis und Leben darlegen. Das war gegenüber den disparaten und wogenden, an die spätjüdische Überlieferung angeschlossenen Glaubensgedanken der großen Christenheit und gegenüber den bunten Philosophemen und falschen Dualismen der christlichen Gnostiker eine ungeheure Aufgabe, auch wenn der Stoff, welchem der Inhalt zu entnehmen war, sicher umschrieben und zuverlässig überliefert, ihm vorgelegen hätte. Aber hier trat ihm in Wirklichkeit ein Zustand entgegen, der auch den mutigsten und energischsten Forscher zur Verzweiflung bringen konnte. Neben dem AT, das er für die Darlegung der christlichen Verkündigung nicht brauchen konnte, fand er keine Schriften von absoluter Dignität. Doch nein: es boten sich ihm vier Evangelien an, die, als er in Kleinasien und Rom sann und arbeitete, bereits eine Autorität in den dortigen Gemeinden besaßen, die einer absoluten sehr nahe kam. Dann waren jene Paulusbriefe vorhanden, aus denen er sein ganzes Christentum gelernt hatte; sie besaßen in der römischen Gemeinde ein apostolisches Ansehen. Endlich gab es da noch eine größere Zahl christlicher Schriften die Apostelgeschichte, die Johannes-Offenbarung, andere christliche Prophetenschriften und Briefe verschiedener Autoren unter den Namen von Aposteln und Apostelschülern, die sich zwar einer nicht festbestimmten, aber doch bedeutenden Geltung erfreuten. Aber wie Buntes, Verschiedenes, Widersprechendes stand in diesen Schriften, und wie unsicher bezeugten sie das reine Evangelium, daß Christus als Sohn eines fremden Gottes und als spiritus salutaris gekommen sei, um die Sünder aus der Gefangenschaft ihres Vaters und Herrn, des Weltschöpfers, zu befreien und selig zu machen! Als Kritiker und Restaurator mußte Marcion seine große Aufgabe für die Christenheit beginnen; denn die Sache und die Zeugnisse lagen unter schwerer Verdunkelung. In der Tat: kein christlicher Kritiker hat jemals vor einer schwierigeren Aufgabe gestanden: aus NTlichen Schriften zu beweisen, daß die Menschheit von ihrem Gott und Vater erlöst werden müsse und erlöst worden sei! Marcion ließ sich nicht abschrecken; den alten Büchern, dem Gesetz und den Propheten, stellte er

neue Bücher entgegen — das Buch des Evangeliums[1] und die Briefe des Paulus.

IV. Der Kritiker und Restaurator. Die Bibel Marcions.

Marcion, seines eigenen Glaubens als des echtpaulinischen gewiß, sah die große Christenheit um sich in einer inneren Verfassung, in der alles verloren schien. Während er überzeugt war, daß Christus das AT und den Gott desselben abgetan und einen fremden Gott verkündet hatte, identifizierte sie fort und fort die beiden Götter und erbaute sich aus dem AT, war also durch und durch „judaistisch". Ferner, Bücher unter den gefeierten Namen der Urapostel stützten und förderten offenkundig durch ihre Erzählungen diesen Irrtum. Endlich — das Schlimmste — selbst in den Briefen des Paulus stand unverkennbar vieles, was unzweideutig den Irrglauben bestätigte, daß Christus der Sohn des Weltschöpfers sei und den Willen dieses seines Vaters in seinem Werke fortgesetzt habe.

Wie war das geschehen, und wie konnte es geschehen, wenn doch die Wahrheit nach einigen Hauptstellen in den paulinischen Briefen so unzweideutig und klar war? Eine große Verschwörung wider die Wahrheit muß, nachdem Christus die Welt verlassen, sofort eingesetzt und mit durchschlagendem Erfolg ihre Absichten durchgesetzt haben. Keine andere Erklärung reicht hier aus. M. griff diese Erklärung auf. Um sie zu beweisen, stand ihm aber, wie seine Ausführungen lehren, schlechterdings nichts zu Gebote als die Erinnerung an den Kampf, den Paulus mit seinen judaistischen Gegnern geführt hatte, und auch von diesem Kampfe wußte er nichts anderes, als was in den Briefen des Apostels zu lesen stand.

Es ist wichtig, diese Tatsache nicht zu übersehen. Niemals hat sich M. auf andere Zeugnisse zu berufen vermocht. Kein

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1 M. ist u. W. der erste gewesen, der ein Buch „das Evangelium" genannt und mit ihm identifiziert hat; vor ihm sah man in dem Evangelium eine Botschaft, die u. A. auch in Büchern niedergelegt war.

lebendiger Widerhall jener Kämpfe war mehr zu ihm gekommen; von keiner fortgesetzten Aktion wußte er über das aus den Briefen Bekannte hinaus, und keine neue Urkunde stand ihm zu Gebote, die ihm über die Absichten, sei es des Paulus, sei es seiner Gegner Aufschluß geben konnte [1].

Aber bei Paulus selbst, im Galaterbrief vornehmlich, waren zwei Leitsterne, so schien es M., gegeben, denen man nur zu folgen brauchte, um aus dem Labyrinth der schlimmen Überlieferungen auf den sicheren Weg zu gelangen: (1) Paulus erklärt, daß es nur ein Evangelium gebe und daß er es allein vertrete, wie er es auch besonders empfangen habe; (2) er erklärt ferner, daß die anderen alle ein gefälschtes judaistisches Evangelium verkündigen und daß er sie daher alle schlechthin bekämpfen müsse als solche, welche in dem Irrglauben befangen sind, der Vater Jesu Christi sei mit dem Weltschöpfer und Gott des ATs identisch.

Aus diesen Erklärungen ergaben sich für M. folgende Einsichten:

(1) Das Evangelium, welches Paulus meint, muß nach seinen eigenen Worten von allem Judaismus frei sein, d. h. nicht nur keinen Zusammenhang mit dem AT haben, sondern ihm feindlich gegenüberstehen; also ist alles gefälscht, was als christlich gelten will, aber diesen Zusammenhang aufweist.

(2) Daraus ergab sich ihm sofort, daß auch die Briefe des Paulus verfälscht sein müßten, da sie in ihrem gegenwärtigen Bestand vieles Judaistische enthielten.

(3) Es ergab sich ihm aber ferner aus den paulinischen Briefen, daß das ganze apostolische Zeitalter ausschließlich von einem Hauptthema bewegt gewesen ist, von dem Kampfe der judaistischen Christen gegen das wahre, d. h. das paulinische

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1 Man muß aus dieser Tatsache schließen, daß man selbst an Hauptplätzen der Christenheit um d. J. 140 bereits nicht mehr sichere Unterlagen für ein wirkliches geschichtliches Wissen vom Urchristentum besaß, als wir besitzen. Immer wieder freilich wird man nachsinnen und nachforschen, ob M. nicht doch bei seiner Kritik der Apostel in ihrem Verhältnis zu Paulus durch eine lebendige, sei es auch tendenziöse Tradition bestimmt gewesen ist, aber gewiß werden solche Nachforschungen negativ enden. M.s Kritik ist also durchaus eine jede geschichtliche Unterlage entbehrende Sach- und Wortkritik gewesen.

Evangelium. Der deutlichste Beweis für diese seine geschichtliche Ansicht sind die Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen, mögen sie nun von M. selbst stammen oder von einem seiner Schüler; denn in ihnen werden diese Briefe ausschließlich unter dem Gesichtspunkt betrachtet, wie die Gemeinden, an die sie gerichtet sind, zum paulinisch-judaistischen Kampfe stehen, und der Verfasser bringt es wirklich fertig, ihnen allen dieses Thema aufzunötigen: die „falsi apostoli" kommen entweder dem Paulus in der Mission zuvor oder dringen in seine Mission ein; die Gemeinden lassen sich entweder von ihnen berücken oder bleiben dem Evangelium des Paulus treu.

(4) Die „falsi apostoli" hat M. nach Gal. 1, 6—9; 2, 4 und II Kor. 11, 13. 14 bestimmt. Aus diesen Stellen, die er in eins faßte, ergab sich ihm, daß eine große Gruppe unautorisierter und namenloser Judaisten sich des Apostelamts in der Kirche Christi angemaßt und eine mit dem höchsten Erfolg gekrönte Propaganda im ganzen Reich in Szene gesetzt hat, und zwar muß ihr unheilvolles Treiben schon gleich nach der Auferstehung Christi begonnen haben. Sie werden (M. folgt dem Galaterbrief) zwar von den Uraposteln bestimmt unterschieden; aber M. hat sich überzeugt, daß diese eine ganz klägliche Rolle gespielt haben. Folgende Vorstellung von ihnen hat er sich gebildet: Jesus hat sie (die Zwölf) auserwählt (Luk. 6, 13 ff.; Tert. IV, 13) und sich die größte Mühe mit ihnen gegeben; aber selbst bei seinen Lebzeiten gelang es ihm nicht, sie dauernd zu dem Glauben zu bringen, daß er der Sohn eines fremden und nicht des AT lichen Gottes sei. Als Petrus in Cäsarea das große Bekenntnis zur Gottessohnschaft seines Meisters ablegte, mußte dieser ihm Schweigen auferlegen, weil Petrus ihn für den Sohn des Weltschöpfers hielt (Tert. IV, 21). Obgleich die Himmelsstimme bei der Verklärung deutlich erklärte, nicht Moses und Elias seien zu hören, sondern Christus, verstand Petrus das nicht, wie seine törichte Aufforderung, drei Hütten zu bauen, beweist (IV, 22). Zwar hatten die Jünger Lichtblicke in bezug auf die Erkenntnis „der Wahrheit des Evangeliums" und das rechte Verhalten, so damals, als einer von ihnen Jesum bat, sie beten zu lehren, was er nicht getan, wenn er noch an den Gott des AT geglaubt hätte (IV, 26), oder damals, als Jesus ihre Praxis gegenüber der der fastenden Johannesjünger rechtfertigte (IV, 11: „Christus

discipulos defendit, ut merito aliter incedentes, aliam scil. et contrariam initiatos divinitatem"). Aber alsbald fielen sie wieder zurück, und sie sind gemeint, wenn Jesus klagend von dem „ungläubigen Geschlechte" spricht (Tert. IV, 22). Die Auferstehung Christi scheint sie eine kurze Zeit lang auf den rechten Weg geführt zu haben und sie wurden sogar als „Herolde eines anderen Gottes" von den Juden verfolgt (IV, 39); allein sehr rasch verdunkelte sich ihnen alles wieder, zumal da sie auch die Menschenfurcht nicht überwanden. Als daher Paulus seinen Kampf gegen die falschen Apostel begann, da machten sie zwar mit diesen nicht gemeinsame Sache, aber sie unterstützten den Zeugen der Wahrheit nicht, sondern offenbarten sich als halbe Judaisten („Petrum ceterosque apostolos vultis Iudaismi magis adfines subintelligi", Tert. V, 3), als Gesetzesmenschen („Petrus legis homo", Tert. IV, 11), als furchtsame Begünstiger der pseudoapostolischen Mission (Tert. V, 3), ja als solche, die durch Quertreiberei und Täuschung den Verdacht, an der Depravation des Evangeliums schuld zu sein, schwerlich abzuwälzen vermögen („Si apostolos praevaricationis et simulationis suspectos Marcion haberi queritur usque ad evangelii depravationem", Tert. IV, 3). Sie selbst schon haben in ihrem Unverständnis „Gesetzliches" der Überlieferung der Worte Jesu beigemischt (Iren. III, 2, 2: „Apostolos admiscuisse ea quae sunt legalia salvatoris verbis"), und aus ihrer Missionstätigkeit konnte nichts Ersprießliches hervorgehen, da sie die volle Wahrheit nicht erkannt und, noch immer durch jüdischen Sinn beeinflußt, das Evangelium nur gebrochen verkündet haben (Iren. III, 13, 2: „Non cognoverunt veritatem"; III, 12, 12: „Apostoli adhuc quae sunt Iudaeorum sentientes annuntiaverunt evangelium")[1]. Christus hat daher nicht nur durch die Wahl des Judas, sondern auch, wenn auch in anderer Weise, durch die Wahl der Zwölf eine schwere Enttäuschung erfahren. Daher mußte, sollte „die Wahrheit des Evangeliums" nicht untergehen, ein neuer Zeuge und Missionar

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1 Dazu Tert., De praesc. 22 f.: „Proponunt ad ignorantiam aliquam apostolorum, quod Petrus et qui cum eo reprehensi sunt a Paulo; ‚adeo', inquiunt, ‚aliquid eis defuit' . . . ‚alia evangelii forma a Paulo superducta citra eam quae praemiserat Petrus et ceteri' . . . . suspectam faciunt doctrinam superiorem."

erweckt werden. Die Urapostel waren nicht dezidierte Irrlehrer, aber sie sind in einer schweren Konfusion stecken geblieben, ja immer tiefer in sie geraten und sind sogar nicht von dem „Schachern" mit dem Evangelium zurückgeschreckt (IIKor.2,17).

(5) Unzweideutig sagt Paulus, daß er ein von Christus selbst direkt berufener Apostel, daß sein Evangelium nicht durch menschliche Vermittlung an ihn gekommen sei, daß er es vielmehr durch Offenbarung erhalten habe und zwar durch eine Entrückung in den dritten Himmel, d. h. in einen Himmel, der hoch über dem Weltenhimmel liegt. Hieraus schloß M., daß Paulus als der Apostel von Christus berufen worden sei, um der falschen Predigt entgegenzuwirken, und ferner, daß ein Evangelium vorhanden sein müsse, das von keinem Menschen geschrieben, sondern direkt von Christus dargereicht sei — wie, darüber scheint sich M. keine deutliche Vorstellung gemacht zu haben. Die Schüler haben bald an Christus selbst als Verfasser gedacht, bald an Paulus (Adamant., Dial. I, 8; II, 13f.; Carmen adv. Marc. II, 29); aber Tert. berichtet nur IV, 2: „M. evangelio suo nullum adscribit auctorem." Bemerkenswert ist hier vor allem, daß M. es für selbstverständlich gehalten haben muß, (indem er gewisse Äußerungen des Paulus so deutete), daß Christus für ein authentisches geschriebenes Evangelium gesorgt hat — so verlassen war er von aller geschichtlichen Kunde und so gewaltsam machte er selbst Geschichte. Die Preisgabe des ATs hat ihn gewiß (neben den allgemeinen Zeitvorstellungen in bezug auf das, was eine zuverlässige Religion nötig hat) zu dieser fixen Idee geführt; denn eine littera scripta muß vorhanden sein, und wenn der Weltschöpfer eine solche gegeben hat, so mußte der fremde Gott erst recht eine solche darbieten. Wie unzureichend die mündliche Überlieferung sei, war ja durch die unzuverlässige Missionspredigt der zwölf Apostel aufs klarste dargetan.

Ein authentisches schriftliches Evangelium muß es geben — in dem Momente, in welchem M. sich davon überzeugte, trat bei dem Zustande der Evangelien-Literatur, den er vorfand, eine schwere Versuchung an ihn heran, nämlich die Versuchung, ein solches Evangelium selbst zu schaffen! Allein hier zeigt sich mit besonderer Deutlichkeit das merkwürdige Ineinander von Meisterung und von Treue gegenüber der Geschichte, das diesen seltsamen Geist charakterisiert, dazu das

Ineinander einer Energie, wie sie nur der Religionsstifter hat, und der Bescheidenheit des Schülers. So gewiß es nämlich ist, daß seine Kirche ihn, den Stifter, sehr bald hoch gefeiert hat — sie sah ihn zur Linken des thronenden Christus sitzen (Paulus zur Rechten), sie rechnete nach dem Tag, da er in Rom mit der judaistischen Kirche endgültig gebrochen hatte, sie nannte ihn „den Bischof" (Adamant., Dial. I, 8) —, so gewiß ist auch, daß M. selbst niemals auf den Beruf und Rang eines Propheten oder Apostels Anspruch erhoben und niemals seine eigene Autorität oder gar Offenbarungen, die er gehabt, ausgespielt hat. Er wußte sich einfach als Schüler des Paulus; nur in dessen Spuren wollte er gehen, und wie er sich weit davon entfernt glaubte, eine eigene Frömmigkeit und Mystik zu lehren (s. u.), so hätte er es gewiß für den schwersten Frevel gehalten, die wahre Überlieferung oder gar das Evangelium zu schaffen.

Ein authentisches schriftliches Evangelium muß es geben; denn Paulus sagt es; aber wo ist es? Es muß unter den überlieferten vier Evangelien zu finden sein; denn daß es ganz wieder verschwunden, kann Christus nicht zugelassen haben. Daß es nur eines sein könne, war keine Idiosynkrasie M.s; vielmehr war der Zustand, den er vorfand, eine unleidliche Kalamität und Verlegenheit, die erst jüngst in einigen Hauptkirchen eingetreten war und bei der sich gewiß die wenigsten damals noch beruhigt haben — jener Zustand, nach welchem die Christenheit die authentische Überlieferung von Christus aus vier Evangelienbüchern schöpfen sollte, was eine contradictio in sich selbst ist! Im besten Falle war die Nebeneinanderstellung dieser vier Bücher etwas Vorläufiges; demnächst mußte sie durch eine Verarbeitung zu einer Einheit aufgehoben werden. Aber eine solche Verarbeitung zu leisten, mußte M. so fern liegen wie die Schöpfung des authentischen Evangeliums; denn nur die reine Überlieferung wiederherzustellen, war sein Amt; eine „Verarbeitung" wäre ein Attentat an ihr.

Welches von den vier Evangelien ist das authentische? Tert. berichtet uns, daß M. sie in den „Antithesen" alle geprüft hat, und auch aus den Mitteilungen des Irenäus und Origenes läßt sich das entnehmen. Zunächst stellt er fest, daß die Urapostel selbst nichts geschrieben haben (Adam., Dial. II, 12: ἐκήρυξαν ἀγράφως) — woher er das zu wissen meinte, ist uns

unbekannt —; damit waren die Evangeliennamen „Matthäus" und „Johannes" sofort als Fälschungen erwiesen [1]; aber nicht nur die Namen sind gefälscht, sondern alle vier Evangelien sind, so wie sie vorliegen, nach Aufschrift [2] und Inhalt Fälschungen der Judaisten (Tert. IV, 3: „M. connititur [scil. in den „Antithesen"] ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scil. fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat")[3]. Eines von ihnen aber muß nicht gefälscht, sondern, wie die Paulusbriefe, nur verfälscht sein; denn sonst wäre ja das Evangelium der Wahrheit untergegangen. M. entschied sich für das Evangelium, welches „die judaistische Überlieferung" fälschlich als das Lukanische bezeichnete [4].

Die Auswahl muß M. nicht leicht gefallen sein; er hat sie und die Zurückweisung der anderen Evangelien samt den Interpolationen im „echten" Ev. in seinen Antithesen begründet; leider fehlt uns die Begründung. Daß er das Matth.-Ev. sofort ablehnen mußte, ist freilich unzweifelhaft, und im 4. Evangelium mußten ihm sofort der Prolog („Er kam in sein Eigentum"), die Hochschätzung des Vorläufers Johannes, die Hochzeit von Kana usw., aber auch die ganze zum Spätjudentum gehörige Mystik äußerst unsympathisch sein, so lockend ihm auch ein

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1 Da M. nach seinem abschätzigen Urteil über die Urapostel keinen Grund haben konnte, dem Matthäus und Johannes die Urheberschaft der unter ihrem Namen stehenden falschen Evangelien abzusprechen, so ist sein negatives Urteil in bezug auf die Verfasser dieser Evangelien auch heute noch nicht wertlos und darf nicht übersehen werden.

2 Für Markus fehlt ein direktes Zeugnis; aber da M. die drei anderen Autorennamen für Fälschungen gehalten hat, wird er bei Markus keine Ausnahme gemacht haben.

3 Über die Beschäftigung M.s mit den anderen Evangelien bzw. die Bekämpfung s. Beilage S. 249* f. Am sichersten ist, daß er den Spruch: „Ich bin nicht gekommen aufzulösen, sondern zu erfüllen", ausdrücklich bekämpft hat, also das Matth.-Ev. kannte.

4 S. Iren. III, 14, 3: „Secundum Lucam evangelium decurtantes gloriantur se habere evangelium." Tert. IV, 2: „Ex his commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur (= „apparet") M. elegisse"; IV, 4: „Evangelium, quod Lucae refertur apud nos, M. per Antitheseis suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum". So auch andere Zeugen.

Spruch wie der war: „Alle, die vor mir gekommen sind, sind Räuber und Mörder gewesen", und manches andere. Die Entscheidung mußte also entweder auf Lukas oder auf Markus fallen. Für diesen sprach, daß er keine Vorgeschichte bot, aber gegen ihn sprach die Dürftigkeit an Worten Jesu, die M. besonders empfindlich sein mußte. Für Lukas fielen der „heidenchristliche" und der asketische Charakter, wohl auch, trotz Preisgabe des Namens, der überlieferungsgeschichtliche Zusammenhang mit Paulus schwer ins Gewicht; aber andrerseits war die Vorgeschichte in M.s Augen ein ungeheures Skandalon der Fälschung. Wenn er sich doch für dieses Evangelium entschied und nicht für Markus, so hat der Grund vielleicht nur in äußeren Umständen gelegen: das erste Evangelium, welches in den Pontus gekommen ist, war wahrscheinlich das Lukas-Ev.; mit ihm wird M. am frühesten vertraut gewesen sein, wenn es nicht gar Jahre hindurch in seiner pontischen Heimat sein einziges Evangelium gewesen ist. So mag er an dem Evangelienbuch festgehalten haben, das er zuerst kennen gelernt hatte.

Die Prüfung ergab also: die „protectores Iudaismi" haben, nachdem schon die zwölf Apostel Judaistisches in die mündliche Überlieferung des Evangeliums eingemischt, drei falsche Evangelien (und dazu unter falschen Namen) in die Welt gesetzt und das wahre Evangelium, welches Paulus seiner Missionspredigt zugrunde gelegt hat, sowie die Briefe des Apostels verfälscht. Dem verfälschten authentischen Evangelienbuch haben sie den Namen des Lukas vorgesetzt; denn falsch muß dieser Name sein — Paulus hat ja das Evangelium nach seiner eigenen Aussage von Christus selbst erhalten.

Sind aber das wahre Evangelium und die Paulusbriefe verfälscht, so ist es, so schwer die Aufgabe auch sein mag, die oberste Verpflichtung, sie von dieser Fälschung zu befreien. Mit dieser Verpflichtung betraut zu sein — nicht mit einer „innovatio", sondern mit der „recuratio retro adulteratae regulae" (Tert. I, 20) —, darin bestand das reformatorische Bewußtsein M.s, und als den „Restaurator" hat ihn auch seine Kirche gefeiert. Aber für diese Aufgabe berief er sich nicht auf eine göttliche Offenbarung, auch nicht auf eine besondere Anweisung, auch nicht auf eine pneumatische Unterstützung; nicht als Enthusiast unternahm er sie, sondern,

auf innere Gründe sich stützend, lediglich mit den Mitteln der Philologie.

Hieraus folgt sofort, daß er für seine Textreinigungen — es wird das gewöhnlich übersehen — absolute Sicherheit weder in Anspruch nehmen konnte, noch in Anspruch genommen hat. Das ergibt sich aber auch aus der Geschichte seines Textes; denn vielleicht noch unter seinen Augen, sicher seit seinem Tode, haben seine Schüler fort und fort — bald radikaler als er, bald konservativer — an den Texten geändert. Es ist uns das aufs bestimmteste von Celsus, Tertullian und Origenes, ja noch von Ephraem überliefert, und wir besitzen auch Proben. Die Marcionitische Kirche hat also von ihrem Meister das Evangelium und die zehn Paulusbriefe nicht mit der Anweisung erhalten, den wiederhergestellten Text als ein Noli me tangere zu verehren, sondern der Meister hat ihnen Freiheit gegeben, ja vielleicht die Verpflichtung hinterlassen, die Arbeit an der Herstellung des richtigen Textes fortzusetzen. Diese Freiheit ging so weit, daß spätere Marcioniten unbefangen die (gesäuberten) Pastoralbriefe zur Briefsammlung des Paulus gezogen haben — M. kann sie demnach nicht verworfen, sondern muß über sie geschwiegen haben —, und daß sie sich sogar nicht scheuten, aus den anderen Evangelien einzelne Stücke aufzunehmen [1]. Letzteres kann nicht auffallen; denn wenn auch M. diese Evangelien als gefälschte einfach verworfen hat, so kann ihm doch ihre Verwandtschaft mit dem Lukas-Evangelium, auch in dessen „echten" Abschnitten, nicht entgangen sein. Wenn sie also unzweifelhaft Zuverlässiges neben den vielen Fälschungen enthielten, so konnte auch M. schwerlich etwas dagegen einwenden, daß man sie in seiner Kirche nachträglich vorsichtig heranzog; ja, es ist nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, daß er selbst die Fassung von Herrensprüchen, die auch Matthäus bot, beachtet hat, wenn auch (s. u.) fast alle Übereinstimmungen seines Lukastextes mit dem Matthäustext (wider den ursprünglichen Lukastext) auf Konformationen zurückzuführen sind, die das Exemplar des Lukas-Ev., welches er in Rom durchkorrigierte, schon aufwies.

Wahrscheinlich in Rom, vielleicht schon früher, hat M. die

1 Die Fälschung eines Laodicenerbriefs steht auf einem anderen Blatte und liegt nicht auf der kritischen Linie des Stifters.

große Aufgabe der Wiederherstellung der Texte unternommen. In den Beilagen III und IV habe ich die Überlieferung der Texte untersucht, sie selbst, soweit möglich, wiederhergestellt und gezeigt, daß der sog. Wtext den Bemühungen Marcions zugrunde liegt und daß eine Fülle von Lesarten, die früher als Marcionitische galten, einfach abendländische sind — mit einem Wort: fast alle die, welche dogmatisch neutral sind (auch wenn sie sonst der Bezeugung entbehren); denn daß M. nebenbei auch eine kritische Diorthose des Textes rein stilistischer Art hat geben wollen, läßt sich nicht erweisen, wenn auch einige Stellen sich so deuten lassen. Hin und her, jedoch ist auch das nicht sicher, hat er der Neigung nachgegeben, zu unterstreichen und zu verdeutlichen; an einigen Stellen, an denen seine Änderungen für uns undurchsichtig sind, mag eine tendenziöse Absicht gewaltet haben, die wir nicht mehr zu durchschauen vermögen. Begonnen aber hat M. seine Arbeit höchst wahrscheinlich mit der „Reinigung" der Paulusbriefe; denn erst von hier aus konnte er den Maßstab für die Kritik der bunten Überlieferung finden, wie sie in dem „verfälschten" dritten Evangelium vorlag. Für das folgende bitte ich stets die Texte in den „Beilagen" zu vergleichen.

Nach welchen Prinzipien hat nun M. die Arbeit an den Texten vollzogen? Wir sind noch in der Lage, diese Frage in der Hauptsache befriedigend zu beantworten, so trümmerhaft uns der Marcionitische Bibelkanon überliefert ist und so unsicher wir bei zahlreichen Abschnitten bleiben müssen, ob sie bei M. gefehlt haben oder ob sie Tertullian (bzw. andere Zeugen) übergangen hat [1]. Bei der Beurteilung muß man stets im Auge behalten, daß in M.s Sinne das, was er ausläßt, Zusätze der judaistischen Pseudoapostel sind, und das, was er hinzusetzt, von ihnen weggelassen ist [2]. Am Apostolos hat M. folgende tendenziöse Korrekturen nachweisbar vorgenommen:

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1 Wäre M. bei seiner Textkritik stets konsequent verfahren, so ließen sich ex analogia unter den von Tert. übergegangenen Abschnitten und Versen nicht wenige bezeichnen, die gefehlt haben müssen. Allein diese Schlüsse sind unsicher, da M. nicht immer konsequent gewesen ist, wie nicht wenige Stellen beweisen, die ihm deutlich ungünstig sind und die er doch stehen gelassen hat. Vielleicht hatte er auch curae repetitae sich vorbehalten.

2 Hat er selbst auch Zusätze gemacht? Kommen diese nicht vielleicht sämtlich auf Rechnung seiner Schüler?

Der Galaterbrief. In c. 1, 1 strich M. die (an sich nach *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* auffallenden) Worte „*καὶ θεοῦ πατρός*" und erhielt dadurch im folgenden die Aussage, daß Jesus sich selbst vom Tode erweckt habe. Bei seiner dem Modalismus nahekommenden Auffassung des Verhältnisses von Vater und Sohn mußte ihm ebendies willkommen sein. Die Korrektur ist darin interessant, daß sie eine bestehende Textschwierigkeit zum Ausgangspunkt genommen hat.

In c. 1, 7 fügte M. zu der Aussage, daß das Evangelium kein anderes neben sich habe, die Worte hinzu „*κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου*" (vgl. Röm. 2, 16). Es lag ihm daran, die Identität des Evangeliums mit dem Evangelium des Paulus im Eingang des Briefs zu markieren und damit sowohl das „judaistische" Evangelium als auch eine Mehrzahl von evangelischen Schriften auszuschließen. Die Korrektur in demselben Verse „*θέλοντες (ὑμᾶς) μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*" (für *θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) liegt auf der Grenze einer tendenziösen Korrektur und einer Variante.

C. 1, 18—24 waren wahrscheinlich gestrichen, weil M. diese Beziehungen des Apostels zu Petrus und den judenchristlichen Gemeinden nicht gelten lassen konnte; sie mußten von den „pseudapostoli et Iudaici evangelizatores" (Tert. V, 9) eingefügt worden sein. 2, 1. 2 waren höchstens leicht verändert; doch fehlte aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach „*μετὰ Βαρνάβα*" M. wünschte die apostolische Souveränetät des Paulus von keiner Seite beeinträchtigt zu sehen.

Die Einleitung zum Apostelkonzil fehlte entweder oder war umgestaltet (2, 6—9 a). In 9 b. 10 fehlte „*κοινωνίας*", wodurch Art und Geist der Übereinkunft andere werden, und fehlte „*καὶ Βαρνάβα*"; durch die letztere Streichung bei beibehaltenem Plural „*μνημονεύωμεν*" wird die dem Paulus gemachte Auflage zu einer Abmachung, die beide Teile bindet. So ist durch kleine Streichungen eine große Verschiebung des Sinns erreicht [1].

C. 3, 6—9. 14 a waren, wie ausdrücklich überliefert, gestrichen; denn nur die Judaisten konnten Abraham hier einge-

1 Nicht unwichtig ist die Vertauschung von *ἀγαπήσαντος* durch *ἀγοράσαντος* in Gal. 2, 20 und die Voranstellung des Petrus vor Jakobus (2, 9).

führt haben; die Verse 10—12 lauteten bei M. mit Tilgung des durch *γέγραπται* eingeführten AT lichen Zitats und in Umstellung: *Μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ὅσοι γὰρ ὑπὸ νόμον, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς*, doch ist der Text hier nicht ganz sicher. Vollständig getilgt war die große Ausführung 3, 15—25 über das Testament, Abraham, den Samen und das Gesetz; ebenso war in v. 29 *ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ* ausgestoßen.

In c. 4, 3 ist das aus 3, 15 hierher versetzte *ἔτι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω* undurchsichtig; in 4, 4 strich M. die Worte *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*. Wie M. 4, 8. 9 gefaßt hat, ist nicht ganz deutlich; aber gewiß ist, daß er statt *τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς* geschrieben hat: *τοῖς ἐν τῇ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς*. Das ist eine seiner frappanten Korrekturen: ihm war es wichtig, die Heidengötter als Naturgötter bezeichnet zu sehen, während ihm ihre Bezeichnung als Nicht-Götter (um des Demiurgen und seiner Engel willen) unbequem war.

C. 4, 21—26 bringt den großen Eingriff (samt einer Neugestaltung des Textes), der besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfordert; leider kennt man den Text hier nur zum Teil; aber sicher ist, daß M. hier den Abraham stehen gelassen hat. Die wichtigsten Veränderungen sind die Substituierung des Begriffs „*ἐπιδείξεις*“ für *διαθῆκαι*, die Streichung von Jerusalem, die Einfügung von Eph. 1, 21 und — wenn der Text wirklich so lautete, bezw. von M. selbst herrührt — der Zusatz: „*εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν*“ samt der Einführung der Judensynagoge. Daß Abraham hier von M. stehen gelassen worden ist, kann nicht auf einer Flüchtigkeit beruhen, da er augenscheinlich die Satzgruppe sorgfältig überlegt und durchgearbeitet hat. Also scheute er sich nicht, das AT unter Umständen auch positiv zu benutzen. Wenn er Eph. 1, 21 und das Gelöbnis zur Kirche als Mutter hier einschob, so läßt sich das, wenn überhaupt, nur so verstehen, daß er hier einen liturgischen Text von prinzipieller Bedeutung schaffen wollte. Besonders wichtig ist es, daß er nicht von zwei Testamenten reden wollte, sondern dafür „Schaustellungen“ („Aufstellungen“) setzte. Dieses Wort, im Zusammenhang mit „*ἀλληγορούμενα*“ verpflichtete gegenüber dem AT zu nichts und vermied auch den Anklang an „Weissagungen“; „An Abrahams Söhnen von der Sklavin und von der Freien kann

man, wenn man sie allegorisiert, die beiden grundverschiedenen Veranstaltungen, die zur Synagoge und zur Kirche geführt haben, erkennen."

C. 4, 27—30 (das Jesajaszitat über die Unfruchtbare, Isaak und Ismael) müssen gestrichen worden sein.

Wenn in c. 5, 14 (s. S. 153*) *ἐν ὑμῖν* die LA M.s ist („bei euch", nicht bei den Juden), so ist hier eine solche in die kirchliche abendländische Überlieferung gedrungen (denn sie wird von zahlreichen abendländischen Zeugen bezeugt), und dies ist deshalb gewiß, weil die Streichung des gleich folgenden „*ἐν τῷ*" sicher tendenziös ist (die Worte *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν* sollten nicht als ATliches Zitat erscheinen); diese Streichung findet sich aber auch bei denselben abendländischen Zeugen!

Wahrscheinlich ist in 6, 17 „*τῶν ἄλλων*" eine tendenziöse Korrektur für „*τοῦ λοιποῦ*"; es sollten „die anderen" als die judenchristlichen Feinde des Apostels verstanden werden.

Der I. Korintherbrief. Nur wenige tendenziöse Streichungen lassen sich hier nachweisen[1]: In c. 3, 17 ersetzte M. *φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θέος* durch „*φθαρήσεται*", der gute Gott verdirbt niemanden. In 10, 11 schrieb er wahrscheinlich „*ταῦτ' ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν*" > *ταῦτα πάντα τύποι συνέβαινον*, der „Typus" sollte ausgemerzt werden. In c. 10, 19 lag es ihm an der Präskribierung aller Opfer, während ihm das Nichtexistieren der Idola (vgl. Gal 4, 8 f.) unbequem war; er schrieb also: „*ἱερόθυτόν τι ἐστιν ἢ εἰδωλόθυτόν τι ἐστιν;*" für *εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν κτλ.* In c. 15 sind vier tendenziöse Korrekturen nachweisbar: im Eingang des Kapitels strich er aus begreiflichen Gründen in v. 3 f. *ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον* und *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*; in v. 20 verwandelte er *ἐγήγερται* in „*κηρύσσεται ἀναστάναι*", weil er nicht gern von einer „Erweckung" Christi hören wollte (s. Gal. 1, 1); in v. 38 haben spätere Marcioniten für *σῶμα* eingesetzt „*πνεῦμα*" in dem Satze: *ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ δίδωσι σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησε.* In v. 45 endlich schrieb M. „*ὁ ἔσχατος, κύριος, εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*" für *ὁ ἔσχατος, Ἀδάμ, εἰς κτλ.* Jesus sollte in keinem Sinn als „Adam" bezeichnet

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1 Der Zusatz in I Kor. 6, 13: *ὡς ὁ ναὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῷ ναῷ*, ist kein tendenziöser; seine Entstehung ist rätselhaft; dagegen ist der Zusatz *καὶ σοφία* nach *δύναμις* in 1, 18 wohl überlegt: *δύναμις* allein schien keine ausreichende Antithese zu *μωρία* zu sein.

werden. Daß er die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen am Anfang des Kap. nicht oder nicht ganz ausließ, ist wahrscheinlich.

Der II. Korintherbrief. In c. 1, 3 las M. „καὶ πατήρ" nach ὁ θεός nicht; ob tendenziös? Sicher ist das Fehlen von τῷ θεῷ in 2, 15 absichtlich: für den guten Gott gibt es nicht wie für den Weltschöpfer eine εὐωδία, und eine schwerwiegende Korrektur ist in 3, 14 (ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν) „τοῦ κόσμου" für αὐτῶν; denn da M. ὁ κόσμος = Weltschöpfer faßte, so läßt er Paulus sagen, daß sich die Gedanken dieses Gottes verhärtet hätten; auch am folgenden wird M. korrigiert haben. In 4, 10 ist die Korrektur „νέκρωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ" für νεκρ. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ modalistisch-tendenziös. Ob in 4, 11 διὰ Ἰησοῦν absichtlich getilgt, ist, ist fraglich. In 4, 13 ist der AT liche Spruch getilgt worden. Die späteren Marcioniten haben (5, 10) das „Tribunal" Christi als unpassend beurteilt und ausgemerzt. Von einer Befleckung des Fleisches und Geistes (7, 1) wollte M. nichts wissen; er setzte „αἵματος" für πνεύματος[1].

Der Römerbrief. In c. 1, 16 bot M. das „πρῶτον" nach Ἰουδαίῳ nicht. Da dies augenscheinlich eine tendenziöse Streichung ist, das Wort aber auch in G g, ja sogar in B fehlt, so ist hier ein Einfluß des Marcionitischen Textes auf den katholischen anzunehmen. Ferner strich M. in 1, 17 die Worte καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται[2], und in 1, 18 „θεοῦ" nach ὀργή, jenes als Schriftzitat, dieses weil der gute Gott nicht zürnt. Er merzte sodann 1, 19—2, 1 gänzlich aus, weil ihm dies Stück natürlicher Religion ebenso zuwider sein mußte, wie der Gedanke, daß die Menschen von Gott den schwärzesten Lastern zur Strafe preisgegeben werden. Ebenso strich er 3, 31—4, 25 völlig; denn der Gedanke: νόμον ἱστῶμεν war ihm ebenso unerträglich wie die Abrahams-Theologie. In 6, 9 vertauschte er ἐγερθείς mit „ἀναστάς" (s. o.), und in 6, 19 schrieb er „παραστήσατε τ. μέλη τῷ θεῷ δουλεύειν ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ"

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1 Hier könnte jemand folgern, M. habe, wie die Gnostiker, den menschlichen Geist für unbeflecklich gehalten; allein er ersetzte hier wahrscheinlich deshalb den „Geist" durch das Blut; weil er an den empfangenen Gottesgeist dachte, der nicht befleckt werden kann.

2 In Gal. 3, 11 hat M. die Worte stehen gelassen, daß der Gerechte seines Glaubens leben wird.

für παρασ. τ. μέλ. δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ), weil man sich Gott allein zu Dienst stellen soll. Verwandt ist die Streichung in 10, 3, wo M. für ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην vielmehr „θεὸν ἀγνοοῦντες" schrieb. In 7, 5 ist „ἐν ἡμῖν' > ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν wahrscheinlich eine tendenziöse Korrektur: die Sünde war nach M. unter dem Weltschöpfer nicht nur in den Gliedern wirksam, sondern im ganzen Menschen. C. 8, 19—22 („das ängstliche Harren der Kreatur") mußte dem M. unverständlich, bzw. anstößig sein; er hat es ausgemerzt, ebenso den ganzen Abschnitt 9, 1—33 seiner Judenfreundlichkeit und der AT lichen Beziehungen wegen, endlich auch den großen Abschnitt 10, 5—11, 32, der ihm als ganz unerträglich für den guten Gott erscheinen mußte. In 11, 33 strich er καὶ γνώσεως nach σοφίας θεοῦ (welche Tendenz er dabei hatte, ist dunkel) sowie die ἀνεξερεύνητα κρίματα, denn der gute Gott richtet nicht. Aus demselben Grunde ist in 12, 19 ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ entfernt und auch γέγραπται. Die Verse 18 und 19 sind bei M. umgestellt. — Das Fehlen der cc. 15 und 16 ist nicht M. zur Last zu legen, sondern schon der Vorlage, die er benutzte (s. S. 164* f.). Spätere Marcioniten haben 16, 25—27 hinzugefügt; die Fassung dieser Verse, die wir heute in unseren Bibeln lesen, ist eine Korrektur der Marcionitischen (a. a. O.). Hier hat also wiederum der Marcionitische Text auf den katholischen Einfluß geübt.

Der I. Thessalonicherbrief. Eine tendenziöse Einschaltung (ἰδίους) in 2, 15 bei προφήτας. In 4, 4 ist ἐν ἁγιασμῷ neben τιμῇ getilgt; in bezug auf das Verhalten zum Weibe schien dem M. jenes wohl als ein zu hoch gegriffener Ausdruck. In 4, 16 ist absichtlich θεοῦ aus der Verbindung mit σάλπιγγι (ἐσχάτῃ ist hinzugesetzt) gelöst und zu κελεύσματι gestellt, ebenso ist absichtlich ἐν Χριστῷ nach οἱ νεκροί getilgt; M. wollte hier die allgemeine Auferweckung erblicken. Daß es in demselben Vers von den Toten heißt: ἐγερθήσονται (> ἀναστήσονται) ist vielleicht eine absichtliche Korrektur M.s, obschon auch einige andere Zeugen sie bieten. Auch die Streichung des ὁλόκληρον vor Geist, Seele und Leib (5, 23) läßt sich aus M.s Lehre unschwer erklären. In demselben Vers ist „καὶ σωτῆρος" zu κυρίου hinzugesetzt; M. legte also auf diese Bezeichnung besonderes Gewicht, oder war sie ihm hier überliefert?

Der II. Thessalonicherbrief. In 1, 8 ist die Auslassung der Feuerflamme ebenso tendenziös wie die Vertauschung der Worte *διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν* durch „*ἐρχομένου εἰς ἐκδίκησιν*". Der gute Gott übt nicht selbst das Gericht, sondern ist nur beim Gericht zugegen. Daher schreibt M. auch 2, 11 nicht *πέμπει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης*, sondern „*ἔσται αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐνέργ. πλάν.*". Auch *εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ψεύδει* wollte er nicht stehen lassen, wie er ja auch Röm. 1 die Preisgabe der Menschen an die Sünden getilgt hat.

Der Laodizenerbrief (Epheserbrief). Ob M. 1, 21 hier bestehen ließ, da er den Vers schon Gal. 4, 24 angeführt hatte? In 2, 2 ist das Fehlen von *τοῦ πνεύματος* wohl als absichtliches zu beurteilen; in 2, 11 scheinen spätere Marcioniten *ἐν σαρκί* gestrichen zu haben. In 2, 14. 15 ist die Streichung von *αὐτοῦ* nach *ἐν σαρκί* tendenziös und ebenso die von *ἐν* vor *δόγμασιν*: nicht an seinem Fleisch hat Christus die Feindschaft aufgehoben und nicht in Dogmen bestanden die Gebote, sondern durch die (neuen) Dogmen hat Gott das Gesetz der Gebote beseitigt; M. hat also die *δόγματα* gegen die *ἐντολαί* gestellt und sah in jenen die christlichen Glaubenssätze. In 2, 20 strich M. tendenziös *καὶ προφητῶν* nach *ἀποστόλων*, weil jene nicht die Grundlage des neuen christlichen Baus bilden dürfen. In 3, 9 ist M.s berüchtigste Streichung enthalten: er merzte das *ἐν* vor *τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι* aus und erhielt so einen locus classicus für seine Lehre, daß die Heilsökonomie des guten Gottes dem Weltschöpfer von Urzeiten her verborgen gewesen sei. Über die tendenziöse Einschaltung von *ἡμῖν* in 4, 6 s. S. 154*. In 5, 22 ff. nahm M. Verkürzungen vor; dieser Abschnitt über die Ehe war ihm überhaupt unbequem; in v. 22 fehlte wahrscheinlich *ἰδίοις*, bei *ἀνδράσιν*, ferner *ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ* und *αὐτὸν σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος*; den Satz in v. 28 faßte er so: „Der liebt sein Fleisch, der sein Weib so liebt, wie auch Christus die Kirche" (d. h. ungeschlechtlich). Den ihm für Christus ganz unpassend scheinenden Vers 30 strich er, schrieb statt *ἀντὶ τούτου* vielmehr „*ἀντὶ ταύτης*", es auf die Kirche beziehend, und tilgte die Worte *καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*: „Statt der Kirche wird ein Mensch Vater und Mutter verlassen, und es werden die beiden (d. i. der Mensch und die Kirche) zu einem Fleisch". Da auch katholische Mss. die Worte *καὶ προσκολλ. κτλ.* nicht

bieten, so ist auch hier Einfluß des Textes M.s auf den katholischen anzunehmen (s. S. 154*). In c. 6, 2 strich M. tendenziös bei dem Gebot, die Eltern zu ehren, die Worte: *ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ*, sowie den folgenden Vers („damit es dir wohlgehe" usw.). Tendenziös ist auch die Streichung (v. 2) von *σου* bei *πατέρα* und *ὑμῶν* (v. 4) bei *τέκνα*; die Marcioniten sollten ja selbst nicht Väter sein; also mußte das Gebot in ein allgemeines umgewandelt werden, das von den Beziehungen der Väter als der älteren Generation zu den Kindern als der jüngeren handelte.

Der Kolosserbrief. Die große Aussage über den präexistenten Christus (1, 15—17) ist von M. in den kurzen Satz zusammengefaßt worden: „*ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων*", denn zur Schöpfung durfte Christus keine Beziehungen haben. In 1, 19 ist *ἑαυτῷ* > *αὐτῷ* tendenziös und aus dem relativen Modalismus M.s zu verstehen; ebenso 1, 20 *ἑαυτόν* > *αὐτόν*. In 1, 22 hat M. *τῆς σαρκός* nach *τῷ σώματι* (= Kirche) gestrichen; denn Christus hat kein Fleisch. Eine ingeniöse Vertauschung liegt in 2, 8 vor: in dem Satze *διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης* verwandelt M. das *καί* in „*ὡς*". Wir erkennen hier, wie abschätzig er alle Philosophie beurteilt hat; den Ausdruck, den Paulus gewählt, hielt er für verfälscht, weil zu schwach. In 4, 14 strich er wahrscheinlich die Worte, die bei „Lukas" stehen: *ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός*; er wünschte kein Lob des Lukas, dem er ja das Evangelium entrissen hatte.

Der Philipperbrief. In 1, 15 veränderte M. die Worte *τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν* zu „*τ. δ. κ. διὰ λόγου δόξαν* (oder *λόγου εὐδοκίαν*)" und wollte damit die eitle christliche Schulweisheit treffen. In 1, 16 setzte M. frei die Worte ein: „*ἤδη καί τινες ἐξ ἀγῶνος*"; es war ihm vermutlich *ἐξ ἐριθείας* noch nicht genug, und er wollte wohl ausdrücklich die kirchlichen Rivalitätskämpfe präskribiert sehen. In der berühmten Stelle 2, 7 ließ er *γενόμενος* und *ὡς* aus und erreichte so das christologische Bild, das er wünschte. In 3, 9 schrieb er wahrscheinlich: *ἔχων δικαιοσύνην μὴ ἐμὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐκ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ* (oder *τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην*); er brachte so den Gegensatz zum Gesetz noch kräftiger zum Ausdruck.

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Am Evangelium hat M. folgende Streichungen und Korrekturen vorgenommen [1]:

Kap. 1—4. Nach Streichung von 1, 1—4, 15 vertauschte M. — wohl um Jesus von Nazareth möglichst zu trennen — die Stellung der Perikope vom Auftreten Jesu in Nazareth (s. die Apparate zu 4, 16 ff. in Beilage IV) mit der von der Heilung des Dämonischen in Kapernaum (4, 31 ff.), nachdem er jene Perikope verändert und verkürzt hatte (Weglassung der Predigt [2]; spätere Marcioniten setzten Bethsaida für Nazareth ein, um jeden Zusammenhang Jesu mit dieser Stadt abzuschneiden; in 4, 34 hatte M. selbst *Ναζαρηνέ* gestrichen). Sicher fehlte hier 4, 27 (s. zu 17, 17 f). Unter den großen Streichungen, denen auch die Taufe Jesu zum Opfer fallen mußte, fällt die der Versuchungsgeschichte besonders auf; allein diese Geschichte war dem M. sicher zu „menschlich"; sein Christus war über solche Anläufe erhaben.

Bei der Feststellung der tendenziösen Streichungen M.s im Evangelium waltet die Schwierigkeit ob, daß Tert, fast niemals angibt, ob er die betreffenden Perikopen nicht vorgefunden oder ob er sie in seiner Kritik übergangen hat. Stellt man aber diese Stücke zusammen, vergleicht sie mit dem sicher von M. Gestrichenen und beachtet die Übergänge bei Tert. (auch Epiph.) genau, so ergibt sich in vielen Fällen eine Wahrscheinlichkeit für die Streichung, bei einigen eine sehr hohe, auch wenn man berücksichtigt, daß M. nicht überall konsequent verfahren ist. Ich stelle diese Perikopen zusammen, ganz Unbedeutendes beiseite lassend:

4, 36—39 (Allgemeines, Heilung der Schwiegermutter des Petrus) schwerlich gestrichen.

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1 Wenn Tert. IV, 43 (zu Luk. 24, 38 f.) bemerkt: „Marcion quaedam contraria sibi illa, credo, industria eradere de evangelio suo noluit, ut ex his, quae eradere potuit nec erasit illa, quae erasit, aut negetur erasisse aut merito erasisse dicatur; nec parcit nisi eis, quae non minus aliter interpretando quam delendo subvertit — so ist das, wie schon „credo" zeigt, eine Unterstellung. Richtig, wenn auch hämisch, ist dagegen die Bemerkung V, 4 (zu Gal. 4, 22 ff.): „Ut furibus solet aliquid excidere de praeda in indicium, ita credo et Marcion novissimam Abrahae mentionem dereliquisse".

2 C. 4, 16 hat M. *τεθραμμένος* und *αὐτῷ* gestrichen, mit *ἐλθὼν δέ* begonnen und so dem Satz, noch andere Streichungen vornehmend, einen anderen Sinn gegeben.

4, 41 fin. („Sie wußten, daß er der Christus war") ungewiß, ob gestrichen.

4, 44 (Predigt in den Synagogen) ungewiß, ob gestrichen.

5, 27 Die Worte *καὶ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται* fehlten wahrscheinlich.

5, 39 („Der alte Wein ist trefflicher") sicher gestrichen.

6, 17 Streichung von Judäa und Jerusalem sehr wahrscheinlich.

6, 19 b („Eine Kraft war von ihm ausgegangen") unsicher.

6, 23 a (Das Freuen und Hüpfen am Gerichtstage) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

6, 30 b (Fordre nichts vom Räuber zurück) schwerlich gestrichen.

6, 32. 33 (Unwert der Liebeserweise gegenüber denen, die uns lieben) schwerlich gestrichen.

6, 34 b (Die Sünder und das Zinsnehmen) schwerlich gestrichen.

6, 47—49 (Das Haus mit und ohne Grundlage) schwerlich gestrichen.

7, 29—35 (Die spielenden Kinder, das Verhalten des Volks zum Täufer und zu Jesus) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

8, 19 (Seine Mutter und Brüder kommen) gestrichen.

8, 28 (*τοῦ ὑψίστου* neben *τοῦ θεοῦ*) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

8, 32—37 (Die Geschichte von den Säuen innerhalb der Dämonengeschichte) ungewiß.

8, 40—42 a. 49—56 (Jairusgeschichte) ungewiß, ob gestrichen.

9, 23 (Kreuz auf sich nehmen) unsicher.

9, 25 (Schaden an der Seele nehmen) ungewiß.

9, 26 b. 27 (Kommen des Menschensohnes in Herrlichkeit mit Gefolge. „Es stehen etliche hier" usw.) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

9, 31 (Weissagung des Moses und Elias) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

9, 36 (Schluß der Verklärungsgeschichte) ungewiß.

9, 49. 50 (Jener, der in Jesu Namen Teufel austrieb) ungewiß.

10, 12—15 Wehe über die Städte wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

10, 21 hat M. πάτερ und καὶ τῆς γῆς im Gebet Jesu gestrichen. Die Übereinstimmung der Berichte Tert.s u. Epiph. ist hier besonders deutlich und wichtig.

10, 24 ἠθέλησαν ἰδεῖν (von den Propheten) sicher gestrichen, dafür οὐκ ἴδαν

10, 25 „Ewig" neben „Leben", sicher gestrichen.

10, 27 (καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν) ungewiß; die Verse 26. 28 waren getilgt; s. unten.

10, 29—37 (Der barmherzige Samariter) ungewiß.

10, 38—42 (Maria und Martha) ungewiß; aber man darf wohl vermuten, daß Tert. diese und die vorige Geschichte übergangen hat, weil er der Marcionitischen Auslegung nichts entgegenzusetzen wußte.

11, 4 Daß M. die zweite Hälfte der 5. Bitte gelesen hat, ist nicht bezeugt.

11, 23 (Wer nicht mit mir, ist wider mich) ungewiß.

11, 24—26 (Fortsetzung der Beelzebulgeschichte) ungewiß.

11, 29 (Jonas) u. 30—32 (Jonas, die Königin und Salomo) gestrichen.

11, 34—36 (Auge und Licht) ungewiß.

11, 42 fin. („Dieses soll man tun und jenes nicht lassen") gestrichen.

11, 44. 45 (Die Pharisäer μνημεῖα ἄδηλα die Frage des Gesetzeslehrers) ungewiß.

11, 49—51 (Der Spruch der Weisheit Gottes; das ungerechte Blut von Abel bis Zacharias) sicher gestrichen.

11, 53. 54 (Die Absichten der Pharisäer gegen Jesus) ungewiß.

12, 4 Die Streichungen von ὑμῖν bezw. von μου sollen die Bezeichnung der Jünger Jesu als Freunde Jesu tilgen.

12, 6. 7 (Gottes Fürsorge f. Sperlinge; der höhere Wert der Menschen) sicher gestrichen.

12, 8. 9 Statt „vor den Engeln Gottes" schrieb M. „vor Gott".

12, 24 Die Worte καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς fehlten wahrscheinlich.

12, 25. 26 (Eine Elle seiner Länge zusetzen) ungewiß.

12, 28 (Bekleidung des Getreides) gestrichen, aber ὀλιγόπιστοι beibehalten.

12, 32 Nach ὁ πατήρ war ὑμῶν gestrichen.

12, 33. 34 (Vermögensentäußerung, Almosengeben, Schatz im Himmel) ungewiß.

12, 49 b. 50 („Ich wollte, das Feuer brennte schon"; „ich habe eine Taufe usw.") ungewiß.

12, 52 (Fünf in einem Hause) ungewiß.

13, 1—5 (Die gemordeten Galiläer. Turm von Siloam) sicher gestrichen.

13, 6—9 (Feigenbaum-Gleichnis) sicher gestrichen.

13, 22—24 (Die enge Pforte) ungewiß.

13, 29—35 (Die Mahlzeit im Himmelreiche, Botschaft an Herodes; der Spruch über Jerusalem, das die Propheten tötet) sicher gestrichen.

14, 1—6 (Heilung des Wassersüchtigen am Sabbat) ungewiß.

14, 7—11 (Zurechtweisung der Ehrgeizigen: nicht obenan sich setzen) ungewiß.

14, 15 (Selig, wer das Brot ißt im Reiche Gottes) ungewiß.

14. 25—35 (Vater und Mutter hassen; Kreuz tragen; der leichtsinnig unternommene Bau und Krieg; allem absagen; das dummgewordene Salz) ungewiß.

15, 10 (τῶν ἀγγέλων fehlt vor τοῦ θεοῦ) sicher gestrichen.

15, 11—32 (Der verlorene Sohn) sicher gestrichen.

16. 9 b (Aufnehmen in die ewigen Hütten) ungewiß.

16, 10 (Treue im Großen und Kleinen) ungewiß.

16, 15 b (Was vor den Menschen hoch ist, ist vor Gott ein Greuel) ungewiß.

16, 29. 30 (fehlt Abraham) absichtlich gestrichen. Nach M. ist 27—31 Gott selbst der Angeredete und Sprechende.

17, 5. 6 (Glaube wie ein Senfkorn) ungewiß.

17, 7—10 (der unnütze Knecht) ungewiß; sicher fehlte ἀχρεῖοι.

17, 11—19 (Die 10 Aussätzigen); in diese Perikope war 4, 27 eingesetzt (s. o.; warum dies geschehen, ist dunkel) und einiges fehlte; es ist aber unsicher, was fehlte, jedenfalls ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ (in 4, 27).

17, 23. 24 (Das Erscheinen des Menschensohnes wie der Blitz) ungewiß.

17, 33—37 (Die Seele suchen und verlieren; zwei werden in einem Bette sein, usw.) ungewiß.

18, 23—30 (Gespräch über den Reichtum und Verheißung an die Jünger, die alles verlassen haben) ungewiß; aber v. 29. 30 waren sicher gestrichen.

18, 31—33 (Leidensankündigung) sicher gestrichen.

18, 34 (Unverständnis der Jünger) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

18, 37 (ὁ Ναζωραῖος) sicher gestrichen.

19, 9b (Zakchäus) ein Sohn Abrahams: sicher gestrichen.

19, 10 Ob ζητῆσαι καί vor σῶσαι absichtlich fehlt?

19, 27 (Abschlachtung der Feinde) sicher gestrichen.

19, 28 (Reise nach Jerusalem) ungewiß.

19, 29—46 (Einzug in Jerusalem, Tempelreinigung) sicher gestrichen.

19, 47. 48. (Jesus lehrt im Tempel; die Schriftgelehrten trachten nach seinem Leben) ungewiß.

20, 9—18 (Die schlimmen Weingärtner) sicher gestrichen.

20, 37. 38 (Moses nennt Gott den Gott der Erzväter; Gott ein Gott der Lebendigen) sicher gestrichen.

20, 40 (Sie wagten ihn nichts mehr zu fragen) ungewiß.

20, 45—47 (Warnung vor den eitlen und ehrgeizigen Pharisäern, die der Witwen Häuser verschlingen) ungewiß.

21, 1—4 (Der Witwe Scherflein) ungewiß.

21, 18 (Kein Haar von eurem Haupte wird verloren gehen) sicher gestrichen.

21, 21—24 (Die Aufforderung an die Juden zu fliehen; Wehe den Schwangeren; Jerusalems Vernichtung) sicher gestrichen.

21, 35 b. 36 (Der Gerichtstag kommt über alle; wachet, damit ihr dem Schrecken entgehen könnt) ungewiß.

22, 2 (Die Schriftgelehrten suchen Jesum zu töten, fürchten sich vor dem Volk) ungewiß.

22, 3 (Der Satan fuhr in Judas) ungewiß.

22, 6. 7 (Judas sucht Gelegenheit zum Verrat; es kam der Passahtag) ungewiß.

22, 9—13 (Die Ausführung des Befehls, das Passahzimmer zu bereiten) ungewiß.

22, 14 Die Worte ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα scheinen gefehlt zu haben.

22, 15 τοῦτο vor τὸ πάσχα vielleicht absichtlich gestrichen.

22, 16 („Ich werde nicht mehr essen, bis daß es vollendet ist im Reiche Gottes") sicher gestrichen.

22, 17. 18 (Segnung und Darreichung des Kelches) sicher gestrichen, aber es fehlte wohl schon in der Vorlage.

22, 19 b („Dies tut zu meinem Gedächtnis") ungewiß.

22, 20 καινή neben διαθήκη gestrichen.

22, 23—30 (Frage, wer der Verräter sei, und Rangstreit der Jünger; Jesu Rede über die wahre Größe; Verheißung für die Jünger als zukünftige Richter) ungewiß, aber v. 30 konnte M. nicht stehen lassen.

22, 35—38 (Ob die Jünger je Mangel gelitten hätten? Die Schwerter) sicher gestrichen.

22, 39. 40 (Gang zum Ölberg) unbezeugt, aber ganz können sie nicht gefehlt haben.

22, 42—46 (Das Gebetsringen in Gethsemane; die schlafenden Jünger) wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

22. 48 („Verrätst du den Menschensohn durch einen Kuß?") ungewiß.

22, 49—51 (Die Geschichte vom abgehauenen Ohr) sicher gestrichen.

22, 52—62 (Rede an die Häscher, Verleugnung des Petrus) unbezeugt; aber v. 31—34 fordert, daß Petri Verleugnung erzählt war.

22, 65. 68. 71 wohl zufällig unbezeugt.

22, 70 Die Worte ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι hat M. wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

23, 4. 5 (Pilatus findet keine Schuld; die Gegner bezeichnen Jesum als Aufwiegler) ungewiß.

23, 13—17 (Verhandlungen des Pilatus mit den Hohenpriestern usw.) ungewiß.

23, 26 (Simeon von Kyrene) ungewiß.

23, 27—31 (Die wehklagenden Frauen von Jerusalem; das grüne Holz) ungewiß.

23, 34 b (Verteilen der Kleider) gestrichen, aber Epiph. las es wieder in seinem Marcion-Evang.

23, 35 (Verspottung) ungewiß.

23, 36—42 (Der Galletrank; rette dich selbst! Die Kreuzesinschrift; die Schächer) ungewiß; die Schächer wahrscheinlich gestrichen.

23, 43 („Heute wirst du im Paradiese sein") sicher gestrichen.

23, 46 Vielleicht haben spätere Marcioniten das Wort: „Vater in deine Hände" usw., getilgt.

23, 47—49 (Der Hauptmann, das Volk, die Bekannten und die Frauen beim Tode) ungewiß.

23, 54 (Daß der Sabbat bevorstand) ungewiß.

24, 2 (Der Stein abgewälzt) ungewiß.

24, 8 („Sie erinnerten sich seiner Worte") ungewiß.

24, 21 b—24 (Bericht der Emmauten über das, was am Ostermorgen geschehen) ungewiß, vielleicht getilgt.

24, 27 (Jesus rekapituliert die Weissagung) sicher gestrichen.

24, 28. 29 (Sie kommen ins Dorf Emmaus; Jesus soll bleiben) unbezeugt.

24, 32—36 (Rede der beiden Jünger; Rückkehr nach Jerusalem; Berichterstattung; der Herr dem Petrus erschienen; Jesu Eintritt in den Kreis) ungewiß.

24, 39 ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε sicher gestrichen.

24, 39 σάρκας καί fehlte, was sehr merkwürdig ist.

24, 40 (Er zeigte ihnen seine Hände und Füße) sicher gestrichen.

24, 44—46 (Jesus öffnet den Jüngern die Schrift) sicher gestrichen.

24, 47 (ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ) wohl gestrichen.

24, 48—53 (Aussendung der Jünger; Bethanien) sicher gestrichen.

Außer den Streichungen, die bei weitem den größten Teil seiner Korrekturen ausgemacht haben, finden sich noch folgende Korrekturen:

5, 18 ff. Hier war vielleicht bemerkt, daß die Heilung des Gichtbrüchigen an einem Sabbat stattfand.

6, 43 Der schlechte Baum vor den guten gestellt.

7, 28 Hier hat M. den Text in seinem Sinne verdeutlicht, indem er μείζων πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννης ἐστιν schrieb.

8, 20 f. („Mutter und Brüder") umgestaltet zu einer schroffen, ablehnenden Frage Jesu; an Stelle vom „Gotteswort" sind „meine Worte" eingesetzt.

9, 26 a lautete: ὃς ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με, κἀγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι αὐτόν.

9, 30 συνέστησαν αὐτῷ für συνελάλουν (Moses und Elias sollten nicht mit Jesus sprechen); spätere Marcioniten lasen wieder συνελάλουν.

9, 41 Zugesetzt πρὸς αὐτούς, um die Jünger als die γενεὰ ἄπιστος erscheinen zu lassen.

9, 54 f. M. schaltete hier die Zusätze ein: ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν und καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

10, 21 M. schrieb tendenziös für ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα vielmehr ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτά.

10, 25 ff. Diese Geschichte war tendenziös so erzählt, daß nicht der Gesetzeslehrer, sondern Jesus den (nicht als ATliches Wort bezeichneten) Spruch von der Gottesliebe gesprochen hat; dadurch war eine beträchtliche Kürzung nötig (s. o.); die Marcioniten des Epiphanius lasen wieder den echten Text.

11, 3 M. änderte die 4. Bitte und schrieb τὸν ἄρτον σου (daß er als erste Bitte eine Bitte um den h. Geist brachte, ist nicht Korrektur, sondern ursprünglicher Lukastext).

11, 4 M. schrieb μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν für μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς.

11, 42 Tendenziös τὴν κλῆσιν für τὴν κρίσιν. Die Überein-

stimmung der Berichte Tert.s und Epiph. ist besonders bemerkenswert.

12, 4 M. schrieb: *μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμᾶς μόνον ἀποκτέννειν δυναμένων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδεμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν.*

12, 8. 9 Stilistische Änderung (außer der Streichung der Engel, s. o.).

12, 46 Hier ist wahrscheinlich *διχοτομήσει* getilgt und *ἀποχωρίσει* oder ein ähnliches Wort eingesetzt.

12, 46 Statt *θήσει* setzte M. *τεθήσεται*, um Gott nicht als Richter erscheinen zu lassen.

13, 28 Hier waren die Erzväter getilgt und dafür *οἱ δίκαιοι* eingesetzt, ferner war *ἐκβαλλομένους* durch *κρατουμένους ἔξω* ersetzt (so Tert. und Epiph.).

14, 21 Für *ὀργισθείς* tendenziös „motus" *(κινηθείς?)*

16, 12 Für *τὸ ὑμέτερον* tendenziös *τὸ ἐμόν* (so auch einige Itala-Codd. und Minuskel 157).

16, 17 Für *τοῦ νόμου* tendenziös *τῶν λόγων μου.*

16, 26 Für *οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι* steht *οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι* (ob tendenziös?).

16, 28. 29 *ἐκεῖ* hinzugesetzt (verdeutlichend?).

18, 19 *ὁ πατήρ* war nach Origenes und Epiph. (nicht nach Tert.) hinzugesetzt zu *ὁ θεός.*

18, 20 M. schrieb wahrscheinlich *ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα* für *τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας*, um die ATlichen Gebote nicht aus dem Munde Jesu hören zu müssen.

20, 35 Für *οἱ καταξιωθέντες* schrieb M. *οὓς κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός* und zog die Worte *τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου* zu *θεός*, um eine Beweisstelle für die Unterscheidung der zwei Götter zu erhalten.

21, 13 Zu *εἰς μαρτύριον* fügte M. *καὶ σωτηρίαν* hinzu.

21, 19 *σώσετε ἑαυτούς* für *κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* (ob nach Matth. 24, 13?).

21, 27 Für *ἐν νεφέλῃ* tendenziös *ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

21, 32. 33 M. schrieb: *οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, εἰ μὴ πάντα (γένηται)· ἡ (δὴ) γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς παρελεύσονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος μου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

23, 2 Zusatz: *καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας* und *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα.*

23, 3 M. schrieb *ὁ Χριστός* für *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, da Jesus diese Frage des Pilatus bejaht.

23, 56 M. schrieb tendenziös *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* für *κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν*.

24, 25 M. schrieb *οἷς ἐλάλησεν* (spätere Marcioniten *ἐλάλησα*) *πρὸς ὑμᾶς* für *οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται*.

24, 37 M. schrieb *φάντασμα* für *πνεῦμα*.

Was zunächst das formale Verfahren anlangt, so hat man zwischen Zusätzen, Streichungen und Umwandlungen in den Texten zu unterscheiden.

Die große Masse der Korrekturen besteht aus Streichungen, von der Streichung eines Wortes oder Wörtchens an[1] bis zu der großer Abschnitte. Das Lukasev. hat sämtliche Anfangskapitel bis c. 4, 32 (mit Ausnahme von c. 3, 1) verloren; der Römerbrief hat fast die Hälfte seines Stoffes eingebüßt; wie viel in den anderen Briefen und im Evangelium gefehlt hat, läßt sich leider nicht sagen, da die Quellen ein sicheres Urteil nicht zulassen. M. hat also angenommen, daß die judaistischen Fälscher die Texte durch Zusätze aller Art aufs schlimmste beschwert haben.

Die Zahl der von M. gemachten Zusätze ist so verschwindend gering, daß man skeptisch gegenüber den wenigen Fällen wird, in denen solche angenommen werden müssen; doch sind sie gut bezeugt[2]. M. hat also in der Regel nicht angenommen, daß die judaistischen Pseudoapostel Streichungen in den echten Texten vorgenommen haben, oder er hielt es nicht für möglich, diese Streichungen zu ermitteln. Das macht seiner Kritik Ehre, ebenso die Beobachtung, daß er Apokryphes nicht herangezogen hat. Die wenigen, keineswegs an allen Stellen sicheren Zusätze finden sich Gal. 1, 7 *(κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου)*, I Kor. 1, 18 *(σοφία)*,

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1 Die einschneidendste ist die Streichung des *ἐν* in Ep. 3, 9; vgl. dieselbe, auch verhängnisvolle Streichung von *ἐν* in Eph. 2, 15 sowie die folgenreichen Streichungen von *γενόμενος* und *ὡς* in Phil. 2, 7. Sehr wichtig ist auch die Streichung von *καινή* bei *διαθήκη* in Luk. 22, 20, ferner von *πάτερ* und *καὶ τῆς γῆς* in Luk. 10, 21, von *αἰώνιον* (neben *ζωήν*) in Luk. 10, 25 (dagegen ist es 18, 18 stehen geblieben), von *κοινωνίας* in Gal. 2, 9, von *ἐν τῷ* in Gal. 5, 14.

2 Die Annahme liegt nahe, daß die Zusätze sämtlich von Schülern M.s herrühren (s. o.), und man kann einiges für diese Annahme anführen; aber sie läßt sich nicht beweisen. Möglich ist auch, daß einige „Zusätze" vormarcionitisch sind.

I Thess. 2, 15 *(ἰδίους)*, I Thess. 5, 13 *(καὶ σωτῆρος)*, Phil. 1, 16 *(ἤδη καί τινες ἐξ ἀγῶνος)*, Luk. 9, 41 *(πρὸς αὐτούς)*, Luk. 9, 54 f. *(ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν* und *οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς)*, Luk. 16, 28. 29 *(ἐκεῖ)*, Luk. 18, 19 (*ὁ πατήρ*, zweifelhaft), Luk. 18, 20 *(ὁ δὲ ἔφη)*, Luk. 21, 13 *(καὶ σωτηρίαν)*, Luk. 23, 2 *(καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας* und *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα)*[1].

Sehr bedeutend ist die Zahl der Stellen, an denen M. Umwandlungen durch die Fälscher vorausgesetzt hat; hier hat er ihnen die raffiniertesten Methoden zugetraut und seinen ganzen Scharfsinn angewendet, um hinter ihre vermeintlichen Schliche zu kommen, sie aufzudecken und zu korrigieren.

(a) Er hat angenommen, daß sie im Wortklang, bzw. in den Buchstaben ähnliche Worte miteinander vertauscht haben, um einen neuen Sinn zu gewinnen; deshalb setzte er Gal. 2, 20 *ἀγοράσαντος* für *ἀγαπήσαντος*, Gal. 4, 8 *τοῖς ἐν τῇ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς* für *τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς*, Gal. 5, 14 *ἐν ὑμῖν* für *ἐν ἑνὶ (λόγῳ)*, II Kor. 7, 1 *αἵματος* für *πνεύματος*, Kol. 1, 19 *ἑαυτῷ* für *αὐτῷ* (s. auch v. 20), Luk. 11, 42 *τὴν κλῆσιν* für *τὴν κρίσιν*, Luk. 18, 20 *οἶδα* für *οἶδας*. I. Kor. 10, 11 verwandelte er wahrscheinlich *τύποι* mit vorangehendem *πάντα* in *ἀτύπως*. Diese Änderungen sind Konjekturen eines geschickten Philologen.

(b) Er glaubte sich überzeugt zu haben, daß die Fälscher öfters das Aktivum und Passivum für ihre tendenziösen Zwecke vertauscht hätten; daher schrieb er I Kor. 3, 17 *φθαρήσεται* für *φθερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός*, I Kor. 15, 25 *θῶνται* für *θῇ* (wenn diese LA nicht späteren Marcioniten gehört), Luk. 10, 21 *ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτά* für *ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα*, Luk. 11, 4 *μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι* für *μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς*, Luk. 12, 46 *τεθήσεται* für *θήσει*, Luk. 20, 35 *οὓς κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός* für *οἱ καταξιωθέντες*. Hierher gehört auch, daß er an mehreren Stellen, wenn auch nicht konsequent (s. I Kor. 6, 14), die Auferweckung Jesu in Selbstauferweckung (Auferstehung) umgewandelt hat. Andere einschneidende Vertauschungen sind die von Pronomina (z. B. Luk. 11, 3 schrieb M. *τὸν ἄρτον σου* für *ἡμῶν*, Luk. 16, 12 *τὸ ἐμόν* für *τὸ ὑμέτερον*), von Partikeln (die wichtigste ist Kol. 2, 8, wo M. *διὰ τῆς*

1 Über den Zusatz in I Kor. 6, 13 s. o. S. 47.

φιλοσοφίας ὡς κενῆς ἀπάτης gibt, während der echte Text *καί* und nicht *ὡς* liest), und von Personen (so im Gespräch Luk. 18, 18 ff., wodurch ein ganz anderer Sinn entsteht), vgl. auch das Gespräch Luk 8, 20 f.

(c) Auch Umstellungen von Sätzen haben die Fälscher nach M., wenn auch nicht häufig, vorgenommen; daher stellte er Luk. 6, 43 den schlechten Baum vor den guten und in Röm. 12 den 19. Vers vor den 18.; s. auch Gal. 4, 3; I Thess. 4, 16 usw.

(d) Er nahm an, daß die Fälscher auch ohne eine täuschende formelle Deckung ungescheut und frech einzelne Begriffe und auch sehr zahlreiche Sätze umgewandelt haben; daher sah er sich genötigt, sowohl einzelne Begriffe und Sätzchen umgestaltend zu divinieren, als auch große Sätze völlig umzugestalten. In bezug auf ersteres s. z. B. Gal. 4, 24, wo er die beiden *διαθῆκαι* nicht gelten lassen konnte und dafür *ἐπιδείξεις* oder ein ähnliches Wort einsetzte (wenn diese Operation nicht erst seinen Schülern gebührt); Gal. 6, 17 *τῶν ἄλλων* für *τοῦ λοιποῦ*; I Kor. 10, 19 *ἱερόθυτον* für *εἴδωλον*; 15, 20 *κηρύσσεται ἀναστάναι* für *ἐγήγερται* (s. o.); I Kor. 15, 45 *κύριος* für *Ἀδάμ*; II Kor. 3, 14 *τοῦ κόσμου* für *αὐτῶν*; II Kor. 4, 10 *τοῦ θεοῦ* für *τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*; Röm. 6, 19 *τῷ θεῷ δουλεύειν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* für *δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ*; Röm. 7, 5 *ἐν ἡμῖν* für *ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν*; Röm. 10, 3 *θεὸν ἀγνοοῦντες* für *ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην*; I Thess. 4, 16 *ἐγερθήσονται* für *ἀναστήσονται*; II Thess. 1, 8 *ἐρχομένου εἰς ἐκδίκησιν* für *διδόντος εἰς ἐκδίκησιν*; II Thess. 2, 11 *ἔσται . . εἰς* für *πέμπει*; Phil. 1, 15 *διὰ λόγου δόξαν* für *δι' εὐδοκίαν*; Luk. 7, 28 *πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν* für *ἐν γεννητοῖς*; Luk. 8, 21 *λόγον μου* für *λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*; Luk. 9, 30 *συνέστησαν αὐτῷ* für *συνελάλουν*; Luk. 12, 46 *ἀποχωρίσει* oder ähnlich für *διχοτομήσει*; Luk. 13, 28 *οἱ δίκαιοι* für die Erzväter; Luk. 14, 21 *κινηθείς* oder ähnlich für *ὀργισθείς*; Luk. 16, 17 *τῶν λόγων μου* für *τοῦ νόμου*; Luk. 21, 19 *σώσετε ἑαυτοὺς* für *κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν*; Luk. 21, 27 *ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν* für *ἐν νεφέλῃ*; Luk. 21, 33 *ὁ λόγος μου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* für *οἱ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν*; Luk. 23, 3 *ὁ Χριστός* für *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; Luk. 23, 56 *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* für *κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν*; Luk. 24, 25 *οἷς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς* für *οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται*; Luk. 24, 37 *φάντασμα* für *πνεῦμα*. — Die Zahl der nachweisbaren umfangreichen Umgestaltungen ist nicht groß. Die wichtigste ist in Gal. 4, 21—26 zu finden; vgl.

Gal. 3, 10—12; Kol. 1, 15—17; auch kann Luk. 8, 20 f. und 10, 25 ff. hierher gezogen werden.

Was die Motive der Streichungen und Korrekturen anlangt, so liegen sie in den meisten Fällen auf der Hand, sobald man sich der Hauptlehren M.s erinnert[1]. Die wichtigsten Motive waren folgende:

(1) Der Weltschöpfer und Gott des AT darf nicht als Vater Jesu Christi erscheinen; er ist „gerecht" und bösartig; seine Verheißungen gelten dem jüdischen Volke und sind irdisch,

(2) das AT kann nichts geweissagt haben, was sich in Christus erfüllt hat; es darf nicht von Christus oder Paulus als Autorität herangezogen worden sein [2]; Gesetz und Propheten sind nach dem Buchstaben zu verstehen,

(3) der gute Gott muß bis zu seinem Erscheinen dem Weltschöpfer verborgen gewesen sein,

(4) er darf nicht als Lenker der Welt, bzw. als der Gott der weltlichen Vorsehung vorgestellt werden,

(5) er darf nicht als Richter erscheinen, sondern ausschließlich als der Barmherzige und als der Erlöser,

(6) seine Erlösungen und Verheißungen beziehen sich ausschließlich auf das ewige Leben.

(7) der Sohn des guten Gottes, Christus, ist in seinem Verhältnis zum Vater modalistisch zu verstehen,

(8) er hat nichts Irdisches an sich gehabt, also kein Fleisch und keinen Leib, und kann daher auch nicht geboren sein und Verwandte haben,

(9) er hat das Gesetz nicht erfüllt, sondern aufgelöst, den entscheidenden Gegensatz von Gesetz und Evangelium aufgedeckt und seine Erlösung allein auf den Glauben gestellt,

(10) er verlangt von den Menschen völlige Loslösung von der Welt und den Werken des Weltschöpfers,

(11) er hat nur einen echten Apostel erweckt, nachdem die ursprünglichen sich als unbelehrbar erwiesen haben; das Evangelium des Paulus ist das Evangelium Christi,

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1 Bestimmte Äußerungen M.s über die Gründe seines Verfahrens bei der Kritik einzelner Stellen aus dem Evangelium oder dem Apostolos liegen nicht vor.

2 Über Einschränkungen dieser Grundannahmen bei M. s. später.

(12) er wird nicht als Richter wiedererscheinen, sondern am Ende der Tage die große Scheidung, die sich vollzogen hat, deklarieren.

Diese zwölf, in sich abgeschlossenen Motive kann man ohne weiteres aus den Streichungen und Korrekturen M.s ablesen [1]. Daneben hat er sich noch von einigen Motiven zweiten Ranges leiten lassen, die aber sämtlich mit den obengenannten in innerer Verbindung stehen; nur sehr wenige Streichungen sind in bezug auf ihre Motive undurchsichtig; denn bei genauerer Erwägung findet sich meistens das Motiv. Auf den ersten Blick ist man z. B. frappiert, daß das Gleichnis vom verlorenen Sohn (Luk. 15) gestrichen ist; allein so gewiß die Tendenz des Gleichnisses M. sympathisch sein mußte, so unannehmbar war für ihn der Rahmen: Rückkehr ins Vaterhaus! Die Tempelreinigung (Luk. 19) konnte ihm willkommen sein; aber die Worte: „Mein Haus ist ein Bethaus", waren ihm, wie Epiphanius richtig gesehen hat, unannehmbar. Freilich läßt sich einwenden, daß er ja nur dieses Wort hätte zu streichen gebraucht; aber bei genauerer Überlegung wird man sich sagen müssen, daß Christus ja durch die Reinigung selbst eine Wertschätzung des Tempels zum Ausdruck brachte, die M. unmöglich annehmen konnte. Übrigens bleibt es in zahlreichen Fällen ganz dunkel, warum er hier radikal verfahren ist und ganze Abschnitte gestrichen hat, dort durch kleine und feine Korrekturen den Sinn durchgreifend geändert hat. Eine Tradition kann ihn dabei nicht geleitet haben, denn er besaß eine solche nicht, sondern blieb durchweg der dogmatische Kritiker. Daher ist es auch ein Irrtum zu meinen, bei der Streichung der Kindheitsgeschichte sei er durch die ältere Über-

1 Sehr mißlich und bedauerlich ist es, daß die Zahl der Stellen sehr groß ist, an denen es zweifelhaft bleiben muß, ob M. sie getilgt hat oder ob sie zufällig von seinen Gegnern nicht erwähnt worden sind. Die älteren Kritiker haben in diesen Fällen mehr oder weniger umfangreiche Erwägungen angestellt, um zu Entscheidungen zu gelangen, und auch Zahn hat sich, jedoch mit Zurückhaltung, an ihnen beteiligt. Ich habe mich von ihnen mit ganz geringen Ausnahmen vollständig fern gehalten, weil eine wirkliche Erweiterung unserer Kenntnisse der Lehre M.s durch sie doch nicht erreicht werden kann, da die Entscheidungen auf Grund des Bekannten getroffen werden müssen und sie außerdem bei den notorischen Inkonsequenzen M.s fast niemals ganz sicher sein können (s. o. S. 44 ff.).

lieferung, die sie nicht gekannt hat, beeinflußt gewesen; er hat ja auch die Taufgeschichte gestrichen, die doch zum Ältesten gehörte und höchst wahrscheinlich schon in der Quelle Q vorhanden war.

Ein sicheres Bild von M.s Stellung zum Text kann man aber aus seinen Streichungen und Korrekturen noch nicht gewinnen; man muß vielmehr das hinzunehmen, was er stehen gelassen hat. Dann ergeben sich zwar sehr zahlreiche Inkonsequenzen und Unfertigkeiten; aber nur auf diesem Grunde — die Kritiker haben das bisher übersehen — ist es möglich, in seine Gedanken einzudringen und seinen Lehren Farbe und Leben zu geben. Es wird sich dann auch zeigen, daß seine Lehren in ihrer Anlehnung an das Evangelium und den Apostolos nicht mit einigen charakterisierenden Schlagworten und Antithesen zu erfassen oder gar zu erschöpfen sind, sondern eine sachliche und begriffliche Tiefe besitzen, die sie erst wertvoll macht (vgl. das Kapitel über die Lehre).

Bei der Feststellung des kritischen Standpunktes und des Verfahrens M.s darf schließlich nicht unbeachtet bleiben, daß er ein bewußter und entschiedener Gegner der allegorischen Erklärung war. Wir besitzen darüber zahlreiche ausdrückliche Zeugnisse, die uns belehren, daß M. die Frage prinzipiell erwogen hat (s. unten bei den „Antithesen"). Er hat ausdrücklich erklärt: *Μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν γραφήν*, und verstand diesen Satz so, daß weder das AT noch das Evangelium und der Apostolos allegorisiert werden dürfen. Als „purae historiae deservientes" bezeichnet Origenes die Marcioniten (Comm. XV, 3 in Matth., T. III p. 333), und einem anderen Zeugnis entnehmen wir, daß für ihn auch das Evangelium nicht *νοητόν*, sondern *ψιλόν* war; es dürfe daher nur allegorisiert werden, wo es offenkundig Parabeln enthalte. Ob M. selbst diesen Standpunkt ganz rein hat durchführen können, ist eine andere Frage [1], aber jedenfalls

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1 Tertullian hat III, 5 dem M. mit vollem Recht vorgerückt, daß auch er allegorisiere, bzw. die Allegorien des Paulus anerkenne: „Et quid ego de isto genere amplius? cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ipsam legem indulgentem bobus terrentibus os liberum non de bobus, sed de nobis interpretetur (I Kor. 9, 9f.), et petram, potui subministrando comitem, Christum adleget fuisse (I Kor. 10, 4), docens proinde et Galatas duo argu-

hat es in der ältesten Kirche keinen Theologen gegeben, der mit solcher Konsequenz die allegorische Erklärung abgelehnt hat wie er. Für das AT ergab sich daraus die Folge, daß er in seinen Erklärungen der wichtigsten ATlichen Stellen, namentlich der prophetischen und messianischen, ganz mit den Erklärungen der Juden zusammenstimmte, da auch er annahm, die Prophezeiungen seien teils schon erfüllt (in David, Salomo usw.), teils bezögen sie sich auf ein irdisches Reich und auf den Judenmessias, der als Kriegskönig noch kommen werde. Dieses Zusammentreffen mit der jüdischen Exegese war für die Gegner M.s ein schweres Skandalon: ein Christ war bereits gerichtet, wenn ihm diese Bundesgenossenschaft nachgewiesen werden konnte. Für uns aber bleibt es ein psychologisches Rätsel, wie ein Kritiker, der einerseits die Phantasien der Allegoristik ablehnte, die „historia pura" auf den Schild erhob und im AT keine Zeile änderte, ja den ganzen Text des weitschichtigen Buches als unverfälschte Geschichte anerkannte[1], andrerseits die christlichen Schriften in solchem Umfang als verfälscht zu beurteilen und die Wiederherstellung so zuversichtlich in Angriff zu nehmen vermochte! Nicht nur die Allegoristik, auch die Dogmatik kann Berge versetzen!

In diesem Zusammenhang hat Zahn (Kanonsgesch. I S. 652f. 717) die Frage aufgeworfen, ob und wie M.s Verfahren vom moralischen Standpunkt gerechtfertigt werden kann. Er geht von dem Zugeständnis aus, daß M. im allgemeinen ein gutes Gewissen gehabt haben wird, fährt aber dann fort: „Es ist doch schwer zu glauben, daß dies gute Gewissen und der positive Glaube, durch seine kritische Operation dem ursprünglichen

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menta filiorum Abrahae allegorice cucurrisse (Gal. 4, 22 ff), et suggerens Ephesiis, quod in primordio de homine praedicatum est, relicturo patrem et matrem et futuris duobus in unam carnem, id se in Christum et ecclesiam agnoscere" (Eph. 5, 31 f). Tert. hätte hinzufügen können, daß M.s locus classicus für die Unterscheidung der beiden Götter („der schlechte und der gute Baum") auf einer willkürlich allegorischen Interpretation eines Gleichnisses ruhe.

1 In dieser Haltung tritt ein Respekt zutage, der schwer verständlich ist, wenn M. nicht mit dem AT aufgewachsen ist (s. o. S. 22). Einfluß der jüdischen Exegese ist wahrscheinlich.

Paulus (und dem ursprünglichen Evangelium) wieder zum Wort zu verhelfen, ihn bei seiner Arbeit stets begleitet haben sollte. Wenn er das eine Mal Sätze, die in seiner Vorlage weit auseinanderlagen, künstlich verknüpfte, um einen ganz anderen Gedanken herauszubringen, wenn er mehrfach Umstellungen vornahm, welche im Falle ihrer Richtigkeit ein ganz zweckloses Verfahren der angeblichen judaistischen Fälscher voraussetzen würden, wenn er sehr häufig durch Zutun und Abtun von Silben und Wörtern den Gedanken in sein Gegenteil verkehrte, so verträgt sich dies künstliche und oft kleinliche Verfahren entweder nicht mit dem guten Gewissen oder nicht mit dem gesunden Verstande. Zwischen diesen beiden Erklärungsgründen eine sichere Wahl zu treffen, ist heute schwerlich noch möglich; aber man sollte es denen, die dem M. näher standen, nicht so übelnehmen, wenn sie unter dem Eindruck seiner geistigen Bedeutung mehr an seiner Redlichkeit, als an seinem Verstande zweifelten und ihn daher häufiger der dreisten Fälschung als der fanatischen Blindheit bezichtigten".

Das Problem ist damit richtig gestellt und die für M.s Charakter günstigere Lösung erscheint zunächst dadurch erschwert, daß zwei Milderungsgründe, die man geltend gemacht hat — den zweiten hat auch Zahn gelten lassen — m. E. kaum in Betracht kommen können. Weder darf man sich für M.s Verfahren, als sei damit eine volle Analogie gegeben, auf die Entstehung der synoptischen Evangelien berufen (so Baur und seine Schule, weil sie die großen Unterschiede zwischen ihnen auch auf Tendenzkritik zurückführten), noch auf die Verwilderung der Handschriften, die schon zu M.s Zeit bestanden haben wird. Die Abweichungen zwischen den Synoptikern beruhen in der Hauptsache auf mündlicher Überlieferung und nur in zweiter Linie auf tendenziösen Diorthosen, und sind auch diese öfters einschneidend und hin und her sogar dreist, so zeigen sich zwar Berührungspunkte mit dem Verfahren M.s, aber dieses bleibt doch sehr verschieden von ihnen. Man darf höchstens sagen, daß, was Lukas und Matthäus sich gegenüber Q und Markus an einzelnen Stellen erlaubt haben, das hat M. zum Prinzip seiner Kritik erhoben. Der andere Hinweis aber, die Verwilderung der Handschriften könne M.s Verfahren entschuldigen, trifft überhaupt nicht zu; denn wir wissen gar nichts darüber, ob ihm

dieser Zustand überhaupt aufgefallen ist, oder vielmehr, es liegt, soviel wir zu urteilen vermögen, die Annahme nahe, daß er sich wesentlich an einen gegebenen Text gehalten hat; denn daß er Textvergleichungen vorgenommen, ist nirgends sicher bezeugt, wenn es auch an einigen Stellen vermutet werden kann.

Bleibt somit sein kritisches Verfahren in seiner tendenziösen Willkür einzigartig, so mag ihm zu einer gewissen Entschuldigung dienen, daß er in einem Zeitalter schrieb, in welchem autoritative Texte nicht nur durch Verwilderung, sondern vor allem durch Fälschungen sehr viel zu leiden hatten; klagt doch nur wenige Jahre später Dionysius von Korinth, daß seine Briefe hinter seinem Rücken von den Häretikern verfälscht würden, und Irenäus beschwört seine Abschreiber bei dem wiederkehrenden Christus, seine Bücher intakt zu lassen. Daß M. das Evangelium und die Paulusbriefe für durch und durch verfälscht halten konnte, darf man ihm daher zugestehen. Damit ist freilich sein positives Verfahren noch nicht gerechtfertigt. Aber m. E., und im Gegensatz zu Zahn, liegt doch kein Verdacht gegen die subjektive Ehrlichkeit M.s vor, d. h. gegen seine Überzeugung, das, was er getan, sei richtig und führe zum Ziel. Wäre er ein Schwindler gewesen, so stand ihm mehr als ein Weg offen, um seinen Fälschungen eine hohe, ja absolute Autorität zu geben. Er hätte sich auf den „Geist" berufen und erklären können, daß ihm dieser die Bücher eingegeben habe, oder er hätte eine Geheimtradition vorschwindeln können, aus der er das ursprüngliche Evangelium und die ursprünglichen Briefe erhalten habe, oder er hätte behaupten können, daß er eine Handschrift gefunden habe, in welcher diese Schriftstücke stünden. Jeder dieser Wege war damals leicht gangbar und hätte zum Ziel geführt — Beispiele fehlen nicht; er aber hat keinen von ihnen betreten und damit bewiesen, daß er kein Schwindler gewesen ist.

Aber wie ist dann das Rätsel dieser „kritischen" Schriftstellerei zu lösen, d. h. wie konnte M. an sein eigenes Unternehmen glauben? Zahn erklärt, wenn M. ein redlicher Mann war, muß er mit fanatischer Blindheit geschlagen gewesen sein und des gesunden Verstandes ermangelt haben. Unzweifelhaft liegt ein Defekt an gesundem Verstand vor; aber alles kommt darauf an, in welchem Maße er ihm gefehlt hat. Wenn festgestellt werden müßte, er habe diesen seinen Text bis zum letzten Buch-

staben für den echten ausgegeben, so fehlte unter den gegebenen Umständen freilich jede Möglichkeit des Verständnisses für eine solche Behauptung. Allein wir sahen bereits oben S. 42f., daß M. dies nicht behauptet haben kann; denn seine Schüler haben die Textverbesserung eifrig fortgesetzt. Daher ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß M. die von ihm gereinigten und wiederhergestellten Texte nicht als schlechthin zuverlässige herausgegeben hat, sondern mit der Salvierung, daß die Arbeit zu revidieren und fortzusetzen sei. Auch dann freilich bleibt das Unternehmen im Hinblick auf viele Stellen fast unbegreiflich kühn; allein wenn man sich erinnert, was manche klassische Philologen in der Neuzeit an Korrekturen, Umstellungen und Ausmerzungen an den alten Texten, und zwar mit fleischlicher „Sicherheit", geleistet haben, so kommt man der Geistesverfassung, in der sich M. befunden haben wird, schon näher. Daß sie noch um einige Grade naiver war als die mancher Moderner, die sich selbst nichts weniger als naiv vorgekommen sind, ist einzuräumen; aber das ganze Zeitalter war in bezug auf Kritik mit wenigen Ausnahmen naiver. Man wird daher anzunehmen haben, daß M., gestützt auf sein vermeintlich sicheres Verständnis des Evangeliums und des Paulus, eine Reinigung der Texte mit dem naiven Bewußtsein unternommen hat, er werde im wesentlichen das Richtige treffen, zumal da es vor allem darauf ankomme, das Falsche zu entfernen. Die Streichungen sind ja doch die Hauptsache in seinem Verfahren; die positiven Ergänzungen und Umwandlungen, sofern auch sie sein geistiges Eigentum sind, können als Diorthosen erscheinen, zu denen der damalige Stand der philologischen Kritik ein gewisses Recht gab. Gerne würde man zur Erleichterung des Verständnisses dieses Verfahrens hören, M. habe sich dabei doch auch auf eine göttliche Unterstützung, bzw. Erleuchtung berufen; aber noch lieber stellt man den wirklichen Tatbestand fest, nach welchem M. so redlich gewesen ist, daß er keine göttliche Hilfe bei seiner Arbeit vorgespiegelt hat.

Das kritische Verfahren M.s — kühnste negative und produzierende dogmatische Kritik unter Anlehnung an gegebene Texte — ist einzigartig, und doch hat es eine Parallele, die ziemlich weit reicht. Wie ist denn der vierte Evangelist verfahren? Auch

er fußt auf einer gegebenen urkundlichen Unterlage, den drei ersten Evangelien, und schaltet mit dieser Unterlage aufs freieste, läßt fort, stellt um und korrigiert im einzelnen wie M. Auch er unterwirft den gesamten Stoff einer negativen und produzierenden dogmatischen Kritik; er verfährt aber dabei weit kühner als M., indem er nicht nur lange Reden entwirft, sondern wahrscheinlich auch ganz neue geschichtliche Situationen erfindet. Er geht aber vor allem darin weit über M. hinaus, daß er die Autorität für sein Werk nicht aus den Quellen folgert, sondern ihm in geheimnisvoller Weise eine selbständige Autorität verleiht. M.s Unternehmen will Restitution sein, und so wenig es das ist, so gewiß ist es Restitution in der Meinung seines Verfassers; das vierte Evangelium dagegen gibt sich als Schauung und Überlieferung. Fragt man aber, bei welchem der beiden Kritiker die Übermalung des geschichtlichen Bildes die stärkere ist, so wird man schwerlich eine Entscheidung treffen können, wenn sich Johannes auch von dem kapitalen Irrtum frei erhalten hat, Christus vom AT ganz loszureißen. M.s innere Verfassung bei seiner Arbeit läßt sich, wenn auch nur annähernd, verstehen; für die des vierten Evangelisten aber ist uns ein gewisses Verständnis nur möglich, wenn wir ihn als Enthusiasten (Pneumatiker) nehmen, eine Prädizierung, die ein volles Verständnis von vornherein ausschließt. Kommt man aber auch hier mit dem „moralischen" Maßstab, so kann kein Zweifel sein, daß ein ehrlicher Moralismus bei dem vierten Evangelisten schwerer zu einer Freisprechung gelangen wird als bei Marcion, zumal da dieser mit aufgedeckten Karten spielt, was sich von jenem nicht sagen läßt. Aber der moralische Maßstab ist hier wie dort nicht angebracht, weil es sich in dem einen Fall um einen Enthusiasten voll Geistes handelt, dem gegenüber ehrerbietige Zurückhaltung geboten ist, in dem anderen um einen eigensinnigen, d. h. von einem Gedanken beseelten, nüchternen und tatkräftigen religiösen Denker [1].

Um einen tatkräftigen religiösen Denker — die Tatkraft M.s liegt hier darin, daß er nicht einige christliche Texte verbessern, sondern daß er der Gemeinde Christi

1 Über die innere Verwandtschaft zwischen „Johannes" und Marcion, soweit sie besteht, wird später zu handeln sein.

eine neue Bibel schaffen wollte. Das Evangelium des Lukas und die Paulusbriefe hat er bearbeitet, um sie zusammenzustellen und dieses Corpus an die Stelle des AT zu setzen. Sowohl die Zusammenstellung im Sinne eines einheitlichen Kanons als die Idee, das AT durch eine neue Sammlung abzulösen, sind sein Werk [1], und dieses Werk hat er der großen Kirche siegreich aufgenötigt, wenn sie auch daneben das AT konserviert und die neue kanonische Sammlung anders bestimmt, d. h. durch „urapostolische" Schriften und die Pastoralbriefe erweitert und in das Licht der Apostelgeschichte gerückt hat. Hiervon wird im Kapitel über Marcion als Organisator zu handeln sein; aber schon hier mußte darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die großen textkritischen Bemühungen M.s nicht die Arbeit eines Literaten sind, sondern die eines Kirchenschöpfers, der mit genialem Blick die Notwendigkeit erkannte, seiner Kirche, der er das AT vorenthalten mußte, eine neue littera scripta als Urkunde ihres Glaubens zu geben.

Nach dem Tode des Meisters haben seine Schüler nicht nur die Arbeit am Texte der ihnen überlieferten Bibel fortgesetzt, sondern auch erstlich die Paulusbriefe durch vorangestellte „Argumenta" verständlich zu machen gesucht, zweitens einen gefälschten Laodizenerbrief der Bibel hinzugefügt, s. unten Kap. VIII und Beilage III S. 127*ff. 134*ff.

Vielleicht nur 20 Jahre, nachdem M. seine Bibel hergestellt hatte, und wahrscheinlich ebenfalls in Rom, hat Tatian in griechischer Sprache [2] sein mühsames Werk „Diatessaron" hergestellt und damit die ursprüngliche Absicht, die

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1 S. meine Abhandlung: „Die Entstehung des NT.s" (Beiträge z. Einl. i. d. NT, 6. Teil, 1914).

2 In der Annahme, daß Tatian sein Diatessaron griechisch herausgegeben hat, bin ich durch das Werk von Plooij über den niederländisch-lateinischen Tatian (1923) nicht erschüttert worden, da ich seine Nachweise in bezug auf die Abhängigkeit des deutschen (lateinischen) Diatessarons vom syrischen so wenig für zwingend halten kann, wie die früheren „Nachweise" Harveys, der Bibeltext des Irenäus sei vom Syrer abhängig. Auf diesem Gebiet verlockendster Täuschungen ist der Gebrauch von Mikroskopen vom Übel. Es gelten nur sinnenfältige Evidenzen, und sie fehlen hier.

bei der Aussonderung und Zusammenstellung der vier Evangelien gewaltet hat, verwirklicht [1]. Daß dieses Werk auch eine Tatbekämpfung des Evangeliums M.s sein sollte, ist aus der geschichtlichen Situation a priori gewiß (so offenbar sich das Christentum Tatians an einigen wichtigen Punkten mit dem M.s berührte; aber es war doch anders fundamentiert); aber a posteriori läßt es sich nicht erweisen. Übereinstimmungen in der Textfassung, wo sich solche finden, erklären sich am einfachsten durch die Annahme, daß M. und Tatian den römischen Text vor sich hatten.

Keine 20 Jahre mehr kann es gedauert haben, da schritten maßgebende Bischöfe in Kleinasien-Rom dazu, der Marcionitischen Zweigeteilten Bibel eine ebenfalls zweigeteilte Sammlung entgegenzusetzen und sie als das apostolisch-katholische Neue Testament zu prädizieren. Diese Nachschöpfung, unter dem Eindruck der Schöpfung M.s entstanden, ist schwerlich als eine befremdliche Neuerung empfunden worden, weil die vier Evangelien bereits seit mehr als einem Menschenalter im Gebrauch jener Kirchen standen, neben ihnen längst Paulusbriefe und andere alte Briefe und Apokalypsen im Gottesdienst und sonst den Gemeinden zugänglich gemacht wurden und die Apostelgeschichte im Kampf gegen M. sich als unentbehrlich erwies.

Was den Text anlangt, den M. für das Evangelium und die Paulusbriefe benutzt hat, so läßt sich sicher feststellen, daß er ein 𝔚text (= der Itext Sodens) war. Die Sonderlesarten M.s, die sich nicht aus seinen Tendenzen erklären, sind daher mindestens zum größten Teil nicht als von ihm geschaffene Lesarten, sondern als Varianten des ihm überlieferten 𝔚texts zu beurteilen. Näheres s. in den Beilagen III und IV.

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1 Daß die Aussonderung und Zusammenstellung der vier Evangelien ursprünglich nur den Sinn haben konnte, sie zu einem Werke zu verarbeiten, will ich nicht noch einmal beweisen. Es mußte aber die Ausführung von den führenden (d. h. den Kampf gegen die Häresien führenden) Kirchen unterlassen werden, weil sie bald alles Gewicht darauf legen mußten, authentische Schriften von Johannes und Matthäus zu besitzen; dadurch waren aber auch die Texte des Markus und Lukas gerettet.

V. Die „Antithesen“ Marcions[1].

Obgleich ein umfangreiches Material für die Rekonstruktion dieses Werks[2] zu Gebote steht, ist es bisher nicht gelungen, ein auch nur in den Grundzügen sicheres Bild von der Anlage des Buches zu gewinnen, und auch die nachstehende Untersuchung führt hier nicht zu einem befriedigenden Ergebnis. Fest steht, daß kein anderes Werk von M. selbst bekannt ist als die „Antithesen“[3]. Was also an Sätzen M.s zuverlässig überliefert ist oder was das Gepräge seiner eigenen Gedanken trägt,

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1 Der einzige und ungenügende Versuch, M.s Antithesen wiederherzustellen, findet sich in Hahns „Antitheses Marcionis gnostici“ Königsberg, 1823.

2 Der kecke Titel „*Ἀντιθέσεις*“ — ein rhetorischer Begriff — ist m. W. in der griechischen Literatur einzigartig. Apelles, Marcions Schüler, gab ein Buch unter dem Titel „*Συλλογισμοί*“ heraus, Tatian, dem M. geistesverwandt, ein Werk „*Προβλήματα*“. Man erinnert sich des Werks des Stephanus Gobarus und des „Sic et Non“ Abälards.

3 Nur Tertullian hat noch einen Brief M.s erwähnt (s. o. S. 27. 21*; ob mehrere Briefe, darüber s. unten S. 78). Epiphanius spricht zwar (haer. 42, 9) von *συντάγματα*, die M. für die von ihm Verführten geschrieben hat, aber das ist nur ein Widerhall der Antithesen, Irenäus kündigt an, er werde M. aus seinen eigenen Schriften („scriptis“) widerlegen (I, 27), aber auch das führt nicht über die Antithesen hinaus. Ephraem spricht ebenfalls von Schriften M.s. Da er die Antithesen gekannt hat, muß man an diese denken. Über Marutas Angaben s. beim Apostolikon M.s S. 363*. Ein unbekannter alter syrischer Schriftsteller (Schäfers, Eine altsyr., antimarcionit. Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn usw., 1917, S. 3f.) legt dem Marcion eine Schrift „Proevangelium“ bei, verbreitet sich über diesen Titel und bringt einen Jubelruf in bezug auf das Evangelium aus dem Anfang des Buches. Dieses Zitat paßt vorzüglich als Anfang des Antithesenwerks; man darf es daher für echt halten. Was aber den Namen „Proevangelium“ betrifft, so braucht er nicht, wie jener Schriftsteller meint, auszudrücken, daß das, was im Buche folge, früher sei als das Evangelium, sondern kann sehr wohl als „Einleitung“ zum Evangelium verstanden werden; dann aber darf man ohne Bedenken in dem „Proevangelium“ das Antithesenwerk erkennen, von dem Tertullian bemerkt, daß M. es dem Evangelium als „dos“ und „patrocinium“ zugestellt habe. R. Harris (Marcions Book of Contradict., im „Bull. of the John Rylands Libr.“, Manchester, Vol. VI Nr. 3, 1921, p. 289 ff.) hält es für undenkbar, daß das Jubelwort über das Evangelium am Anfang der „Antithesen“ gestanden hat. Dagegen hält er es für wahrscheinlich (nach Tert.

muß aus ihnen stammen. Fest steht ferner, daß, wie schon der Titel ahnen läßt und Tertullian ausdrücklich bemerkt, die Entgegenstellung der Worte und Taten des Weltschöpfers und des guten Gottes (bzw. seines Christus), damit aber auch die Entgegenstellung des Gesetzes (des ATs) und des Evangeliums, in der Form von „singulae iniectiones“ den wesentlichen Inhalt des Werks gebildet hat[1]. Weiter charakterisiert Tertullian das Werk im Sinne M.s als ein polemisch-apologetisches: es sollte aus den nachgewiesenen Gegensätzen im großen wie im einzelnen die Notwendigkeit hervorgehen, zwei feindliche Götter zu unter-

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I, 2), daß dort Erwägungen über den Ursprung des Bösen gestanden haben. Allein, wenn Tertullian einen von M. verfaßten Eingang bzw. ein Vorwort zum Evangelium gelesen hätte, hätte er sich mit ihm befaßt, und wie soll M. es gewagt haben, dem Evangelium eine Einleitung zu geben!

1 Tert. I, 19: „Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis, nec poterunt negare discipuli eius quod in summo instrumento habent, quo denique initiantur et indurantur in hanc haeresim; nam hae sunt ‚Antithesîs‘ Marcionis, i. e. contrariae oppositiones, quae conantur discordiam evangelii cum lege committere, ut ex diversitate sententiarum utriusque testamenti diversitatem quoque argumententur deorum“. IV, 6: „. . . ipsum evangelium Marcionis provocantes sic quoque probaturi adulteratum. certe enim totum quod elaboravit etiam Antithesîs praestruendo in hoc cogit, ut VT et NT diversitatem constituat, proinde Christum suum a creatore separaturus, ut dei alterius, ut alienum legis et prophetarum. certe propterea contraria quaeque sententiae suae erasit, conspirantia cum creatore, quasi ⟨ab⟩ adsertoribus eius intexta, competentia autem sententiae suae reservavit“. IV, 1: „. . . ut fidem instrueret (suo evangelio), dotem quandam commentatus est illi — opus ex contrietatum oppositionibus ‚Antithesîs‘ cognominatum et ad separationem legis et evangelii coactum —, qua duos deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius instrumenti vel, quod magis usui est dicere, testamenti, ut exinde evangelio quoque secundum Antithesîs credendo patrocinaretur. sed et istas proprio congressu comminus i. e. per singulas iniectiones Pontici cecidissem, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso evangelio, cui procurant, retunderentur“. IV,4: „Si id evangelium, quod Lucae refertur apud nos — viderimus an et penes Marcionem — ipsum est, quod Marcion per Antithesîs suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum, qua etiam Christum inde confingerent, utique non potuisset arguere nisi quod invenerat“. II, 29: „Antitheses gestiunt ex qualitatibus ingeniorum sive legum sive virtutum discernere atque ita alienare Christum a creatore ut optimum a iudice et mitem a fero et salutarem ab exitioso“.

scheiden und daher die Unabhängigkeit des Evangeliums vom AT und seine absolute Neuheit anzuerkennen. Endlich sollte das Werk nicht nur eine literarische Zugabe („dos") zum Evangelium und eine Versicherung („patrocinium") für dasselbe sein, sondern auch ein für die Gemeinde maßgebendes Werk, also ihr symbolisches Buch. Zwar wissen wir nicht auf Grund eines positiven Zeugnisses, daß M. selbst diese Anweisung gegeben hat, aber wir dürfen es bestimmt vermuten; denn die Marcioniten hatten es bereits z. Z. Tertullians „in summo instrumento, quo initiantur et indurantur in hanc haeresim", was doch nichts anderes heißt [1], als daß seine Autorität von jedem Marcioniten anerkannt werden mußte, und zwar beim Eintritt, und es war M.s Art, alles in seiner Kirche auf umschriebene feste Grundlagen zu stellen [2]. Das Evangelium und Apostolikon M.s waren ja auch in ihren Absichten nur halbverständlich, wenn ihnen nicht die Erklärung zur Seite trat, welche die Antithesen boten; sie mußten daher von Anfang an diese begleiten.

Genannt mit dem Titel hat das Werk nur Tertullian

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1 Man beachte den Ausdruck „in summo instrumento" (instrumentum heißt auch die h. Schrift bei Tert.; doch ist das „summum" eher eine Abschwächung als eine Verstärkung; denn hätten die Antithesen genau dieselbe Autorität bei M. besessen wie das Ev. und das Apostolikon, so hätte Tert. einfach „in instrumento" geschrieben; so aber darf man vermuten, daß Tert. subjektiv färbt und übertreibt). Zu vgl. ist IV, 4: „Antithesîs non modo fatentur Marcionis, sed et praeferunt".

2 Andere Zeugnisse über Inhalt und Charakter der Antithesen finden sich noch Tert. II, 28 (sie enthalten eine Zusammenstellung der „pusillitates et malignitates ceteraeque notae" des Weltschöpfers); II, 29 (Tert., nachdem er einzelne Antithesen in den zwei ersten Büchern adv. Marc. widerlegt hat, hält eine „operosior destructio" für unnötig); IV, 9 („Praestruximus quidem adversus Antithesîs nihil proficere proposíto Marcionis quam putat diversitatem legis et evangelii, ut et hanc a creatore dispositam"); IV, 24 (ausdrückliche Anführung einer Antithese M.s); IV, 36 (zu Luk. 18, 42; „. . . .atque ita caecus remanebit, ruens in Antithesin, ruentem et ipsam Antithesin"). Nicht eine inspirierte, wohl aber eine schlechthin maßgebende Autorität kam den Antithesen in M.s Kirche zu. Nach Maruta, der aber vielleicht nicht ganz richtig referiert, soll das Werk als „Summa" kanonisches Ansehen bei den Marcioniten besessen haben. Was sie vom AT erfuhren, erfuhren sie mit negativen Vorzeichen aus diesem Buch.

(und seine Ausschreiber)[1]. Gekannt haben es sicher nicht wenige katholische Polemiker der älteren Zeit; aber für uns kommen nur der Presbyter bei Irenäus, Irenäus selbst, Origenes (wahrscheinlich auch Celsus), Ephraem und ein unbekannter syrischer Schriftsteller in Betracht. Nicht gesehen haben es Adamantius, Hieronymus, Epiphanius, Maruta, Esnik[2], vermutlich auch nicht der Verfasser der pseudoklementinischen Homilien, usw.; aber Adamantius bringt sehr Wertvolles aus solchen Schriften, deren Verfasser die Antithesen gekannt haben.

Das Werk war einem ungenannten Konfessionsgenossen gewidmet; das ist wenigstens die wahrscheinlichste Deutung der Stelle Tert. IV, 9. Hier sieht sich Tert. genötigt, auf die unzulässigen Folgerungen einzugehen, die M. in ausführlicher Darlegung an die Perikope von der Heilung des Aussätzigen geheftet hat (Luk. 5, 12 ff.), und bemerkt: „Sed quoniam attentius argumentatur apud illum suum nescio quem *συνταλαίπωρον* i. e. commiseronem et *συμμισούμενον* i. e. coodibilem in leprosi purgationem, non pigebit ei occurrere“[3]. Der eine war für M. wohl Repräsentant aller seiner Gesinnungsgenossen, und so kann Tert. an einer anderen Stelle dem M. zurufen (IV, 36): „Age, Marcion omnesque iam ‚commiserones et coodibiles‘ eius haeretici, quid audebitis dicere?“[4] Man lernt aus Tert. IV, 9 ein Doppeltes: erstlich daß die Antithesen dem Tert. nicht (oder doch nicht nur) lateinisch, wie M.s Bibel, sondern auch griechisch vorlagen[5], zweitens daß sie nicht nur Antithesen im engsten

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1 „*Ἀντιπαραθέσεις*“ (Hippol., Refut. VII, 30) ist eine Anspielung auf den Titel; vgl. auch das „e contrario opponentes“ des Presbyters bei Iren. I, 28, 1), von den Marcioniten gesagt, und Orig., Comm. V in Joh. p. 105: *Ἐὰν σιωπήσωμεν, μὴ ἀντιπαρατιθέντες.*

2 Esnik's Darstellung der Lehre M.s fußt auf einer späteren Marcionitischen Schrift; indirekt wird auch sie von den Antithesen aufs stärkste beeinflußt gewesen sein.

3 Zu vgl. Justin (Apol., Adresse); er sagt, daß er eintrete für die *ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισούμενοι καὶ ἐπηρεαζόμενοι.* Die Anrede *συνταλαίπωρος* (*-οι*) ist wohl aus Röm. 7, 24 zu erklären.

4 Tert. IV, 34 heißt es in einer wörtlich mitgeteilten Ausführung M.s zu Luk. 16, 18: „‚Vides diversitatem legis et evangelii, Moysis et Christi‘“.

5 Indirekt bestätigen die griechischen Worte, die er hier aus den Antithesen anführt, die Beobachtung, daß M.s Bibel dem Tert. nur lateinisch

Sinn enthalten haben, sondern auch ausführlichere „argumentationes" in bezug auf den richtigen Sinn von Bibelstellen [1]. Nun aber bemerkt Tert. ferner noch (IV, 4, s. oben), daß M. in seinen Antithesen das Lukasev. als verfälscht dargestellt habe und zwar von den „protectoribus Iudaismi" (um die Einheit mit dem Gesetz und Propheten zu erweisen), und sagt dazu ausdrücklich (IV, 3): „M. conititur — natürlich in den Antithesen — ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur vel etiam apostolicorum ut scil. fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat" [2]. Also enthielten die Antithesen

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vorgelegen hat: denn niemals zitiert er griechisch aus ihr. Daß die Antithesen auch schon ins Lateinische übersetzt waren, ist bei dem engen Verhältnis zwischen ihnen und der Bibel M.s wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht ganz gewiß. Unter den zahlreichen Anführungen aus den Antithesen in allen fünf Büchern Tert.s gibt es nur noch einen Ausdruck, der auf eine griechische Vorlage (die Bezeichnung Christi als ὁ ἐπερχόμενος, Tert. IV, 23, 25) führen könnte; aber er braucht nicht notwendig ihnen entnommen zu sein. Daher der Einfall, die Stelle könne aus einem Briefe M.s stammen, also mit den Antithesen gar nichts zu tun haben. Hilgenfeld (Ketzergesch. S. 525) nimmt das sogar für gewiß an, indem er dazu aus de carne 2 folgert, Tert. müsse mehrere Briefe M.s gekannt haben, weil er dort den Ausdruck „in quadam epistula" brauche. Aber dieses Argument ist nichts weniger als sicher; viel näher liegt m. E. die Annahme, daß Tert. die Antithesen meint.

1 Nach IV, 1 kann es scheinen, als müßten die „Antithesen" durch Gegenüberstellung von ATlichen und evangelischen Stellen ausschließlich und in strengster Fassung nur dem Nachweis gedient haben, daß der Gott des Evangeliums ein neuer Gott sei, der im Gegensatz zum ATlichen stehe; denn Tert. glaubt das ganze Werk durch den kurzen hier gelieferten Nachweis zu widerlegen, daß der ATliche Gott selbst ein Neues vorher verkündigt habe, daß seine Schöpfung voller Antithesen sei und daß man daher aus der Verschiedenheit der Worte und Taten nicht auf die Verschiedenheit der Götter schließen dürfe. Er schließt diesen Nachweis (IV, 2) mit dem Satze: „Habes nunc ⟨ad⟩ Antithesîs expeditam a nobis responsionem; transeo nunc ad evangelii . . . demonstrationem". Allein Tert. kann hier nur an den Grundgedanken des Werks gedacht haben; denn er bringt ja in den folgenden Abschnitten selbst zahlreiche kritische Einzelheiten und Schriftauslegungen, die in den „Antithesen" gestanden haben, die keineswegs Antithesen im strengen Sinn sind und mit dem Hauptgedanken loser zusammenhängen.

2 Voransteht: „Marcion nactus epistulam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis ut non recte pede incedentes ad veritatem

auch die prinzipiellen Auseinandersetzungen über die „judaistischen Christen“, über die „Verfälschung“ des Evangeliums in der kirchlichen Tradition und gegen die vier Evangelien, die mithin als autoritative Sammlung damals schon existierten. Also müssen auch die Ausführungen über die Apostel und das apostolische Zeitalter, welche M. zu Gal. 1. 2 gegeben hat, hier gestanden haben [1].

evangelii (er bezog also den Tadel gegen Petrus auf alle Apostel), simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi“. Man kann daher schwerlich zweifeln, daß M. bei Gal. 1. 2 die ganze Evangelienfrage abgehandelt hat.

1 Es gibt dafür einen von zwei Seiten ineinandergreifenden Beweis: Tert., der IV, 1 ff zur Prüfung der Bibel M.s übergeht, geht gleichzeitig zu den Antithesen über und erörtert sofort (c. 1—6) M.s Stellung zum apostolischen Zeitalter, zu den Aposteln, zu den vier Evv. in Anknüpfung an Gal. 2; Maruta aber teilt mit, daß die Marcioniten an Stelle der Apostelgeschichte, die sie verwerfen, die „Summa“, nämlich die Antithesen, gesetzt haben. — Daß M. den Vier-Evv.-Kanon kritisiert hat, folgt auch aus Iren. III, 11, 9: „Marcion totum reiciens evangelium, immo vero se ipsum abscindens ab evangelio, partem gloriatur se habere evangelii“. Überhaupt lehrt der direkt aus den Marcionitischen Urkunden selbst geflossene Bericht des Irenäus ebenfalls, daß in den Antithesen eine Kritik der Urapostel und Evangelisten enthalten war; s. I, 27: „Semetipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt qui evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit Marcion discipulis suis“. III, 2, 2: „Adversantur traditioni, dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis exsistentes sapientiores sinceram invenisse veritatem; apostolos enim admiscuisse ea quae sunt legalia salvatoris verbis“. III, 12, 12: „apostolos quidem adhuc quae sunt Iudaeorum sentientes annuntiasse evangelium, se autem sinceriores et prudentiores apostolis esse; unde et M. et qui ab eo sunt ad intercidendas conversi sunt scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem evangelium et epistolas Pauli decurtantes haec sola legitima esse dicunt, quae ipsi minoraverunt“. III, 13, 1 f: „Solus Paulus veritatem cognovit, cui per revelationem manifestatum est mysterium .... apostoli non cognoverunt veritatem“. Der Ausdruck in bezug auf die Marcioniten: „gloriantur se habere evangelium“, den Iren. zweimal braucht (III, 11; III, 14), setzt eine Kritik an anderen Evangelien voraus, ebenso wie der andere Ausdruck „peritiores apostolis“ (IV, 5 und sonst) eine Kritik an den Aposteln. Bei den schweren Eingriffen übrigens, die auch das 3. Ev. nötig machte, um es der neuen Lehre anzupassen, versteht man Tert.s Bemerkung (IV, 5): „Cur non evangelia Iohannis et Matthei quoque Marcion attigit aut emendanda, si adulterata, aut agnoscenda, si integra? ... Igitur dabo consilium discipulis eius, ut aut et illa convertant, licet sero“ etc.

Sobald das aber sicher ist, kann nicht bezweifelt werden, daß auch der große Stoff Marcionitischer Erklärungen von Bibelstellen, den Tert. fortlaufend im 4. und 5. Buch adv. Marc. und auch schon in den drei ersten Büchern bringt[1] und den andere literarische Gegner M.s herbeiführen, ferner dogmatisch-kritische Darlegungen verschiedener Art[2] sowie polemische, disputartige Ausführungen aus den Antithesen stammen. Dann also waren die Antithesen keineswegs nur ein großes Bündel kurzgefaßter Thesen und Gegenthesen, sondern sie hatten von diesen nur den Namen; sie selber aber waren eingebettet in ein Werk, in welchem das Evangelium und Apostolikon, sei es fortlaufend, sei es — wahrscheinlicher — an zahlreichen einzelnen Stellen apologetisch-polemisch, d. h. auch antithetisch kommentiert waren.

Aber nicht nur Stellen aus Lukas und Paulus waren in den Antithesen behandelt, sondern auch solche aus den Schriften der „judaistischen" Apostel bzw. Evangelisten. Wenn man bei Origenes (Comm. XV, 1 ff. in Matth., T. III p. 333) eine Ausführung M.s zu Matth. 19, 12 ff. liest (Selbstentmannung), so kann diese nur in den Antithesen gestanden haben. Dasselbe gilt in bezug auf Matth. 5, 17; denn es unterliegt nach Tert. (IV. 7. 9. 12. 36; V, 14) keinem Zweifel, daß M. den Spruch, Jesus sei zur Erfüllung des Gesetzes und der Propheten gekommen, als einen falschen ausdrücklich abgelehnt und in sein Gegenteil verkehrt hat. Ferner geht aus Tert. III, 12f. deutlich hervor, daß M. sich gegen Matth. 1, 23 und 2, 11 gerichtet hat, indem er die Erfüllung der Weissagung Jes. 7, 14 in Jesus auf Grund von Jes. 8, 4 bestritt. In Hinsicht auf Tert. IV, 34 ist es, wie Zahn (Kanonsgesch. I S. 670) richtig gesehen hat, sehr wahrscheinlich, daß M., als er Luk. 16, 18 behandelte, auch Matth. 19, 3—8 ablehnend berücksichtigt hat. Um seine Auffassung vom Leibe Christi zu verteidigen, den er so auffaßte, wie sich die katho-

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1 Nur an wenigen Stellen kann man zweifeln, ob Tert. wirklich Ausführungen M.s bringt oder ihm Erklärungen supponiert. Tert. ist in dieser Hinsicht gewissenhaft; vgl. auch seine ausdrückliche Bemerkung de bapt. 12: „Audivi domino teste eiusmodi, ne quis me tam perditum existimet, ut ultro excogitem libidine stili, quae aliis scrupulum incutiant". Wenn er dem M. etwas supponiert, ist die Supposition in der Regel an sich deutlich oder er fügt, wie II, 17 „dices forsitan" ein.

2 Vor allem eine Kritik der Geschichte vom Sündenfall.

lischen Christen die von den Engeln bei ihren Erscheinungen angenommenen Leiber dachten, hat M. (nach Tert., De carne 3) auch gefragt, wo denn der Leib der Taube geblieben sei, in welchem der h. Geist erschienen. Da die Taufgeschichte in seinem Evangelium gestrichen war, hat er sich hierbei also der anderen Evangelien erinnert. Daß Johanneische Stellen in den Antithesen behandelt waren, läßt sich nicht sicher nachweisen; aber es ist möglich, daß M. auf die Fußwaschung eingegangen ist (s. Chrysost., Hom. VII in Phil., T. XI p. 246), und Ephraem (47. Lied gegen die Ketzer c. 2) berichtet vom Spott der Marcioniten über die Hochzeit zu Kana [1]. Vgl. Beilage IV S. 249* ff.

Apokryphes findet sich unter den Sprüchen Jesu, die M. geboten hat, nicht; er hat sich streng an das korrigierte dritte Ev. gehalten. Es wird daher auch nicht Marcion sein, welcher nach Clem., Strom. IV, 6, 41, den evangelischen Spruch geboten hat: *Μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι.* Clemens macht zwar für ihn die *μετατιθέντες τὰ εὐαγγέλια* verantwortlich, so daß man an M. denken könnte; aber er hat hier wohl Enkratiten im Auge, wie ja auch der Begriff „*τέλειος*“ ihnen, nicht aber M., nahe lag. An einen apokryphen Spruch, bzw. an eine Textfassung bei Luk., die wir heute nicht mehr besitzen, kann man vielleicht bei Clem., Strom. III, 10, 69 denken, wo es heißt, nach der Exegese der Marcioniten habe der Herr gelehrt, *μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι, τὸν γενεσιουργὸν θεόν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα, ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸν πεφυκότα.* Allein das kann auch eine Auslegung z. B. zur Geschichte von den zehn Aussätzigen sein. Was den Umfang des AT.s betrifft, das M. benutzt hat, so hat er, soviel ich sehe, nur solche Bücher herangezogen, die dem hebräischen Kanon angehören. Aber einen sicheren Schluß möchte ich hier nicht ziehen.

Von der Form des Werkes vermag man sich nach dieser Ausführung doch noch keine Vorstellung zu machen. Nicht nur bleibt die Frage im Dunkeln, ob fortlaufende Erklärungen anzunehmen sind, sondern auch das Verhältnis zur Bibel M.s bietet ein Problem. Liest man nämlich das 4. und 5. Buch Tert.s gegen M.,

1 Die Zitate des Marcioniten Markus (bei Adamantius) aus dem Joh.-Ev. kommen für M. selbst nicht in Betracht.

so hat man nicht den Eindruck, daß Tert. außer der Marcionitischen Bibel noch ein anderes Werk neben sich liegen hatte, vielmehr scheint er den Text und die Auslegungen und Exkurse M.s (samt den Antithesen im strengen Sinn des Worts) aus einem Werke zu schöpfen. Dieser Eindruck ist so stark, daß Hahn (Ev. Marcions S. 108 ff.) und Ritschl (Ev. M.s S. 18. 120) die Hypothese aufgestellt haben, die „Antithesen" hätten aus zwei Teilen bestanden, ein vorwiegend dogmatisch-historischer Hauptteil hätte als Einleitung vor dem Ev. und Apostolikon gestanden, und ein zweiter Teil hätte als Scholien exegetischer und kritischer Art den gesamten Text der biblischen Bücher begleitet. Allein die anderen Zeugen für M.s Bibel haben nichts anderes vor sich gehabt als den puren Text, und Tert. selbst behandelt die Antithesen, wenn er von ihnen ausdrücklich spricht, fraglos als ein ganz selbständiges Werk. Am deutlichsten ist das IV, 1, wo es heißt: „Ut fidem instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est evangelio . . . . ., qua duos deos dividens . . . .evangelio . . . . . patrocinaretur. sed et istas proprio congressu comminus, i. e. per singulas iniectiones Pontici, cecidissem, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso evangelio, cui procurant, retunderentur". Es ist also Tert., der bei dem Unternehmen im 4. und 5. Buch, M. aus seiner eigenen Bibel zu widerlegen, diese und die Antithesen zusammengeschoben hat. Daß ihm aber das so glücken konnte, daß man meinen muß, er habe nur eine einzige Vorlage vor sich, kann schwerlich anders erklärt werden, als daß die „Antithesen" in einem Hauptabschnitt oder in dem Hauptteil den wichtigen Stellen in dem Evangelium und den Paulusbriefen Kapitel für Kapitel gefolgt sind. Dann konnte Tert. ohne Mühe bei jeder Stelle die Marcionitische Auslegung bzw. Bemerkung finden und wiedergeben. Die Bibeltexte waren also zu einem beträchtlichen Teil in den Antithesen wiederholt — das läßt sich namentlich auch aus den einzelnen Antithesen, wie sie bei Adamantius wiedergegeben sind, beweisen —, und von hier aus mag sich auch ein Teil der Unsicherheiten in der Textfassung M.s, die die Überlieferung aufweist, aufs einfachste erklären; denn daß die in die Antithesen hinübergenommenen Texte in Einzelheiten nicht immer mit den Texten im Kodex stimmten, ist nicht auffallend. Wir dürfen annehmen, daß vor allem die von Adamantius gebotenen Texte zu einem Teil nicht

direkt aus der Bibel M.s, sondern aus den „Antithesen“, in denen sie standen, stammen.

Hiermit ist, die Form des Werkes betreffend, wenigstens soviel gewonnen, daß wir zwei Teile unterscheiden dürfen, (1) historisch-dogmatische Ausführungen, die mit der Darlegung des Verhältnisses des Paulus zu den Uraposteln [1], der Rechtfertigung der neuen Bibel und der Zurückweisung der falschen Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte begannen, und (2) einen fortlaufenden, wenn auch eklektischen Scholienkommentar [2] mit „iniectiones“. Da aber auch dieser Teil durchweg auf einen Ton gestimmt war und in ermüdender Wiederholung den Gegensatz von Gesetz und Evangelium und deshalb der beiden Götter predigte, so konnte nicht nur das Ganze „Antitheses“ heißen, sondern es war auch wirklich ein Antithesen-Werk.

Eine Schwierigkeit ist bei der Rekonstruktion dieses Werkes noch dadurch gegeben, daß Tert. in seiner Polemik in allen fünf Büchern sich nicht nur gegen Marcion richtet, sondern in buntem Wechsel auch an die Marcioniten, und nicht nur jenen redend einführt, sondern ebensooft auch diese, ja öfters ist das Tiefste und Aufklärendste, was er aus der Lehre Marcions beibringt, in der Form gegeben: „Die Marcioniten sagen“ oder „Ihr sagt“. Es ist hier offenbar, daß Tert. wirklich Marcioniten vor sich hat, ja man hat an einigen Stellen den sicheren Eindruck, daß seine Ausführungen und die Bemerkungen seiner Gegner der

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1 Merkwürdig ist, daß auch Porphyrius sein umfangreiches Werk über die Christen mit der Kritik des Streits des Paulus mit den Uraposteln (Gal. 2) begonnen hat; denn sie stand im 1. Buch des Werkes (s. meine Sammlung der Porphyrius-Fragmente Nr. 21, S. 53). Hat Porphyrius die „Antithesen“ direkt oder indirekt gekannt?

2 Aus Origenes' Auseinandersetzungen mit M. gewinnt man den sicheren Eindruck, daß ihm Erklärungen M.s zu sehr vielen Bibelstellen vorgelegen haben; deshalb kann er sich (Comm. I, 18 in Rom., T. VI p. 55 f. Lomm.) beschweren, daß die Marcioniten „ne extremo quidem digito“ die Schwierigkeiten berührt haben, die in Röm. 1, 24 f. liegen. Man kann geradezu sagen, daß ihm ein Teil der Marcionitischen Bibel kommentiert vorlag; aber das ist auch der Eindruck, den man aus Tert., Adv. Marc. IV. V gewinnt. Man muß sich diese Erklärungen formell etwa wie die in Bengels Gnomon denken, aber nicht als fortlaufende Beischriften zum NT, sondern im Antithesen-Werk.

Widerhall von Disputationen sind, die Tert. mit ihnen in Karthago geführt hat. Dennoch sind diese Partien nicht mit dem Messer von den Zitaten, die aus den Antithesen beigebracht werden, zu scheiden. Die Ungewißheit indes, die hier übrigbleibt, ist für die Frage des geistigen Eigentums M.s deshalb nicht störend, weil es sich in diesen Fällen nicht um das Problem der *Ἀρχαί* bei M. und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis handelt — hier gingen die Schüler sehr bald auseinander und ergänzten den Meister in verschiedener Weise —, sondern um die Grundfragen Marcionitischen Glaubens und Marcionitischer Gesinnung. In diesen ist aber selbst Apelles, der sich in der Theologie am weitesten von seinem Meister entfernte, ein echter Marcionit geblieben. Was die Schüler über die beiden Sphären, die der Gerechtigkeit und die der Liebe, ferner über Sünde, Gesetz, Evangelium und Erlösung geäußert haben, ist so einstimmig, daß es mit Sicherheit als das geistige Eigentum M.s selbst in Anspruch genommen werden darf.

Eine Rekonstruktion der Antithesen ist unmöglich, weil ja nicht einmal die Disposition des Werks deutlich ist. Durch bloße Zusammenstellungen der Antithesen im engsten Sinn des Worts ist wenig gewonnen, zumal da sich in der Überlieferung zahlreiche halbe Antithesen finden, die der Ergänzung bedürfen, sei es aus dem AT, sei es aus dem Evangelium. Von großer Wichtigkeit ist es aber, daß M. in den Antithesen augenscheinlich niemals gegen zwei schriftliche Testamente seiner Gegner polemisiert hat. Immer ist es lediglich das AT, das er als die geoffenbarte litera scripta des falschen Christentums angreift; von zwei Offenbarungsurkunden der großen Kirche, einer alten und einer neuen, weiß er schlechterdings nichts. Daraus folgt mit Evidenz, daß die Kirche seiner Zeit ein NT noch nicht besessen hat, wie das ja auch aus Justins Dialog mit Trypho deutlich hervorgeht [1]. Der litera scripta seiner Gegner, dem AT, setzt er seine neue litera scripta, das Evangelium und den Apostolos, entgegen. Gewiß sah er bereits die vier Evangelien als höchstgeschätzte Werke in ihren Händen; aber sie hatten bei ihnen noch nicht

1 Die beiden Testamente als schriftliche sind auch bei dem Presbyter des Irenäus noch nicht deutlich.

die Dignität, schriftliche Urkunde des neuen Bundes und daher das zweite Testament zu sein.

Abgesehen von der Einleitung, welche die vier Evangelien der großen Kirche als falsche zurückwies, die Apostel und Apostelschüler des Judaismus zieh, den durch eine besondere Offenbarung berufenen Apostel Paulus allein gelten ließ und sein Evangelium mit dem direkt von Christus geschenkten, dem Lukas entfremdeten und von judaistischen Interpolationen gereinigten dritten Evangelium identifizierte — lag die Stärke der Antithesen, soweit sie nicht exegetische Ausführungen zur neuen Bibel enthielten, in der Kritik des ATs.

Diese Kritik verfolgte einen doppelten Zweck: erstlich sollte sie die unbarmherzige „Gerechtigkeit“, peinigende Strenge und Grausamkeiten, Leidenschaften, Eifer und Zorn des Weltschöpfers, ferner seine bösen Parteilichkeiten, Kleinlichkeiten und Beschränktheiten, endlich seine Selbstwidersprüche und Schwächen, sein haltloses Schwanken und seine sittlich oft so bedenklichen Gebote und Befehle ans Licht ziehen; diese Kritik gipfelte in dem Nachweis, daß er auch der „conditor malorum“, der Erreger von Kriegen, lügenhaft in seinen Versprechungen und boshaft in seinen Taten sei [1]. Zweitens sollte diese Kritik dartun, daß alle Verheißungen des Weltschöpfers irdisch und zeitlich seien und sich, soweit sie nicht ganz haltlos, bereits in der Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes erfüllt hätten oder noch erfüllen würden; deshalb sei auch der verheißene Messias ein irdischer Kriegskönig, der wirklich noch kommen werde; die auf ihn zielenden Weissagungen seien aber nicht zahlreich, da sich das meiste schon in David, Salomo usw. erfüllt habe und fälschlich auf den zukünftigen Messias gedeutet werde [2]. Mit dieser Kritik stellte sich M. in der Kontroverse zwischen den Großkirchenleuten und den Juden in bezug auf die Deutung des ATs auf die Seite der letzteren; die ungünstige und von seinen kirchlichen Gegnern

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1 Eine gute Übersicht über alle schlimmen Eigenschaften des Weltschöpfers nach M. in den pseudoklementinischen Homilien II, 43.

2 Der Inhalt der Antithesen deckt sich also vollständig mit den Absichten, die M. bei seinen Korrekturen des Evangeliums und der Paulusbriefe geleitet haben; s. o. S. 64.

reichlich ausgebeutete [1] Position, in die er dadurch kam, nahm er entschlossen in den Kauf. Unzweifelhaft hat er Argumente benutzt, welche die jüdische Polemik gegen die kirchliche Auslegung der messianischen Stellen des ATs gerichtet hat. Daß er sie ihr entnommen hat, kann man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit, aber nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, s. o. S. 22, auch 67.

Ein tieferes Eindringen in den Geist des ATs oder gar eine wirklich historische Betrachtung desselben fehlt auch M. vollständig. Indessen hat auch die moralisch-religiöse, einfach auf dem Wortlaut fußende Kritik ihr Recht einer Urkunde gegenüber, die als heilig und maßgebend gelten will. Sehr bemerkenswert ist aber, daß M. das AT als geschlossenes Ganze anerkannt, keine Verfälschungen, Interpolationen usw. angenommen und das Buch auch nicht für „lügenhaft", vielmehr für durchaus glaubwürdig gehalten hat. Während er zahlreiche urchristliche Bücher als judaistische Fälschungen beurteilte und das 3. Evangelium sowie die Paulusbriefe, wie sie die Kirche las, für stark interpoliert erklärte, dehnte er diese Art Kritik nicht auf das AT aus (s. o.)[2]. Dies ist um so auffallender, als zu seiner Zeit in einigen Kreisen des Spätjudentums, besonders aber bei den Gnostikern, Versuche einer differenzierenden Würdigung des ATs nicht fehlten, die bis zur Ausmerzung einzelner Teile und zur Annahme größerer oder geringerer Interpolationen vorschritten. Die ablehnende Haltung M.s [3] stellt ihn auch hier wiederum an die Seite des orthodoxen Judentums, dessen christenfeindliche, zeitgeschichtliche Auslegung des ATs er ja auch billigte und wahrscheinlich übernommen hat. In dieser Hinsicht kommt namentlich die Ablehnung jeder allegorischen und typologischen Erklärung in Betracht, die für M., wie bereits oben S. 66 f. gezeigt worden, besonders charakteristisch ist. Es haben in den Antithesen ausdrückliche Zurückweisungen dieser schwarzen

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1 Tertullian hat z. T. wörtlich dieselben Argumente sowohl gegen die Juden (adv. Jud.) als auch gegen die Marcioniten (adv. Marc. III) hier gerichtet; vgl. III, 8: „Desinat nunc haereticus a Iudaeo mutuari venenum".

2 Daß er doch eine gewisse Unterscheidung im AT gemacht hat, darüber s. Kap. VI, 3.

3 Ob er nicht doch einiges im AT höher schätzte, wird später zu untersuchen sein.

Kunst nicht gefehlt[1], mittels welcher die Kirchenväter ihre ganze Geschichtsbetrachtung zum Ausdruck bringen. Indem M. sie ablehnte, war er von vornherein nicht mehr in der Lage, das AT anzuerkennen und seine Konkordanz mit der christlichen Offenbarung festzuhalten. Aber natürlich ist die Beanstandung dieser Konkordanz bei ihm das Erste und die Verwerfung der allegorischen Methode die Folge.

Der ergreifende Jubelruf (s. o. S. 74), mit dem das Antithesen-Werk höchstwahrscheinlich begonnen hat („O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann") — der einzige längere Satz, den wir aus M.s Feder wörtlich besitzen —, ist sicher nicht maßgebend für die Feststellung des Stils, in dem das Werk verfaßt war; vielmehr zeigen die übrigen umfangreichen Reste einen ganz nüchternen und sachlichen Stil.

In der Beilage V sind die Reste der „Antithesen" vollständig, ja übervollständig gesammelt, da manches hier den Schülern zukommen mag, was sich von den Worten des Meisters nicht scheiden läßt (s. o. S. 83). Die Disposition des Materials mußte arbiträr sein. Den ausführlichen Bericht über M.s Lehre bei Esnik habe ich ausgeschlossen, da er wahrscheinlich nicht rein auf den Meister selbst zurückgeht.

Einiges Wesentliche zur Charakteristik der „Antithesen" soll aber auch an dieser Stelle zum Schluß mitgeteilt werden:

(1) Kein Stichwort scheint in den Antithesen häufiger gewesen zu sein als „neu". Es erklärt den Jubelruf, mit dem sie beginnen. Man vergleiche „Novus deus" (Tert. I, 9; IV, 20 und sonst), ἡ καινὴ θεότης (Orig., Comm. in Joh. I § 82), „regnum novum"; „regnum novum et inauditum" (Tert. III, 24; IV, 24); Christus bringt das Neue, weil er sich selbst gebracht hat (Iren. IV, 33, 14 f.), „Christus novus dominator atque possessor elementorum" (Tert. IV, 20), „novae doctrinae novi Christi" (IV, 28), „virtutes Christi novae" (III, 3 f.), „novum documentum der Macht und der Güte Christi durch die Erweckung des Jünglings

1 Vermutlich hat er sich am Anfang der „Antithesen" über seine hermeneutischen Grundsätze, bzw. über die Ablehnung der allegorischen Methode geäußert.

von Nain" (IV, 18), „novum praeceptum, die Sünden immer wieder zu vergeben" (IV, 35), „novum est, allen Brüdern zu vergeben" (IV, 16), „nova Christi institutio der Sabbatsgebotsaufhebung" (IV, 12), „nova Christi benignitas" (IV, 10), „nova patientia, die sich in den neuen Geboten Christi offenbart" (IV, 16), „forma sermonis in Christo nova, cum similitudines obiicit, cum quaestiones refutat" (IV, 11), „Paulus auctor aut confirmator novus" (V, 10), „novitas testamenti spiritus" (V, 11), „nova creatura" (nach II Kor. 5, 17; Adamant. II, 16 f.).

(2) Auf gewisse Stellen im AT und in seinem NT hat Marcion in den Antithesen besonders kräftig und wahrscheinlich wiederholt hingewiesen — im AT auf den Sündenfall (Tert. I, 2: „languens circa mali quaestionem"; Tert. II, 5: „haec sunt argumentationis ossa, quae obroditis"; Orig., De princ. I, 8, 2; II, 5, 4: „famosissima quaestio Marcionitarum"), auf den Raub der silbernen und goldenen Gefäße Ägyptens (der Presbyter bei Irenäus IV, 30. 31, Tert. II, 20; IV, 24), auf Jesaj. 7, 14; 8, 4 (Tert. III, 12: „provoca, ut soles"); im NT auf die Stellen vom faulen und guten Baum und vom neuen Flicken und dem alten Kleid, auf Luk. 10, 22 („Nur der Sohn kennt den Vater;" Tert. IV, 25: „hinc et alii haeretici fulciuntur"), auf Galat. 2 („principalis adversus Judaeos epistula", vv. ll.), auf die Seligpreisungen (Tert. IV, 14: „venio nunc ad ordinarias sententias eius, per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit, ad edictum, ut ita dixerim, Christi"), auf Luk. 18, 19 („Niemand ist gut als Gott allein", Orig., De princ. II, 5, 4: „die Marcioniten sehen in diesem Spruch gleichsam einen eigens ihnen gegebenen Schild" [1]), auf Luk. 16, 16 („das Gesetz und die Propheten reichen bis Johannes" Tert. IV, 33) und auf II Kor. 3, 3—13 (Tert. V, 11: „novum testamentum quod manet in gloria, vetus quod evacuari habebat").

(3) Nicht in den kurzen förmlichen Antithesen, die zu vielen Dutzenden in dem Werk gestanden haben, konnte M. das Tiefste, was er zu sagen hatte, zum Ausdruck bringen, aber sie sind doch für seine dezidierte christliche Denkart besonders charakteristisch.

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1 Vgl. Tert. I, 25: „Deus bonus beatum et incorruptibile est neque sibi neque aliis molestias praestat: hanc sententiam ruminat Marcion".

Daher mag hier die Mehrzahl in bunter Reihe stehen [1]. Angeregt haben ihn zu dieser literarischen Form sowohl die scharfen Gleichnisse Jesu (vom faulen und guten Baum und vom neuen Kleid und alten Flicken, die er auf die beiden Götter und ihre Ökonomie bezogen und an die Spitze seiner Darlegungen gestellt hat)[2], als auch die Paulinischen Antithesen im Galat.- und Römerbrief.

(I) Der Demiurg wurde Adam und den folgenden Geschlechtern bekannt, der Vater Christi aber ist unbekannt, wie Christus selbst von ihm in den Worten gesagt hat: Niemand hat den Vater erkannt außer der Sohn.

(II) Der Demiurg wußte nicht einmal, wo Adam weilte und rief daher: Wo bist du? Christus aber kannte auch die Gedanken der Menschen.

(III) Josua hat mit Gewalt und Grausamkeit das Land erobert; Christus aber verbietet alle Gewalt und predigt Barmherzigkeit und Friede.

(IV) Der Schöpfergott machte den erblindeten Isaak nicht wieder sehend, unser Herr aber, weil er gut ist, öffnete vielen Blinden die Augen.

(V) Moses mischte sich ungerufen in den Streit der Brüder, fuhr den Übeltäter an: Warum schlägst du deinen Nächsten? und wurde von ihm zurückgewiesen: Wer hat dich zum Lehrer oder Richter über uns gesetzt? Christus aber, als ihn einer aufforderte, daß er Erbschlichter sei zwischen ihm und seinem Bruder, verweigerte seine Mitwirkung sogar in einer so billigen Sache — weil er der Christus des guten und nicht des Richter-Gottes war — und sprach: Wer hat mich zum Richter über euch gesetzt?

(VI) Der Schöpfergott gab dem Moses beim Auszug aus Ägypten den Auftrag: Seid bereit, an den Lenden umgürtet, beschuht, die Stäbe in den Händen, die Säcke auf den Schultern, und traget Gold und Silber und all das, was den Ägyptern gehört, mit euch davon; unser Herr aber, der Gute, sprach zu seinen Jüngern bei ihrer Aussendung in die Welt: Habt keine Schuhe

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1 Die Fundorte findet man in der Beilage.

2 Die nächste Parallele bieten die Antithesen der Bergpredigt bei Matth. 5; auch sie können M. angeregt haben, obgleich er das Matth.-Ev. nicht gelten ließ; denn er kannte es ja.

an den Füßen, keinen Sack, kein zweites Gewand, kein Kleingeld in euren Gürteln!

(VII) Der Prophet des Schöpfergotts stieg, als das Volk in der Schlacht stand, auf den Gipfel des Berges und breitete seine Hände aus zu Gott, damit er möglichst viele in der Schlacht töte; unser Herr aber, der Gute, breitete seine Hände (scil. am Kreuze) aus, nicht um Menschen zu töten, sondern um sie zu erlösen.

(VIII) Im Gesetze heißt es: Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn; der Herr aber, der Gute, spricht im Evangelium: Wenn dich jemand auf den einen Backen schlägt, so biete ihm auch den andern dar.

(IX) Im Gesetz heißt es: Kleid um Kleid; aber der gute Herr sagt: Wenn jemand dein Kleid nimmt, laß ihm auch den Mantel.

(X) Der Prophet des Schöpfergotts ließ, um in der Schlacht möglichst viele zu töten, die Sonne stille stehen, damit sie nicht untergehe, bevor die feindlichen Gegner des Volks sämtlich vernichtet seien; der Herr aber, der Gute, spricht: Die Sonne soll nicht untergehen über eurem Zorn.

(XI) Die Blinden sind David bei der Wiedereroberung von Zion feindlich entgegengetreten, indem sie gegen seinen Einzug sich stemmten, und David hat sie töten lassen; Christus aber kam aus freien Stücken den Blinden hilfreich entgegen.

(XII) Der Weltschöpfer schickt auf die Forderung des Elias die Feuerplage; Christus aber verbietet den Jüngern, Feuer vom Himmel zu erbitten.

(XIII) Der Prophet des Schöpfergotts gebot den Bären, aus den Dickicht hervorzubrechen und die ihm begegnenden Kinder zu fressen; der gute Herr aber spricht: Lasset die Kinder zu mir kommen und wehret ihnen nicht. denn solcher ist das Himmelreich.

(XIV) Elisa, der Prophet des Weltschöpfers, hat von so vielen israelitischen Aussätzigen nur den e i n e n Aussätzigen, den Syrer Naaman, gereinigt; Christus hat, obgleich „der Fremde", einen Israeliten geheilt, den sein Herr [der Weltschöpfer] nicht hatte heilen wollen, und Elisa brauchte einen Stoff zur Heilung, nämlich Wasser, und siebenmal, Christus aber heilte durch e i n einmaliges bloßes Wort und sofort. Elisa hat nur e i n e n Aussätzigen

geheilt, Christus aber zehn, und diese gegen die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen; er ließ sie einfach des Weges gehen, auf daß sie sich den Priestern zeigten, und auf dem Wege reinigte er sie bereits — ohne Berührung und ohne ein Wort, durch schweigende Kraft, lediglich durch seinen Willen.

(XV) Der Prophet des Weltschöpfers spricht: Meine Bogen sind gespannt und meine Pfeile gespitzt gegen sie; der Apostel aber sagt: Ziehet die Rüstung Gottes an, auf daß ihr die feurigen Pfeile des Schlimmen auszulöschen vermögt.

(XVI) Der Weltschöpfer sagt: Mit den Ohren sollt ihr nicht (mehr) hören; Christus dagegen: Wer Ohren hat zu hören, der höre.

(XVII) Der Weltschöpfer sagt: Verflucht ist jeder, der an das Holz gehenkt ist; Christus aber erlitt den Kreuzestod.

(XVIII). Der Juden-Christus wird vom Weltschöpfer ausschließlich dafür bestimmt, das Judenvolk aus der Zerstreuung zurückzuführen, unser Christus aber ist vom guten Gott mit der Befreiung des gesamten Menschengeschlechts betraut worden.

(XIX) Der Gute ist gegen alle gut; der Weltschöpfer aber verheißt nur denen, die ihm gehorsam sind, das Heil . . . Der Gute erlöst die, die an ihn glauben, nicht aber richtet er die, die ihm ungehorsam sind; der Weltschöpfer aber erlöst seine Gläubigen und richtet und straft die Sünder.

(XX) Maledictio charakterisiert das Gesetz, benedictio den Glauben (das Evangelium).

(XXI) Der Weltschöpfer gebietet, den Brüdern zu geben, Christus aber, schlechthin allen Bittenden.

(XXII) Im Gesetz hat der Weltschöpfer gesagt: Ich mache den Reichen und den Armen; Christus aber preist (nur) die Armen selig.

(XXIII) In dem Gesetze des Gerechten wird das Glück den Reichen gegeben und das Unglück den Armen; im Evangelium ist es umgekehrt.

(XXIV) Im Gesetz spricht Gott (der Weltschöpfer): Du sollst lieben den, der dich liebt, und deinen Feind hassen; unser Herr, der Gute, aber sagt: Liebet eure Feinde und bittet für die, die euch verfolgen.

(XXV) Der Weltschöpfer hat den Sabbat angeordnet; Christus aber hebt ihn auf.

(XXVI) Der Weltschöpfer lehnt die Zöllner als nicht jüdische und profane Menschen ab; Christus nimmt die Zöllner an.

(XXVII) Das Gesetz verbietet die Berührung eines blutflüssigen Weibes, Christus berührt sie nicht nur, sondern heilt sie auch.

(XXVIII) Moses erlaubt die Ehescheidung, Christus verbietet sie.

(XXIX) Der Christus des AT verspricht den Juden die Wiederherstellung des früheren Zustandes durch Rückgabe ihres Landes und nach dem Tode in der Unterwelt eine Zuflucht in Abrahams Schoß; unser Christus wird das Reich Gottes, eine ewige und himmlische Besitzung, aufrichten.

(XXX) Beim Weltschöpfer sind der Straf- und der Zufluchtsort, beide, in der Unterwelt gelegen für die, die in der Hörigkeit des Gesetzes und der Propheten stehen; Christus aber und der Gott, zu dem er gehört, haben einen himmlischen Ruheort und Hafen, den der Weltschöpfer niemals verkündet hat.

Wer die Antithesen mit dem von M. hergestellten Bibeltext (aber auch mit dem Inhalt des gefälschten Laodizenerbriefs und dem der „Argumenta") vergleicht, muß staunen über die wuchtige Einheit und Einförmigkeit der wenigen Hauptgedanken, auf die alles hier reduziert wird. Nach M. soll man Evangelium, Briefe und AT n u r unter dem Gesichtspunkte lesen, wie neu die Botschaft von dem erlösenden Gott der Liebe und wie furchtbar und jämmerlich zugleich der schlimm-gerechte Gott der Welt und des Gesetzes ist. Nie wieder sind in der Geschichte des Christentums das Evangelium und das überlieferte ATliche und spätjüdische Kapital so stark reduziert, so eindeutig interpretiert und in einer so einfachen Formulierung zusammengefaßt worden, wie es hier geschehen ist. Nur Luther mit seinem Rechtfertigungsglauben vermag hier mit Marcion zu rivalisieren; aber indem er die Identität des Schöpfergottes und des Erlösergottes festhielt, vermochte er mit diesem Glauben den ganzen Reichtum der Heilsgeschichte und der „Gottesspuren" zu verbinden, den M. preisgeben mußte.

VI. Das Christentum Marcions und seine Verkündigung.

Wer zu lesen versteht, der kann aus den Resten der Antithesen und des Kanons alles ablesen, was M. gewollt und verkündigt hat; allein es ist doch geboten, das Überlieferte zu ordnen und zu durchleuchten [1]. Für die Darstellung der Verkündigung Marcions sind folgende vorläufige Beobachtungen von Wichtigkeit: (1) daß von einem Lehrsystem oder etwas dem Ähnlichen, was er aufgestellt und veröffentlicht hat, nichts bekannt ist, daß sich seine Schüler auf Lehrsätze von ihm in begrifflicher Form niemals berufen haben und daß alles, was er schriftlich hinterlassen hat, in den „Antithesen", bzw. in den hier gegebenen Exegesen von Bibelstellen niedergelegt war, (2) daß er sich niemals auf den „Geist" oder eine besondere, ihm zuteil gewordene Offenbarung berufen hat, (3) daß er, die Quellen seiner Lehre anlangend, alles „Apokryphe" abgelehnt und sich mit strenger Ausschließlichkeit an das Evangelium und den Apostolos, dazu auch an das AT gehalten hat [2], (4) daß er die Herbeiziehung irgendwelcher Mysterienweisheit und jeglicher „Philosophie" abgelehnt hat da er sie als „leeren Betrug" beurteilte, (5) daß er die allegorische und typologische Erklärung der Texte grundsätzlich verworfen hat [3], (6) daß sich in seiner Kirche sofort verschiedene Prinzipienlehren entwickelt haben, ohne daß diese Differenzierung — Apelles ausgenommen — zu Spaltungen der Kirche führten.

Marcions Verkündigung des Christentums will also nichts anderes sein als biblische Theologie, d. h. als Religionslehre, die sich positiv ausschließlich auf das Buch gründet, welches das Evangelium und die Paulusbriefe umfaßt, negativ auf das andere, auch tatsächlich richtige Buch, das AT. Beide Bücher wollen als *ψιλαὶ γραφαί* verstanden sein,

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1 Es ist dabei nicht beabsichtigt, auf alle Einzelheiten einzugehen; in bezug auf zahlreiche Details genügt es, sie in den „Antithesen" gelesen zu haben.

2 Ob letzterem gegenüber rein antithetisch, wird zu untersuchen sein.

3 Einige notgedrungene Ausnahmen wird man im folgenden finden.

d. h. ihr Inhalt liegt vollständig in ihrem Buchstaben beschlossen. Marcions Christentum — die ξένη γνῶσις, wie Clemens sie nennt — stellt sich als exklusive Buchreligion dar. Als erster in der Christenheit stützt er sich auf zwei große Buchsammlungen; aber sie gehören nicht zusammen, sondern die zweite stößt die erste ab.

1. Die Grundlegung.

Die Darstellung der christlichen Verkündigung M.s hat an das oben im III. Kapitel Ausgeführte anzuknüpfen. Daß die Lehre von den beiden Göttern, d. h. die Unterscheidung des Gesetzes und des Evangeliums, angeschlossen an „den schlechten und guten Baum" — „famosissima quaestio Marcionitarum" —, das Grundschema der Predigt bildete, unterliegt keinem Zweifel; aber wie M. religiös empfunden und wie er das Wesentliche bestimmt hat, ist zunächst nicht deutlich und doch die oberste Frage. Hier aber kommen uns zum Glück vier Zeugnisse entgegen, die uns über seine christliche Grundempfindung in ausgezeichneter Weise aufklären: (1) Das Antithesenwerk hat (s. o. S. 87) mit den Worten begonnen: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann." Dem entspricht es, daß das Evangelium wiederholt und in allen Stücken als etwas ganz Neues bezeichnet wird, sowohl seinem Inhalt nach (von der plötzlichen und neuen Erscheinung Christi, der „nova et hospita dispositio" (Tert. I, 2), an bis zu der „nova patientia", (IV, 16), als auch in seiner Form (IV, 11: „forma sermonis nova"). (2) Tertullian überliefert uns (I, 17) das Marcionitische Wort: „Sufficit unum hoc opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate sua et omnibus locustis anteponenda." (3) Tertullian und andere Zeugen berichten, der Grundgedanke des Galater- und Römerbriefs sei für M. der maßgebende gewesen, daß der Gerechte durch den Glauben an den Gekreuzigten eine „Umbildung" (μεταβολή) erlebe und in diesem Glauben „ex dilectione dei" die Erlösung und das ewige Leben empfange; M.s Schüler Apelles bestätigt das präzis und klar. (4) Tertullian (IV, 14) teilt uns mit, daß M. die Seligpreisungen als die „ordinariae

(die eigentlichen) sententiae Christi" bezeichnet habe, „per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit"; er nennt sie daher im Sinne M.s das „edictum Christi" und berichtet weiter (IV, 9 36), daß M. seine Glaubensgenossen als *συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενοι* bezeichnet und angeredet habe.

Aus diesen Zeugnissen bricht die Art der christlichen Erfahrung und Frömmigkeit M.s mit leuchtender Klarheit hervor. Das erste ist vielleicht das wichtigste; denn es lehrt uns, daß M. die ganze Macht und Gewalt des „Numinosen", um mit Otto zu reden, am Evangelium empfunden hat. Dies zu wissen ist aber von höchster Bedeutung; denn zunächst liegt der Verdacht sehr nahe, daß ein religiöser Denker, der nicht nur den Zorn und die Strafgerechtigkeit von der Gottheit ausschließt, sondern ihr auch die Schöpfung der Welt und diese selbst entzieht, einer schwächlichen Religion huldigt. Wenn es Gott gegenüber schlechthin keine Furcht und kein Zittern geben darf und wenn alle erhabenen Gefühle, welche die Anschauung der Welt und der große Gang des Weltgeschehens erzeugen, für apokryph, ja für irreligiös erklärt werden, so steigt die Vermutung auf, daß sich hier eine seltsam eingeschränkte und laue Frömmigkeit an die Stelle der Kraft gesetzt habe. Allein das gewaltige Brausen der Worte: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen" usw. zerstreut hier jeden Verdacht: Marcion hat das Evangelium — aber ausschließlich nur das Evangelium — als kündlich großes mysterium tremendum et fascinosum empfunden; es ist ihm licht und dunkel zugleich, und er steht vor ihm, dem Neuen, ja dem einzig Neuen in Welt und Geschichte, in schauernder und schweigender Andacht [1]. Also hat die „Religion" hier nichts eingebüßt.

Das zweite Zeugnis begründet die Ausschließlichkeit des Evangeliums als Objekt der Religion: es bringt Erlösung, und an diese durch eine unermeßliche und unvergleichliche Güte herbeigeführte Erlösung reicht kein anderes Werk heran, darf darum auch kein anderes angeknüpft werden [2].

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1 Daß die Offenbarung des Erlösergottes als „des Fremden" bzw. des fremden Gastes ein Mysterium einschließt, das Distanz und beseligende Nähe zugleich enthält, darüber s. unten.

2 S. bei Tert., De resurr. 2: „Humana salus urgentior causa ante omnia requirenda".

Der Gott, der dieses Werk vollbracht hat, kann kein anderes geschaffen haben, also auch nicht diese Welt, deren Wesen und Wert durch das ekle Ungeziefer charakterisiert ist, das sie anfüllt, und durch die widerliche Sexualität und Fortpflanzung. Mit größerer Verachtung kann die Welt nicht zurückgestoßen werden als durch die Worte: „et omnibus locustis anteponenda". Die Erlösung erlöst so vollkommen, daß von dem gegebenen Alten schlechthin nichts übrig bleibt; sie macht bis zum letzten Grund der Dinge hin alles neu; also ist alles, was bisher bestanden hat, verderblich und nichtig; denn die Erlösung ist Erlösung nicht nur von der Welt, sondern auch von ihrem Schöpfer und Herrn.

Das dritte Zeugnis bestimmt die geschichtliche Tatsächlichkeit und die Aneignung der im Evangelium gegebenen Erlösung: Jesus Christus, seinen Tod und seine Auferstehung, im Glauben, der eine innere Umschaffung bedeutet, zu ergreifen. Christus ist innerhalb der Erlösung und in dem neuen Leben, welches zugleich das ewige ist, alles in allem und daher auch der Anfänger und Vollender des Glaubens. Vor ihm waren nur Pseudopropheten, und nach ihm bedarf es keiner Offenbarung mehr, sondern nur einer restituierenden Reformation.

Das vierte Zeugnis endlich besagt im Zusammenhang mit dem vorigen, daß zwar die Erlösung schon vollzogen ist, daß die Gläubigen sie aber erst als gewisse Hoffnung mit dem Unterpfand des h. Geistes besitzen. Sie sollen daher wissen, daß sie, solange sie noch in dieser abscheulichen Welt unter dem harten und verächtlichen Weltschöpfer leben, Arme, Trauernde, Weinende und Verfolgte sein müssen. Sie dürfen sich mit der Welt schlechthin nicht einlassen; daraus ergibt sich von selbst, daß sie die Gehaßten sind und daß sie die überschwengliche Seligkeit der Erlösung hier auf Erden nur im Glauben besitzen können; aber schon dieser Glaube ist Seligkeit.

Ein größerer Kontrast als der, in welchem der Marcionitische Gläubige lebte, ist nicht denkbar: einerseits wußte er sich erlöst nicht nur von Sünde und Schuld, nicht nur von Tod und

Teufel, nicht nur von dem ganzen Weltwesen, sondern auch von dem Gott und Vater, dem er früher entweder in Furcht und Zittern gedient oder den er in sträflichem Leichtsinn mit bösem Gewissen geflohen hatte; andrerseits lebte er noch als der Gehaßte und Verfolgte dieses Gottes auf der Erde! Wer ist dieser Gott?

2. Der Weltschöpfer, die Welt und der Mensch.

Man hätte sich viele Unsicherheiten in bezug auf M.s Prinzipienlehre erspart, wenn man stets festgehalten hätte, daß M. als exklusiver biblischer Theologe den Gott, von dem Christus die Gläubigen erlöst, in den Zügen gesehen hat, welche das AT der Gottheit verleiht, und die im Evangelium und den Briefen in bezug auf den ATlichen Gott erkennbar sind. Der Gott, den nach Marcion Christus ins Unrecht gesetzt hat, ist also nicht der persische Ahriman, nicht das böse Prinzip schlechthin — M. ließ den Teufel, wie die Testamente lehren, neben ihm bestehen und dachte über den Teufel nicht anders als die große Christenheit —, nicht der Schöpfer der Finsternis im Gegensatz zum Licht (er hat beide geschaffen, s. S. 263*f.), noch weniger die Materie, sondern einfach der jüdische Schöpfergott, wie ihn das Gesetz und die Propheten verkündigt haben.

Jedoch unterliegt diese Erkenntnis einer Einschränkung bzw. Modifikation. Zwar ist sie noch nicht damit gegeben, daß nach M. Gott die Welt aus einer Materie geschaffen hat, die gleich ursprünglich ist wie er; denn so haben in jener Zeit unbefangen auch hellenistische Juden und Großchristen gelehrt; allein sie dachten an eine qualitätslose Materie; M. aber hat nach sicheren Zeugnissen (s. o. S. 276*: Tertullian, Clemens, Ephraem, Theodoret, Esnik; die Zeugnisse der beiden letzteren allein würden nicht genügen) die Materie [1] für schlecht gehalten und den präzisen Satz gebildet, daß die Welt-Physis schlecht ist, weil sie aus einem Zusammenwirken der schlechten Materie und des gerechten Demiurgs stamme (Clemens) [2]. Das Auffallende aber

1 „Die Materie nennen sie die Kraft der Erde“ (Esnik).

2 Vgl. Tert. I, 15: „Creator mundum ex aliqua materia subiacente molitus est, innata et infecta et contemporali deo . . . amplius et malum materiae deputat“.

hier ist dies, daß M. von dieser Annahme, die er nicht weiter ausgeführt hat [1], weder bei seinen Exegesen noch bei seinen sonstigen Aussagen irgendwelchen Gebrauch gemacht, ja daß er u. W. außer bei der Schöpfung [2] sonst die Materie nirgendwo auch nur genannt hat. Dazu kommt, daß er, abgesehen von den malignitates creatoris, den Teufel als den Urheber des Bösen kennt. Immer aber hat er es nur mit den zwei Göttern zu tun. Scheint daher „die schlechte Materie" als ein Fremdkörper innerhalb seiner Glaubensanschauung gelten zu müssen, so liegt es nahe, hier den Einfluß zu erkennen, den er nach der Überlieferung von der syrischen Gnosis durch Vermittelung des Cerdo erlitten hat, und wenn wir im Fortgang der Darstellung einen zweiten Fremdkörper bemerken, nämlich die besondere Verurteilung des Fleisches und die Einschränkung der Erlösung auf Seele und Geist (während diese doch dem „fremden Gott" ebenso fremd sind wie das Fleisch), so verstärkt sich die Vermutung, daß diese beiden nahe zusammenhängenden Lehren (die von der schlechten Materie und die von dem erlösungsunfähigen Fleisch) der ursprünglichen Konzeption M.s nicht angehören. Indessen darf das mindestens in bezug auf den ersten Punkt nicht für sicher gelten. Da ihm nämlich der Weltschöpfer nicht „schlecht" war, so bedurfte er auf alle Fälle neben ihm und zu seiner Entlastung eines schlechten Prinzips, und zwar gerade für den Anfang der Dinge, an dem der Teufel doch noch nicht auftreten konnte, da er nach biblischer Überlieferung selbst eine Kreatur Gottes ist. Von hier aus war ihm die Materie, die er, sobald der Teufel da war, unberücksichtigt lassen konnte und in der Tat nun fallen ließ, doch notwendig.

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1 Bei Esnik ist sie ausgeführt (s. S. 374*ff.); aber es ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß die mythologische Schöpfungsgeschichte, wie er sie erzählt, von M. selbst herrührt, da er in der „Geschichte" über das Biblische niemals hinausgeschritten ist. Dazu: hätte sie Tert. in den Antithesen gelesen, also dort u. a. gelesen, daß der Weltschöpfer die Menschen seiner Genossin, der Materie, gestohlen habe, so hätte er die grimmigste Strafpredigt seinem Gegner gehalten.

2 Bei der Schöpfung hat M. die Hinzuziehung der Materie auch deshalb begrüßt, weil sie lehrt, daß der Weltschöpfer ohne einen Stoff nicht schaffen kann (anders der andere Gott). Das führt auf ein Interesse, welches mit der Schlechtigkeit der Materie nichts zu tun hat.

Die Unklarheit, die hier besteht (Materie und Teufel), ist für das „Mitten im Denken stehenbleiben" M.s, ja für seine Flucht vor dem philosophischen Denken charakteristisch [1].

Kehren wir zum Weltschöpfer zurück. Wie M. ihn sich vorgestellt hat, das geht aus den Resten der Antithesen, wie sie S. 260*ff. mitgeteilt worden sind, deutlich hervor, und alles einzelne braucht hier nicht wiederholt zu werden. Am schnellsten überschaut man die beschränkten und widerspruchsvollen Eigenschaften und die anstößigen Aktionen und Liebhabereien des kleinlichen und unbeständigen, ungeduldigen und eifernden, kriegerischen und wilden Schöpfergottes in der übersichtlichen Zusammenstellung, welche die pseudoklementinischen Homilien gegeben haben (S. 278*f.). Man darf sich aber durch ihre Inferioritäten und ihre disparate Fülle in der Anerkennung nicht beirren lassen, daß nach M. die iustitia im Sinne der formalen Gerechtigkeit („Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn") und in der richterlichen Ausübung sowie die schlimme Lästigkeit die Grundeigenschaften des Schöpfergottes sind, nicht aber die Schlechtigkeit.

Dies scheint freilich durch zahlreiche Stellen widerlegt zu werden, an denen eine unverhüllte Schlimmheit hervortritt, und durch jene Hauptstelle, an welcher M. den Schöpfergott einfach „den schlechten Baum" genannt hat. Allein wenn man die S. 271* f. zusammengefaßten Zeugnisse prüft, kommt man doch zu einem anderen Ergebnis, das übrigens schon deshalb gefordert ist, weil darüber kein Zweifel bestehen kann, daß M. als die wesentliche Eigenschaft des Schöpfergottes die Gerechtigkeit bezeichnet hat. Auch hätte er es nicht nötig gehabt, auf solche Stellen wie die: „Ego sum qui condo mala", und ähnliche triumphierend den Finger zu legen, wenn er das Böse für das Element des Schöpfers gehalten hätte.

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1 Nichts ist sicherer, als daß M. mindestens in der Regel nicht von „Prinzipien" *(ἀρχαί)* gesprochen hat, sondern von *θεοί*, weil er ein biblischer Denker war. Wenn seit Rhodon (bei Euseb., h. e. V, 13) in der Überlieferung auch jenes Wort (spärlich) auftaucht, so liegt die Annahme nahe, daß, weil Apelles eine „*ἀρχή*" gelehrt hat, man ihm gegenüber die zwei *θεοί* des Meisters als zwei „*ἀρχαί*" bezeichnet hat. Die Materie ist von M. selbst, soweit wir zu urteilen vermögen, niemals „*θεός*" und auch nicht „*ἀρχή*" genannt worden, obschon er sie so hätte nennen müssen.

Worin zeigt sich seine malitia?

(1) In der Menschenschöpfung, indem er den Menschen schwach, hilflos und sterblich geschaffen und seine Verführung zugelassen hat, und auch darin zeigt sie sich, daß er überhaupt Sünde, Tod und den Teufel, der doch sein Geschöpf ist, sowie jegliches Schlechte duldet,

(2) in den zahlreichen Strafübeln, die er verhängt, in dem Unverhältnismäßigen der Strafe gegenüber der Schuld und in der Sendung von Übeln überhaupt,

(3) in zahlreichen Härten, Grausamkeiten, kriegerischem Wüten, Blutgier usw.,

(4) in seiner Praxis, die Sünden der Väter an den Kindern zu strafen und Unschuldige für Schuldige leiden zu lassen,

(5) in den Verstockungen im Bösen, die er über die Widerspenstigen verhängt,

(6) in dem Neide, mit welchem er die ersten Menschen vom Baum des Lebens abgehalten hat,

(7) in der Parteilichkeit, mit welcher er seine Verehrer, auch wenn sie schlecht sind, begünstigt, ja ihnen Ungerechtigkeit, Betrug und Raub und Gewalttat aller Art gegen seine Widersacher erlaubt, ja befiehlt.

Fast alle diese Züge sind mit der „Gerechtigkeit" dann verträglich, wenn man den Schöpfergott als den Despoten im antiken Sinn und im Sinn zahlreicher ATlicher Stellen faßt, der nach dem Grundsatz: „Voluntas regis suprema lex" verfährt, der vor allem seine Ehre sucht, bei seinen Untertanen die Unterwürfigkeit und den Gehorsam als die höchsten Tugenden schätzt und seine Widersacher als Frevler für rechtlos erklärt und zerschmettert. Unter Voraussetzung dieser Obersätze kann der Despot ein höchst gerechter Mann sein. Allerdings ist dabei in bezug auf den Schöpfergott M.s noch eine negative Voraussetzung hinzuzufügen, die aber auch bei den Despoten zuzutreffen pflegt: er sollte allwissend, vollkommen überlegt, sicher voraussehend, widerspruchslos, in sich geschlossen, zuverlässig und allmächtig sein, um bei seiner Machtfülle nicht in Torheiten, Fehler und Widersprüche zu geraten; aber er ist es nicht. So ist auch die Gerechtigkeit des Marcionitischen Weltschöpfers durch diese Mängel, die ihm anhaften, übel entstellt; — um z. B. bessere Menschen zu schaffen und das Böse ganz abzuschaffen, dazu ist

er einfach zu schwach —; dennoch aber will dieser Gott gerecht sein und ist es auch, solange seine Ehre nicht im Spiele ist und seine Beschränktheit sich nicht geltend macht. Also ist nicht das Schlechte sein Element, sondern seine iustitia ist ihrer Aufgabe nicht gewachsen und wird durch Eifern und Schwäche unter Umständen zur iniquitas, pusillitas und malitia[1].

Dazu: man darf nicht übersehen, daß M. auch alle die herrlichen und erhebenden Aussagen vom Schöpfergott gelten lassen mußte, welche die Propheten und namentlich die Psalmen über ihn enthalten. Dieser Gott ist es, der gesprochen hat: „Fürchte dich nicht, Ich habe dich erlöset, Ich habe dich bei deinem Namen gerufen, du bist mein", und wiederum der Gläubige des Schöpfergottes ist es, der zu ihm spricht: „Wenn ich nur dich habe, frage ich nicht nach Himmel und Erde". Daß in den uns erhaltenen Resten der Antithesen diese Seite des Schöpfergottes nicht hervortritt, ist wohl verständlich, da uns diese Reste aus den Händen der Gegner M.s zugekommen sind; aber auch M. selbst wird schwerlich lange bei ihnen verweilt haben, da sie ihn in Verlegenheit setzen mußten. Wie er diese Verlegenheit, wo es möglich war, bemeistert hat, wissen wir: er deutete alles, was das AT an Trost, Verheißung und Erlösung enthält, auf eine irdische Erlösung, die ihren Inhalt an einem langen gesättigten Leben und an der Aussicht auf ein zeitliches und irdisches Reich der Freude und Herrlichkeit hat. „Ewigkeit" im intensiven Sinn des Worts gibt es bei dem Weltschöpfer nicht — M. strich im NT das Wort, wo man es auf das Leben, welches der Weltschöpfer gewährt, beziehen muß, und depotenzierte es im AT —; alles ist auf das Diesseits und auf eine zukünftige herrliche Steigerung des Weltlebens abgezweckt, in der sich die Erlösung erschöpft. Daß M. mit solcher Deutung die tiefsten Stellen des AT mißhandelt und entleert hat und weit hinter dem Verständnis zurückbleibt, welches sich damals auch bei frommen und geistlich geförderten Juden fand, braucht nicht erst gesagt zu werden; aber da in dem für inspiriert geltenden, kanonischen

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1 Mit dem Mammon, so scheint es, hat M. den Weltschöpfer nicht identifiziert, da dieser das Prädikat „ungerecht" führt; doch kann man hier nicht zu voller Klarheit kommen; vgl. Tert. IV, 33 zu Luk. 16, 13 und Iren. III, 8, 1.

Buch alles auf einer Fläche stand, ist es verständlich, daß einmal einer auftrat, der das Buch nicht von rechts nach links, sondern von links nach rechts las und nach dem Primitiven das Hochentwickelte und Wundervolle erklärte.

Um die Eigenart des Schöpfergottes nach M. richtig zu erfassen, sind aber noch folgende Züge hervorzuheben: seine Unwissenheit in bezug auf die Existenz des anderen Gottes, seine profane Offenbarheit, die Identität seines Wesens mit dem Wesen der Welt, sei es auch dem höheren, und die gemeine und häßliche Fortpflanzungsmethode, die er eingerichtet hat oder duldet.

Die totale Unwissenheit des Weltschöpfers in bezug auf den anderen Gott ist von allen seinen Unwissenheiten die schlimmste; sie erweist ihn als im höchsten Maße inferior. Da ihm aber, weil er den anderen Gott nicht kennt, auch die Sphäre und Art desselben unfaßlich ist, so ist ihm auch das wahrhaft Gute völlig verschlossen. Zwar hat auch er „Gutes", ja ist selbst „gut" (s. unten über das „Gesetz"); aber das ist eine Art von Güte, die, gemessen an dem wahrhaft Guten, diesen Namen doch eigentlich nicht verdient.

Der Weltschöpfer ist absolut „bekannt" und daher auch kündbar (*κατονόμαστος*); von seiner Schöpfung und Offenbarung läßt sich sein Wesen vollkommen restlos ablesen. Diese profane Offenbarheit, die kein Mysterium übrig läßt, erweist ihn als einen inferioren Gott. Die entsetzlichen Halbheiten, Schwankungen, Widersprüche und Unzuverlässigkeiten aber, die dieser Gott aufweist, sind nach M. nichts weniger als ein Mysterium, sondern genau wie bei den Menschen ein Zeichen haltloser Schwäche und charakterloser Leidenschaftlichkeit [1].

Diese Welt, ein Produkt des gerechten Weltschöpfers und der schlechten Materie, ist eine *φύσις κακή*. „Die Mar-

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1 In dem Wort (Deut. 32, 39): *Ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω*, das M. für die Charakteristik des Weltschöpfers bevorzugt hat, stellt sich der große innere Widerspruch dieses Gottes dar, der alle anderen Widersprüche bestimmt. Das Leben kann nach M. kein wirkliches, ewiges sein, dessen Spender auch tötet. So werden beim Weltschöpfer auch Liebe, Gnade, Leben usw. wertlos, da sie den Zorn und den Tod nicht ausschließen.

cioniten", sagt Tertullian (I, 13), „rümpfen die Nase und sagen höhnisch: ‚Nicht wahr, die Welt ist eine große und eines Gottes würdige Schöpfung?' " „Haec paupertina elementa", „haec cellula creatoris" (I, 14), so titulieren sie die Welt, für die sie nur Verachtung haben. Mit Empörung mußte das jeden Hellenen, aber auch die Juden und Christen erfüllen. War aber für M. diese von Ungeziefer wimmelnde, stupide und schlechte Welt, dieses armselige Loch nur ein Gegenstand der Verachtung [1], so bedeutet es die abschätzigste Kritik M.s an dem Weltschöpfer, wenn er ihn wiederholt mit der Welt identifiziert, bzw. in seinen Exegesen der Welt substituiert. Wenn Paulus sagt, ihm sei durch Christus die Welt gekreuzigt und er der Welt, so ist nach M. hier der Weltschöpfer zu verstehen. Dasselbe gilt von dem Satze, Gott habe die Weisheit dieser Welt töricht gemacht, sowie von dem anderen, die Apostel seien ein Schauspiel für die Welt geworden. II Kor. 3, 14 las M. ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα τοῦ κόσμου für τ. ν. αὐτῶν, und deutete dann die Welt als den Weltschöpfer, und Ephes. 2, 2 verstand er unter dem αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου den Äon des Weltschöpfers (s. S. 311*). Diese Identifizierungen sind von hoher Wichtigkeit für die vollständige Erfassung des Marcionitischen Weltschöpfers; denn sie lehren, daß M. das Bild, welches das AT von dem jüdischen Schöpfergott bot, dadurch geschwärzt hat, daß er nach Gutdünken an verschiedenen Stellen den Charakter des Weltschöpfers nach dem der Welt bestimmte: die Weisheit des Weltschöpfers deckt sich mit der Weisheit der Welt! Wie verächtlich also ist die Weisheit des Weltschöpfers! Gott ist die Welt, und die Welt ist Gott — nicht im pantheistischen Sinn, sondern im ethischen; jedes ist ein Spiegel des anderen.

Endlich — der Weltschöpfer ist verantwortlich für den abscheulichen Apparat der Fortpflanzung und für all das Ekelhafte, was das Fleisch von seiner Entstehung bis zu seiner Fäulnis aufweist. Überschaut man alles, was uns von M. erhalten ist, so gewahrt man, daß der durch Überlegung und Ruhe sich auszeichnende Mann doch auch tief erregt werden konnte; aber nur an zwei Stellen ist uns das überliefert, nämlich dort, wo er sich

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1 Es scheint bei dieser Empfindung auch eine gewisse hysterische Gereiztheit gegenüber den eklen Plagen des Lebens bei M. im Spiele gewesen zu sein.

die Neuheit und die überschwengliche und unsägliche Herrlichkeit des Evangeliums vor Augen stellt (in seinem Einleitungswort zu den Antithesen), und im Gegensatz dazu hier, wo er über das Fleisch und vor allem seine Zeugung und Geburt urteilt. Dort bricht er in einen Jubel aus, der keine Worte mehr finden kann, hier hat er (s. die Zeugnisse Tertullians oben S. 273*) sich in den bittersten „perorationes" ergangen, in Schmähungen über das Fleisch, seinen Ursprung, seine Bestandteile, seine Zufälle, „seinen ganzen Ausgang, daß es von Anfang an unrein sei als die Faeces der Erde, daß es in der Folge noch mehr verunreinigt worden durch den Unflat seines eigenen Samens, daß es nichtswürdig, schwach, verbrecherisch, beschwert, überlästig sei und zuletzt, als Schluß der ganzen Litanei seiner niedrigen Gemeinheit, daß es in die Erde, aus der es gekommen, als Kadaver zurücksinke, aber auch noch diesen Namen verliere und in ein Nichts zergehe — nicht einmal ein Name mehr, sondern ein jeglicher Benennung entbehrendes Nichts". Diese „caro stercoribus infersa", welche aus dem ehelichen „negotium impudicitiae" entsteht, im Mutterleibe aus den abscheulichen Zeugungsstoffen zusammenrinnt, durch denselben Unrat neun Monate ernährt wird, vermittels der Schamteile ans Licht kommt und unter Possen großgefüttert wird! Die „sanctissima et reverenda opera naturae" (so Tertullian!) sind ihm eine Fabrik des Unflats und eine quellende Masse des Gemeinen und Abscheulichen! Die „blasphemia creatoris", welche die Kirchenväter Marcion vorwerfen, kommt hier auf ihren Höhepunkt; aber es wurde oben (bei der „Materie" S. 98) darauf hingewiesen, daß durch diese Beurteilung des Fleisches ein Element in M.s religiöses Denken gekommen ist, das in dem leitenden Gegensatz von „gut" und „gerecht" nicht enthalten ist, sondern auf eine andere Quelle weist [1].

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1 Ebendeshalb darf man diesen Gott nur insofern zum Schöpfer des Fleisches und seiner häßlichen Fortpflanzung machen, als er bei seiner Schwäche die Materie bei der Schöpfung hat zu Hilfe nehmen müssen und es nun dulden mußte, daß aus diesem Beisatz das Abscheuliche hervorquoll. Nimmt man hier einen Einfluß der syrischen Gnosis durch Cerdo an, so ist doch andrerseits zu bemerken, daß die grimme Wut gegen das „Fleisch" den Eindruck eines Ressentiments eigenster Art macht. Auch hier läßt sich also ein sicheres Urteil nicht gewinnen.

Auch M. hat nach dem Bericht der Genesis den Menschen als den Zweck der Schöpfung anerkannt; aber in der Beurteilung dieser „Krone der Schöpfung" kommt er zu einem völlig anderen Ergebnis als die Juden und die Großchristen — die Schöpfung des Menschen ist eine jämmerliche Tragödie, an der der Schöpfer allein schuld ist; denn

(1) Gott hat dem Menschen zwar durch die Einblasung der Seele seine eigene Substanz mitgeteilt und ihm damit noch mehr gegeben als sein Gleichnis und Ebenbild [1], aber nicht nur ist diese göttliche Substanz selbst unvollkommen und labil, sondern ihr ist auch von Gott durch die Beigabe des Fleisches die schlechte Materie beigemengt worden; so entstand, sei es aus mangelnder Güte oder aus mangelnder Voraussicht oder aus mangelnder Kraft des Schöpfers — Marcion hat dies offen gelassen, aber nahm wohl alle diese Mängel zugleich an (s. S. 271* f. 273) — ein hilfloses, schwaches Gebilde, das nicht einmal unsterblich war, sondern dem Tode ausgesetzt.

(2) Kaum war es geschaffen, so regte sich, wie immer bei Despoten, in dem Schöpfer die eifersüchtige Sorge, er könne in seiner Ehre beeinträchtigt werden; er zeigte sich daher dem Menschen mißgünstig und sperrte ihn von dem Erkenntnis- und Lebensbaum ab; außerdem vermochte er es in seiner Schwäche nicht zu hindern, daß einer seiner Engel von ihm abfiel, schlecht wurde und es darauf absah, auch den Menschen von seinem Schöpfer abwendig zu machen.

(3) So trat die Katastrophe ein: der Mensch ließ sich vom Teufel verführen und wurde seinem Schöpfer ungehorsam. Diese Katastrophe überraschte den Weltschöpfer vollkommen, und es reute ihn, daß er den Menschen geschaffen habe; er trieb ihn aus dem Paradies, um ihn außerhalb desselben mit allen Mitteln wieder zurückzugewinnen. Auch im Sinne seines Urhebers ist der Mensch eine verfehlte Schöpfung, also eine Mißgeburt.

Aus dieser Auffassung der Schöpfungsgeschichte ergibt sich, daß der gute Gott an dem Menschen schlechterdings keinen Anteil hat, auch nicht an seinem Geiste oder seiner Seele, und

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1 Also kann man, wie von der Welt, so auch von den Menschen die Eigenart des Weltschöpfers ablesen.

daß die Menschheit auf Grund ihrer Konstitution und durch die Verführung des Teufels [1] in einen jämmerlichen, ja unsäglich traurigen und hoffnungslosen Zustand geraten ist: von Hause aus ekelhaft konstituiert, schwach und hilflos, durch den Sündenfall noch weiter geschwächt und in ihrer mangelhaften Erkenntnis noch mehr verdunkelt, ist sie aus dem Paradiese verwiesen, in die greuliche und kummervolle Welt gestoßen und steht hier ihrem gerechten, eifrigen und zürnenden „Vater" gegenüber, der jede Hinneigung des Menschen zum Materiellen hart bestraft, strenge Gesetze gibt und sein Recht der Vergeltung grausam geltend macht.

3. Der Weltschöpfer als der Judengott; die Gerechtigkeit als das Moralische; Gesetz, Propheten, Messias und h. Schrift des Judengottes.

Erst wenn man von M.s Gedanken über Gott als den Weltschöpfer zu seinen Gedanken über Gott als den Gesetzgeber übergeht, kommt man zu dem ihn leitenden und entscheidenden Interesse; denn für M. ist es, wie für Paulus, das Wichtigste, daß die, welche Christus nicht erlöst hat, unter dem Gesetz stehen, und die Bedeutung des Gesetzes ist so groß, daß er den Weltschöpfer (zu Röm. 7, 7) dem Gesetz ebenso substituiert hat wie der Welt.

Der Gesetzgeber aber ist der Judengott [2]. M. folgte auch hier ohne jede Kritik dem AT. Nach dem Sündenfall vergaßen die Menschen Gottes vollständig, Gott aber erwählte sich Abraham und sein Geschlecht, um die Menschen zurückzurufen, und nachdem er durch Moses den Nachkommen Abrahams das Gesetz gegeben hatte, brauchte er ebendieses Gesetz, um das jüdische Volk bei sich zu erhalten und bei den anderen Völkern, die,

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1 Daß nach M. Gott selbst der Urheber der Sünde ist, ist eine Konsequenzmacherei Tertullians; M. hat ausdrücklich, neben der schlechten Konstitution des Menschen, den Teufel als Urheber gezeichnet; s. oben S. 271*f.

2 Das Judenvolk ist das schlimmste Volk; aber dennoch hat M. Luk. 7, 9 stehengelassen („Solchen Glauben habe ich in Israel nicht gefunden"); „cur non licuerit illi", sagte M., „alienae fidei exemplo uti?" (Tert. IV, 18).

dem Teufel folgend, in der Nacht der Gottlosigkeit und des Polytheismus wandelten, für sich zu missionieren. Nicht anders also können die Heiden — obgleich eine natürliche Gesetzeskenntnis nach Röm. 2 zugestanden wird — zum Schöpfergott zurückkehren, als indem sie Juden, d. h. Proselyten werden; denn alle Verheißungen irdischen Glücks und eines zukünftigen Herrlichkeitsreiches auf Erden gelten dem erwählten Volke. Der Schöpfergott sorgt als Vater nur für sein Volk, die Juden, für die übrigen Menschen aber nur durch Vermittelung dieses Volkes.

Das Gesetz (von seinen Kleinlichkeiten, dem ganzen Opferdienst und dem Zeremoniellen, die freilich untrennbar mit ihm verbunden sind, abgesehen) ist, weil das Gerechte, das Moralische, und M. ist, wie Paulus, von allem Antinomismus zu Gunsten einer libertinistischen Lebensführung weit entfernt. Zwar unterstreicht er, was Paulus über das Gesetz als zur Sünde verführend usw. gesagt hat; aber er ist mit ihm der Überzeugung, daß die gerechten, d. h. die sittlichen Forderungen des Gesetzes unter allen Umständen zu beobachten sind: niemand soll töten, ehebrechen, stehlen und betrügen [1]. Wenn, wie wir sehen werden, dennoch nicht die Gesetzestreuen vom guten Gott gerettet werden, sondern die groben Sünder sich retten lassen und gerettet werden, so bedeutet das keine Umwertung der Werte in dem Sinne, daß das Moralische für das Unmoralische zu halten sei, vielmehr kreuzen sich hier bei M. zwei grundverschiedene Gesichtspunkte, nämlich der moralische und der religiöse. Nach jenem ist das Moralische gerecht, ja man kann es selbst gut nennen, und das Unmoralische ist schlecht; nach diesem, dem übergeordneten,

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1 M. bezog die in Röm. 2, 21 f. gegen die Juden erhobenen Vorwürfe, soweit möglich, auch auf den Judengott selbst, so den Vorwurf des Diebstahls (wegen der ägyptischen goldenen und silbernen Gefäße); aber das erwählte Volk ist von seinem Gott autorisiert, die Heiden zu bestehlen, zu betrügen und auszurotten. Dadurch werden die Sittengebote nicht verletzt. Übrigens erscheint Moses dem unbarmherzigen Weltschöpfer gegenüber sogar als der bessere (Tert. II, 25—28): „Pusillus deus in ipsa ferocia sua, cum ob vituli consecrationem efferatus in populum de famulo suo postulat Moyse: ‚Sine me, ut indignatus ira disperdam illos et faciam te in nationem magnam.‘ unde meliorem soletis affirmare Moysen deo suo, deprecatorem, immo et prohibitorem irae; ‚non facies enim‘, inquit, ‚istud aut et me una cum eis impende‘ “.

ist nur gut, was aus dem Glauben an Christus, den Erlöser, kommt, und das moralisch Gute, d. h. das Gerechte, das sich von selbst versteht, wird zum schwersten Hemmnis der Erlösung, wenn man sich bei ihm beruhigt. Deshalb mußte der Erlöser als „aemulus legis" auftreten (Tert. IV, 9), obgleich er, wie der Weltschöpfer, das Schlechte, welches das Gesetz verbietet, auch als Schlechtes von sich stößt.

M.s Stellung zum Gesetz unterscheidet sich also nicht stark von der des Paulus, wenn man die letzte Voraussetzung der beiden Götter wegläßt. Er hat folgende Stellen aus dem Römerbrief in bezug auf das Gesetz ruhig stehengelassen (nicht nur 5, 20; 7, 4. 5. 8. 23)[1]:

Röm. 2, 12: *ὅσοι ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται* — über diese Stelle wird noch bei Christus zu reden sein.

Röm. 2, 13: *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.*

Röm. 2, 14: *τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν.*

Röm. 2, 20: *ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* — also auch das wird von M. zugestanden.

Röm. 2, 25: *περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσσῃς· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν.*

Röm. 7, 7: *τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὅτι νόμος ἁμαρτία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐ γινώσκω εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου.*

Röm. 7, 12: *ὁ νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή* — man staunt mit Tertullian, daß M. das stehen gelassen hat, s. auch 7, 13: *ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* (!) *μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον.*

Röm. 7, 14: *ὁ νόμος πνευματικός* — das ist das frappierendste Zugeständnis.

Röm. 7, 25: *ἄρα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῒ δουλεύω τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Nach diesen Stellen wird man bei dem oberflächlichen

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1 Man darf, um M.s merkwürdige Haltung hier zu erklären, nicht mit der Hypothese kommen, M. sei mit seiner Kritik des Textes des Römerbriefs nicht fertig geworden und könne manche weitere Korrekturen sich vorbehalten haben; denn gerade den Römerbrief hat er augenscheinlich besonders sorgfältig durchforscht und die Hälfte seines Textes gestrichen.

Urteil, M. habe das Gesetz als die Kundgebung des gerechten Gottes einfach verworfen und sei daher Antinomist im vollen Sinn des Worts, nicht stehen bleiben dürfen, da die Sachlage komplizierter ist: M. hat das Gesetz, d. h. gewisse Teile desselben (das Moralgesetz), für heilig, gut und sogar für geistlich erklärt und damit für eine unverbrüchliche Norm; aber er hat es trotzdem nicht vom guten Gott abgeleitet, weil es zum Sündenstande gehört und die Sünde mehrt. Dann aber ist die Annahme unvermeidlich, daß er zwischen „gut" und gut, „heilig" und heilig, „geistlich" und geistlich unterschieden hat. Die „Güte", „Heiligkeit" und „Geistlichkeit" des Gesetzes folgt lediglich aus seinem Kontraste gegenüber dem Bösen und der Sünde; in Hinsicht aber auf die Güte, die sich in der Barmherzigkeit und Erlösung ausspricht, ist es weder gut noch heilig noch geistlich. Die Dialektik M.s ist hier also andersartig als die des Apostels, dem er folgt; denn der Apostel kennt keine Gutheit und Heiligkeit erster und zweiter Ordnung; für M. aber ist nur der Begriff „Schlecht" eindeutig; dagegen unterscheidet er zwischen einer moralischen Gutheit, die nur irdischen Charakter hat, und einer religiösen [1]. Paulus verlegt die Spannung der eindeutig erfaßten Begriffe „Gerecht" und „Gut" in die Gottheit selbst; Marcion befreit die Gottheit von dieser Spannung, kennt aber eine doppelte Gerechtigkeit und doppelte Gutheit, verteilt sie auf zwei Götter und nennt in der Regel die niedere Gerechtigkeit, also auch den Weltschöpfer, nicht gut, sondern nur gerecht und die höhere Gutheit nicht gerecht, sondern nur gut. Nimmt man aber seinen Standort bei dem Schlechten (der Sünde), so kann man auch den Schöpfer und sein Gesetz der Sinnlichkeit und Sünde gegenüber „geistlich" und „gut" nennen [2].

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1 Ebenso wie er zwischen „Leben" und „Leben" (nämlich ewigem) und zwischen Paradies und wirklicher Seligkeit unterscheidet.

2 Von den zahlreichen paulinischen Stellen, an denen das Gesetz erwähnt wird und die M. beibehalten hat (daß Jesus unter das Gesetz getan war, hat er natürlich gestrichen, Gal. 4, 4), seien noch folgende erwähnt, die des weiteren belegen, daß M.s Stellung zum Gesetz nur in der Hauptsache eindeutig und klar, sonst aber kompliziert war. Erstlich hat er einige Berufungen des Paulus auf das AT beibehalten, s. I Kor. 9, 8 f. (hier ist *κατὰ νόμον* dem *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* entgegengesetzt!), 14, 19 (hier

Dies bestätigt sich, wenn man den Begriff *νόμος* im Evangelium M.s untersucht und weiter die Stellen vergleicht, an denen *δικαιοσύνη* und *δίκαιος* steht. Natürlich hat M. den *νόμος* in dem Spruch Luk. 16, 16 stehen gelassen *(ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου)*, und ebenso verständlich hat er ihn in dem Spruch Luk. 16, 17 getilgt und dafür *τῶν λόγων μου* eingesetzt; denn nicht das Gesetz, sondern die Worte des Erlösers sind dauernder als Himmel und Erde. Dagegen ist es sehr bemerkenswert, daß er die Perikope 10, 25 ff. nicht nur nicht getilgt, sondern beibehalten und so korrigiert hat [1], daß Jesus es ist, der da sagt, daß im Gesetz geschrieben steht, man solle Gott

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ist M.s Text nicht sicher und nicht durchsichtig), 14, 21 (hier ist eine Verheißung des Gesetzes auf die neue Zeit übernommen, wenn sie auch von M. gewiß anders gedeutet wurde), 14, 34 (hier wird das Verbot des Auftretens von Frauen in den Versammlungen durch das analoge im AT verstärkt). Zweitens ist Röm. 8, 4 beibehalten, daß sich *τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου* in den Erlösten erfüllt habe. Drittens wird *νόμος* mehrmals als Gesetz des guten Gottes beibehalten; s. Röm. 8, 2 *(ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς)*, 8, 7 *(τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός > ὁ νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ)*, 13, 9 f. (hier werden — das ist von besonderer Wichtigkeit — erst die Gebote der zweiten Gesetzestafel aufgezählt, und dann wird gesagt, daß sie in dem Liebesgebot zusammengefaßt seien und daß deshalb die Liebe des Gesetzes Erfüllung sei; es steckt also im Gesetz des Schöpfergottes doch etwas, was unverwerflich ist, so daß es vom guten Gott als sein Gesetz anerkannt werden kann; s. auch den beibehaltenen Vers Gal. 5, 14, daß sich das ganze Gesetz in dem Liebesgebot erfülle) und Gal. 6, 2 *(ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, der inhaltlich sich mit der tätigen Nächstenliebe deckt, die auch im Gesetz des Weltschöpfers enthalten ist). Andrerseits aber hat M. Ephes. 6, 2 bei den Worten: *τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου*, den paulinischen Zusatz: *ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ*, getilgt; denn diese Verheißung eines langen Lebens war ihm anstößig; auch war es ihm gewiß willkommen, die ausdrückliche Erinnerung an das Gesetz, ein einzelnes Gebot betreffend, zu vermeiden. — Von hier aus (d. h. von der Erkenntnis aus, daß M. eine doppelte Gutheit unterscheidet, da er auch im *νόμος* etwas Gutes anerkennt) versteht man es erst, daß er vom Erlösergott sagt, er habe die Menschen erlöst — nicht „bonitate", sondern vielmehr „summa et praecipua bonitate" (Tert. I, 17; vgl. I, 23: „perfecta et principalis bonitas").

1 So nach Tert.; nach Epiphanius lasen die Marcioniten hier den kanonischen Text. Zahn (s. S. 206*f.) bestreitet, daß Tert. hier anders als Epiphanius gelesen hat.

den Herrn von ganzem Herzen lieben usw. Jesus selbst zitiert hier also das Gesetz, und zwar beifällig; M. muß also der Meinung gewesen sein, daß die „Hauptsumme" des Gesetzes richtig ist; freilich hat hier Jesus im stillen den wichtigen Vorbehalt gemacht, daß der Erlösergott der Gegenstand der Liebe sei; indessen hat er sich doch an das Wort des Gesetzes angeschlossen [1]. Noch wichtiger ist Luk. 16, 29 f.: Jesus sagt hier dem reichen Mann in bezug auf seine noch lebenden und prassenden Brüder, sie sollen Moses und die Propheten hören; denn selbst ein Auferstandener würde bei ihnen nichts ausrichten können, wenn sie die Predigt jener in bezug auf die Barmherzigkeit gegen den Nächsten in den Wind schlügen. Das bedeutet doch eine offenbare Anerkennung des Wertes des Gesetzes gegenüber dem Schlechten und der Sünde, die weit über die langmütige Akkommodation an das Gesetz herausgeht, die Jesus nach M. auch geübt hat, indem er (Luk. 5, 14) dem Aussätzigen befahl, sich dem Priester zu zeigen. Es muß daher konstatiert werden, daß nach M. die beiden Götter darin übereinstimmen, daß sie beide das Schlechte für schlecht und die Gottes- und Nächstenliebe für gut erklären [2].

Ähnlich wie mit *νόμος* steht es mit *δίκαιος*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *δικαιοῦν* usw. Die Gerechtigkeit ist nur in der Art, wie sie der Weltschöpfer ausübt, verwerflich; aber an und für sich ist sie es nicht. Daher liest man bei M. nicht nur *δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ* (I Thess. 1, 6),

1 Das entspricht der Beibehaltung der paulinischen Stellen Gal. 5, 14 und Röm. 13, 9, daß die Liebe die Erfüllung des Gesetzes sei (s. o.). Die obige Stelle erklärte M. so, daß er Christus die Frage so beantworten ließ, wie sie von dem Fragenden gestellt war, der nur das rechte Mittel wissen wollte, um ein langes irdisches Leben zu erwerben; aber Christus legte für die, die ihn verstehen, den Gedanken hinein: „Ex dei dilectione consequimur vitam aeternam".

2 Lehrreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang M.s Antithese in bezug auf die Ehe, die er doch für die Christen ganz verwirft: Christus verbietet die Ehescheidung; Moses aber wird deshalb von M. getadelt, weil er sie zuläßt (s. Tert. IV, 34 zu Luk. 16, 18 und V, 7 zu I Kor. 7, 1 ff.). Nach M. soll also die Ehe untrennbar sein, wenn sie geschlossen ist, d. h. er erkennt ein bedingtes Recht der Ehe an.

sondern auch *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἀποκαλύπτεται* (Röm. 1, 17) *οὐχ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ . . . ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ δικαιωθήσονται* (Röm. 2, 13), *δικαιωθέντες ἐκ πίστεως* (Röm. 5, 1), *οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου . . . ἀλλ' ἐκ πίστεως* (Gal. 2, 16; cf. 3, 11), *τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ* (Röm. 8, 4), *εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι* (Röm. 10, 4), *τί δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον* (Luk. 12, 57), *ἐκδίκησις* vom guten Gott (Luk. 18, 7), *δεδικαιωμένος* vom Zöllner (Luk. 18, 14). Am lehrreichsten ist hier aber, daß M. Luk. 13, 28 die Erzväter getilgt (denn sie sind nicht im Reiche Gottes zu erblicken), aber dafür unbefangen „*οἱ δίκαιοι*" eingesetzt hat. Hieraus ist evident, daß er die Bezeichnung „die Gerechten" für die, welche der gute Gott annimmt, so wenig gescheut hat, wie die Gerechtigkeit als Eigenschaft und Forderung ebendieses guten Gottes. Dieser ist gut und deshalb auch gerecht[1], dem Weltschöpfer aber fehlt die barmherzige Güte, und daher muß seine Gerechtigkeit notwendig zur Härte, Grausamkeit und bei seiner exklusiven Vorliebe für sein erwähltes Volk zur Ungerechtigkeit werden[2]. Daneben ist diese „Ge-

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1 Besonders willkommen ist, daß durch den Bericht des Esnik (S. 376*) noch ausdrücklich bestätigt wird, daß die wahre Gerechtigkeit beim „fremden" Gott ist. Jesus spricht zum „gerechten" Gott: „Ich bin mit Recht gerechter als du und habe große Wohltaten getan an deinen Geschöpfen".

2 I Kor. 1, 30 (Christus zur Gerechtigkeit gemacht) scheint bei M. trotz Adamantius gefehlt zu haben; in Luk. 14, 14 hat M. *τῶν δικαίων* nach *τῇ ἀναστάσει* wahrscheinlich ausgelassen. In Röm. 1, 17 hat er *καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται* getilgt, aber nur, weil der Spruch als Schriftwort eingeführt war; Gal. 3, 11 hat er unbefangen den Apostel schreiben lassen: *Μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.* Röm. 10, 3 hat er zwar *θεὸν ἀγνοοῦντες* für *ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην* eingesetzt, aber dann *τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν* ruhig beibehalten. —Wer diese Marcionitische Dialektik in bezug auf die ethischen Hauptbegriffe („gerecht", „gut" usw.) als für jene Zeit unglaubwürdig beanstandet, der hat die Ausführungen des Valentinianers Ptolemäus (Ep. ad Floram c. 5 bei Epiph. haer. 31, 7) vergessen, die gerade dieselbe Dialektik enthalten (Ob unabhängig von M.? Schwerlich.): „Wenn der vollkommene Gott gut ist gemäß seiner Naturbeschaffenheit, wie er es denn auch ist — denn unser Heiland hat von seinem Vater, den er offenbart hat, gesagt, daß er einzig und allein der gute Gott sei —, wenn aber ferner der mit der Natur des Widersachers behaftete Schlechte und Schlimme durch die Ungerechtigkeit

rechtigkeit" durch die „pusillitates" und die anstößigen Liebhabereien übel entstellt; für M. war die Forderung der Beschneidung das widerlichste Stück unter ihnen; Origenes berichtet uns, M. habe sie wiederholt verhöhnt, und hat uns eine interessante Kritik M.s an ihr aufbewahrt (s. S. 309* f.), aus der hervorgeht, daß der Kritiker nicht nur die Geschmacklosigkeit des Weltschöpfers getadelt hat, sein Bundeszeichen an die obszöne Stelle zu setzen, auch nicht nur den Widerspruch, einen Körperteil zu schaffen und ihn alsbald entfernen zu lassen, sondern auch das Blutvergießen. Andrerseits hat er eine Einrichtung wie die des Passah nicht so detestiert, daß er von ihr nicht mehr geredet wissen wollte; vielmehr hat er I Kor. 5, 7 den Satz stehen gelassen: *Τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός.*

Die Prophetie als solche hat M. so wenig verworfen (s. I Thess. 5, 20; I Kor. 11, 5; 12, 10) wie die Gerechtigkeit und das Gesetz (im Sinne des Liebesgebots); aber von den ATlichen Propheten wollte er nichts wissen. Das zeigen zahlreiche Stellen, an denen er ihre Erwähnung getilgt hat. In seinem Apostolos lassen sie sich nur I Thess. 2, 15 nachweisen („die auch den Herrn Christus getötet haben und ihre eigenen Propheten"). Daß die Juden ihre eigenen Propheten getötet haben, hat er auch im Evangelium tadelnd stehen gelassen (Luk. 6, 23; 11, 47), um ihre Schlechtigkeit zu erweisen; denn er hielt Moses und die Propheten, obgleich sie ausschließlich dem Schöpfergott anhingen [1], doch für moralisch besser als die sich wider sie auflehnende und

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charakterisiert wird, so durfte der, der als Mittlerer zwischen ihnen steht und weder gut noch schlecht noch ungerecht ist, i m e i g e n t ü m l i c h e n S i n n „g e r e c h t" heißen, indem er der Leitende i n d e r G e r e c h t i g k e i t i s t, w i e e r s i e v e r s t e h t. Dieser Gott nun wird niedriger sein als der vollkommene Gott und geringer als die G e r e c h t i g k e i t j e n e s". Der höchste Gott ist also gut und gerecht, und der Weltschöpfer hat eine Gerechtigkeit, wie er sie versteht.

1 Daher konnte M. (Luk. 10, 24) nicht stehen lassen, daß „die Propheten das sehen w o l l t e n, was ihr sehet"; er schrieb daher: „sie haben nicht gesehen, was ihr sehet". Ebenso mußte er die Stellen tilgen, an denen zu lesen stand, daß der Vater Jesu Christi die Propheten gesandt habe (Luk. 11, 49 usw.), daß sich alles erfüllen werde, was von den Propheten geschrieben worden (Luk. 18, 31), und daß es eine Herzenshärtigkeit sei, dem Prophetenwort den Glauben zu verweigern (Luk. 24, 25; er setzte dafür das Herrenwort ein).

in heidnisches Leben zurückfallende Masse des mörderischen jüdischen Volks. Wie das Gesetz, so haben auch die Propheten Anweisungen und Lehren gegeben, die die Zuchtlosen und Unbarmherzigen hören sollten (s. S. 111: „sie haben Moses und die Propheten"); der Name „Prophet" ist ein Ehrenname, und der Täufer wird von Jesus dadurch hoch gewertet, daß er ihn als den größten Propheten bezeichnet (7, 28), bei dem Gesetz und Propheten ihren Abschluß gefunden haben (Luk. 16, 16). Freilich soll man gerade an diesem größten Propheten erkennen, wie blind sie alle waren; denn er kannte den guten Gott nicht, nahm an Christus ein schweres Ärgernis und lehrte seine Jünger zum Weltschöpfer beten, weshalb im Kreise der Christusjünger dieses Gebet unmöglich war und sie sich ein eigenes Gebet von Christus erbitten mußten (M. zu Luk. 11, 1). Hier aber entsteht nun eine schwere Aporie: wenn Johannes ganz und gar zum Weltschöpfer gehört, wie durfte M. den Vers 7, 27 stehen lassen [1], in welchem sich Jesus mit γέγραπται auf Mal. 3, 1 beruft und den Täufer als seinen Wegbereiter bezeichnet? Beides scheint doch im Sinne M.s unerträglich, sowohl die Berufung auf das AT (eine echte Weissagung bietend), als auch die Verkündigung, der Täufer sei der Wegbereiter Jesu!

Die zweite Schwierigkeit läßt sich durch die Erwägung beseitigen, daß der Täufer als großer Asket von M. als Vorläufer Jesu in diesem Stück anerkannt werden konnte; in dieser Hinsicht ist es wichtig, daß M. 7. 33. 34 (den Gegensatz des Asketen Johannes und des essenden und trinkenden Jesus) wahrscheinlich getilgt hat. Um die erste Schwierigkeit aber zu heben, müssen die Stellen ins Auge gefaßt werden, an denen M. γέγραπται stehen gelassen hat [2] oder sich ohne diese Formel auf das AT beruft.

In Lukas 6, 1 ff. beruft sich Jesus für das Verhalten seiner Jünger auf David und die Schaubrote gegenüber den Vorwürfen der Juden,

in Luk. 10, 26 (s. o. S. 110 f.) erkennt Jesus das ATliche Gebot der Gottesliebe an,

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1 Daß er den Vers stehen gelassen hat, ist sicher.

2 Die Ausdrücke ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί finden sich im NT M.s nirgendwo. — Getilgt hat er γέγραπται an mehreren Stellen, s. Röm. 1, 17; 12, 19; II Kor. 4, 13, wohl auch 2, 24 und I Kor. 15, 45, usw.

(in Gal. 3, 11 [s. o. S. 112] wird die Habakukstelle angeführt, aber nicht gesagt, daß sie dem AT entstamme),

in Gal. 3, 13 bot M.: *γέγραπται· Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου*, und sah diese Stelle als in Christus erfüllt an,

Gal. 4, 22 ist es zwar nicht ganz sicher, daß *γέγραπται* von M. stehen gelassen worden ist, ganz sicher aber ist, daß er die beiden Söhne Abrahams ausgedeutet hat,

Eph. 5, 31 hat M. das Zitat Gen. 2, 24 stehen gelassen; es ist allerdings nicht ausdrücklich als solches bezeichnet,

Eph. 6, 2 (s. o. S. 110) hat M. die dem AT entnommenen Worte *τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου* beibehalten; sie waren nicht als Zitat bezeichnet; v. 2 b hat er getilgt,

I Kor. 1, 19 hat M. stehen gelassen: *γέγραπται γάρ· Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν κτλ.*,

I Kor. 1, 31 ist *καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ καυχώμενος κτλ.* stehen gelassen,

I Kor. 3, 19 ebenso: *γέγραπται γάρ· Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν*, und ebenso v. 20: *Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς κτλ.* Das sind doch klare Aussagen über den guten Gott.

I Kor. 5, 7 (s. o.) ist Christus als unser Passah bezeichnet,

I Kor. 9, 9 liest man bei M.: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται· Οὐ φιμώσεις κτλ.*, ja noch mehr: es ist auch das Folgende stehen geblieben[1]: *ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη κτλ.*,

I Kor. 10, 1—6. Dieser ganze Abschnitt ist beibehalten, also auch daß Christus die Speise und der Trank und der mit wandernde Fels gewesen ist; beibehalten ist auch v. 11, aber wahrscheinlich in folgender Fassung: *ταῦτ' ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν* (oder: *ταῦτ' καθὼς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν*),

I Kor. 14, 21 beibehalten: *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, ὅτι Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις κτλ.*,

I Kor. 15, 54 beibehalten: *τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· Κατεπόθη κτλ.*,

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1 Zahn ist zweifelhaft; aber nach Tert. V, 7 (s. auch III, 5) kann man nicht zweifeln.

Ephes. 5, 31 ist das allerdings als solches nicht bezeichnete Zitat Gen. 2, 24 beibehalten [1].

Da man nicht annehmen kann, daß M. alle diese Stellen „übersehen" hat oder erst später korrigieren wollte — eine Annahme, die bei einigen von ihnen schon deshalb ausgeschlossen ist, weil er an ihnen korrigiert hat —, so folgt, daß die Beobachtung die wir schon bei dem „Gesetz" gemacht haben, erweitert werden muß. Folgendes ist festzustellen:

M. hat das AT zwar als Buch des Weltschöpfers verworfen, aber gelehrt, daß (wie es ja auch kein Lügenbuch ist, und wie es in seinem Gesetz dem Schlechten und der Sünde gegenüber Richtiges enthält) manches in ihm πρὸς νουθεσίαν für uns geschrieben ist; deshalb enthält es auch Geschichten, aus denen wir, so wie sie geschehen sind, lernen können [2], ferner andere, die der Apostel typisch auslegen durfte (wir dagegen sind zu allegorischen Auslegungen nicht berechtigt), endlich sogar solche, die Jesus Christus erfüllt hat; denn in seiner Geschichte hat es sich erfüllt, daß ein Wegbereiter vorangegangen ist; er ist das Passahlamm, und durch seine Auferstehung ist das Wort wahr geworden: „Der Tod ist verschlungen in den Sieg". Wenn es nun aber sicher ist, daß der Schöpfergott von dem guten Gott schlechterdings nichts gewußt hat, also auch nicht auf ihn hin weissagen konnte, so bleibt nur die Annahme übrig, entweder daß der gute Gott schon vor seiner Erscheinung in Christus in verborgener Weise die Hand im Spiele der ATlichen Urkunde gehabt und in das Buch leise eingegriffen hat — aber diese Auskunft ist sehr mißlich — oder daß der Weltschöpfer unwissentlich oder vermessen Dinge gesagt und Aussagen gemacht hat, die ihm nicht zukommen und die ihre Wahrheit erst beim guten Gott erhalten haben. Auch diese Annahme ist unbequem; denn sie stört die einfachen Linien, in denen sonst die Anschauung M.s vor uns liegt; allein sie ist m. E. unvermeidlich, und sie hat ihre Analogie an der Auffassung der Antike, daß auch böse Dämonen in einigen Fällen imstande sind, Richtiges zu weissagen.

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1 Dies und die Konservierung der ganzen Stelle Ephes. 5, 22—32, die M. größtenteils sehr unsympatisch sein mußte, ist sehr auffallend. Über das wahrscheinliche Motiv der Beibehaltung s. Cap. VII.

2 Man vgl. auch Stellen wie Luk. 12, 27 (Salomo), 13, 16 (Tochter Abrahams) usw.

Dagegen war M.s Anschauung vom jüdischen Messias im Unterschied von Jesus Christus ganz eindeutig: dieser wird noch kommen (nicht unter dem Namen Jesus, der im AT nicht geweissagt ist, Tert. III, 15), daher haben die Juden vollkommen recht, ihn noch zu erwarten; er wird ein kriegerischer Held sein — schon deshalb war er dem M. verwerflich, der ein ausgesprochener Gegner von Blutvergießen und Krieg war — und das sichtbare Herrlichkeitsreich der Juden aufrichten. Doch kann seine Wirksamkeit nur eine zeitlich begrenzte sein; denn den zu erhoffenden Abschluß wird Jesus Christus bringen [1].

Dies sind die Grundzüge der Anschauungen M.s vom Weltschöpfer als Gesetzgeber und Geschichtslenker. Vermißt man eine straffe Einheitlichkeit, so ist zu bedenken, daß der Weltschöpfer ja ein widerspruchsvolles Wesen sein soll [2]; dazu erinnere man sich, daß M. kein Lehrsystem aufgestellt, sondern

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1 Das Nähere s. S. 290*. Nach M. sind zahlreiche „messianische" Weissagungen nicht messianisch, sondern haben sich bereits in David, Salomo, Ezechias usw. erfüllt. Die messianischen Hauptpunkte sind folgende: (1) Der Messias wird ein purer Mensch sein aus dem Stamme Davids, (2) er ist lediglich für das Judenvolk bestimmt, um es aus der Zerstreuung zurückzuführen; nur solchen Heiden, die Proselyten werden, kommt seine Erscheinung zugut. (3) Wenn er erscheint, werden sich die Reiche und Völker gegen ihn auflehnen; er aber wird sie besiegen und die Völker mit eiserner Rute weiden; denn er wird ein „militaris et armatus bellator" sein. (4) Daß er noch nicht erschienen ist, zeigen die Details der jesajanischen Weissagung auf ihn, die sich noch nicht erfüllt haben, sowie die Reiche der Welt, die zur Zeit noch bestehen. — Der Christus des guten Gottes hat ausdrücklich vor ihm gewarnt (Tert. IV, 38 zu Luk. 21, 8).

2 Abgesehen von den großen Widersprüchen im Wesen des Weltschöpfers, die ihn zu widersprechenden Anordnungen und Gesetzen führten, sind es ganz deutlich die „pusillitates" in seinem Wesen (also auch im Wesen der Welt), die M. zu besonderem Anstoß gereichten. Er muß eine großzügige Natur gewesen sein, dabei aber, wie bereits bemerkt, außerordentlich nervös in bezug auf die Widerwärtigkeiten und Kleinlichkeiten der Welt und des Lebens. Hierzu kam sein starker Abscheu vor Blutvergießen und Krieg; er war, so würde man heute sagen, Pazifist, und das AT war ihm vor allem auch um seines kriegerischen Geistes willen ein fatales Buch. Endlich war ihm die Juden-Vorliebe dieses Gottes unbegreiflich und widerwärtig, da dieses Volk doch nach seinem eigenen heiligen Buch ein besonders schlechtes ist.

als streng biblischer Theologe lediglich gegebene Texte teils korrigiert, teils aufklärende Auslegungen zu ihnen gestellt hat, endlich ist nicht zu vergessen, daß er eine reformatorische Revisionsarbeit unternommen hat, die ihrer Natur nach eine Vollendung nicht zuließ.

4. Der Erlösergott als der fremde und als der obere Gott.

Die Erfahrung, die M. am Evangelium gemacht hatte: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann", gab ihm die Gewißheit, daß es etwas schlechthin Neues sei, und er wußte sich in dieser überschwenglichen Erfahrung mit dem Apostel Paulus aufs engste verbunden. Ist dieses Evangelium aber in seiner Botschaft und in seinen Wirkungen („Neue Kreatur") vollkommen neu, so muß auch sein Urheber ein bisher unbekannter Gott sein („novus utique agnitione", Tert. I, 9): „Ein neuer Gott . . ., in der alten Welt und in der alten Weltzeit und unter dem alten Gott unbekannt, den Jesus Christus — auch er ein neuer unter dem alten Namen — offenbart hat und keiner vorher" (I, 8). Aber nicht nur unbekannt war dieser neue Gott, sondern auch fremd, ja er ist „der Fremde"; denn Welt und Geschichte lehren, daß er sich vor Christus niemals offenbart hat, und die Erfahrung lehrt, daß kein Mensch von Natur etwas von ihm weiß (V, 16: „Deus Marcionis naturaliter ignotus nec usquam nisi in evangelio revelatus") und daß ihn kein naturhaftes Band mit den Menschen verbindet. Dies wird durch den Offenbarer dieses neuen Gottes ausdrücklich bestätigt; denn in feierlicher Rede hat Er verkündet, daß niemand Seinen Vater kenne als Er, der Sohn, und wem Er es offenbaren wolle (Luk. 10, 22), und Er hat ferner gesagt, man solle seine Feinde lieben, d. h. den Gott nachahmen, der durch seine Erlösung („nova et hospita dispositio" I, 2) „extraneos et hostes" erkauft und befreit hat — „suos et amicos" aber erkauft man nicht: „Christus magis adamavit hominem, quando alienum redemit" (Tert., De carne 4) [1]. Durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch, solange die Marcioni-

1 Tert. I, 23: „Deus processit in salutem hominis alieni . . . haec est principalis et perfecta bonitas, cum sine ullo debito familiari

tische Kirche bestanden hat und in allen Sprachen, welche die Marcioniten sprachen, blieb „der Fremde“ bzw. „der gute Fremde“ der eigentliche Name für ihren Gott. Umgekehrt hießen vom Standpunkt Gottes auch die Menschen „die Fremden“. Daß sie dennoch zusammengekommen waren und die Fremden zu Kindern Gottes geworden sind, das war das kündlich große Geheimnis dieser Religion.

Da aber dieser unbekannte Gott als ein fremder Gast in die ihm fremde Welt durch eine fremde, weil neue und unerhörte „dispositio“ eingetreten ist, so mußte der Gott dieser Welt sein schärfster Widersacher werden; denn der Fremde entführte ihm ja seine Kinder und störte seine Vorsehung und Weltleitung. Von seinem Erscheinen ebenso überrascht wie das Judenvolk und die Menschheit, mußte er ihn mit allen Mitteln bekämpfen.

Obschon jeder von den beiden „deus“ und „pater“ ist und heißt (auch „der Fremde“, der das Unsichtbare geschaffen hat, besitzt seinen Himmel und seine Welt, die ihrer Substanz nach dem Auge und Ohr unzugänglich sind), ist doch der Kampf zwischen ihnen ein sehr ungleicher; denn „der Fremde“ ist, weil er das Größere geschaffen, auch „der Größere“ und der Schöpfergott ist der Geringere. Jener ist der deus superior (sublimior) und residiert in seinem dritten Himmel hoch über dem Weltschöpfer, von dem er durch eine infinite Distanz geschieden ist. „Der Fremde“ ist von all den Beschränkungen frei, welche der Weltschöpfer aufweist; er kannte den Weltschöpfer von Anfang an, und er brauchte keinen Stoff, um schaffen zu können; nur er ist wirklich „super omnia“; der Weltschöpfer ist „deus saeculi huius“, aber „der Fremde“ ist „deus, qui est super omnem principatum et initium *(ἀρχή)* et potestatem“ [1]. Also ist jener

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in extraneos voluntaria et libera effundatur, secundum quam inimicos quoque nostros et hoc nomine iam extraneos diligere iubeamur“. Iren. III, 11, 2: „Christus non in sua venit, sed in aliena“.

1 „Deus, qui est super omnem principatum et initium *(ἀρχήν)* et potestatem“ muß eine solenne Bezeichnung M.s für diesen Gott gewesen sein; denn Irenäus berichtet so (III, 7, 1), und nach Tertullian hat M. in Gal. 4, 26 die Worte eingeschoben: *ἄλλη* (scil. göttliche Veranstaltung) *δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννῶσα καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας*. Wahrscheinlich hat Iren. diesen Marcionitischen Text gekannt. — Aus der vollen Gottheit dieses Gottes ergibt sich auch, daß er „tranquillus“, nicht

diesem gegenüber „in deminutione", d. h. es stehen sich keineswegs zwei gleiche Gottheiten gegenüber, sondern eine stärkere und eine schwächere („nomine magnitudinis et nomine benignitatis praelatior deus ignotus creatore", Tert. I, 8), und dieser schwächere Gott ist so sehr an seinen Himmel und an seine Erde gebunden, daß, wenn sie zergehen, auch er notwendig vergehen muß [1].

Der Tatbeweis seiner Schwäche aber ist, daß „der Fremde" ungehindert von seinem Himmel durch den des Weltschöpfers zur Erde niedersteigt und dem Weltschöpfer alsbald die Herrschaft streitig macht und ihm seine Kinder entzieht. „Den Teufel hat er besiegt und die Lehren des Weltschöpfers abgetan" (Adamant., Dial. I, 4); er ist der Stärkere, der den Starken überwindet (Tert. IV, 26); er gebietet auch den Elementen des Weltschöpfers, dem Meere und den Winden (IV, 20); er steigt selbst in die Unterwelt seines Gegners nieder und bringt seine Erlösung auch dorthin. Am Ende der Dinge wird sich seine Superiorität definitiv offenbaren, während sie zur Zeit noch gehemmt ist (s. den nächsten Abschnitt). In dem Glauben an Gott als den Fremden, als den Oberen und als den Erlöser empfand M. die Distanz und die hilfreiche Kraft der Gottheit zugleich — das trostvolle Wesen der neuen Religion; denn der Fremde ist zu uns gekommen, und er ist größer als die Welt mitsamt ihrem Gott und als unser Herz.

In der „Fremdheit", die zwischen der Gottheit, die es allein in Wahrheit ist, und der Welt besteht (also auch zwischen der Religion und allem menschlichen Sein und Tun), kombiniert mit der Gutheit, liegt die Eigenart der Religions- und Weltanschauung M.s. Ich weiß keine Belege dafür, daß vor ihm in der gesamten Religionsgeschichte irgend jemand etwas Ähnliches gelehrt hat [2].

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affizierbar usw. ist, weshalb Gegner M. den stoischen Gottesbegriff zugeschrieben haben. Auch die „Geduld" dieses Gottes hat M. hervorgehoben und u. a. aus ihr erklärt, daß er den Weltschöpfer so lange habe walten lassen (Tert. IV, 38; Celsus bei Origenes, VI, 52). Dagegen wird es diesem als Schwäche vorgerückt, daß er den Teufel usw. habe bestehen lassen.

1 Die Belege für diese Ausführungen s. S. 274* f.

2 Wenn sich in den Ausführungen des Porphyrius gegen Joh. 12, 31 (Fragm. 72 S. 90 meiner Ausgabe) u. a. auch der Satz findet: *τίς δὲ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ βληθῆναι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἔξω ὡς ξένον τοῦ κόσμου; καὶ πῶς ξένος ὢν ἦρξε;* — so hat das mit dem Gedanken M.s nichts gemein.

5. Der Erlösergott als der gute Gott, seine Erscheinung in Jesus Christus und das Werk der Erlösung. Die Berufung des Apostels Paulus.

Der obere Gott ist seinem inneren Wesen nach gut („optimus et ultro bonus" Tert. IV, 36) und nichts anderes als gut, ja die Gutheit selbst (Tert. I, 2 „sola et pura benignitas", I, 26 „solitaria bonitas", I, 23 „principalis et perfecta bonitas", Orig., De princ. II, 5, 4: „proprium vocabulum patris Christi", I, 25 „sola bonitas negatis ceteris adpendicibus sensibus et adfectibus", „bonus et optimus" usw.); diese Gutheit aber, durch welche dieser Gott „die Seligkeit und das Unvergängliche" ist, „das weder sich noch irgend jemandem anderen Mühsal bereitet" [1] (Tert. I, 25), ist erbarmende Liebe. So ganz und gar ist dieser Gott aber nur Gutheit, d. h. Liebe (I, 24: „Deus tantummodo et perfecte bonus"; I, 6: „tantummodo bonus atque optimus"; Esnik S. 179: „der Guttäter"), daß keine anderen Eigenschaften von ihm ausgesagt werden sollen, bzw. daß die, welche er noch hat, mit der Liebe eine Einheit bilden: er ist „spiritus", aber „spiritus salutaris" (I, 19); er ist „tranquillus", „mitis", „placidus", er zürnt, richtet und verdammt schlechterdings nicht; er ist auch „iustus", aber die Gerechtigkeit ist bei ihm die Gerechtigkeit der Liebe; er ist „sapiens" usw., aber er ist das alles, weil er die Liebe ist, die als solche diese Eigenschaften einschließt [2]. Ebendeshalb kann es aber für diesen Gott kein anderes Werk geben als Selbstoffenbarung, und diese wiederum kann nichts anderes sein als Erlösung [3] (Tert. I, 19: „Deus noster, etsi non ab initio,

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1 Hier sieht man deutlich, in welchem Sinne der Weltschöpfer πονηρός ist.

2 Die Eigenschaft der Weisheit des Erlösergottes muß M. gern betont haben; Irenäus und Chrysostomus bezeugen es, und in I Kor. 1, 18 hat M. σοφία eingeschoben; aber die Weisheit war ihm die Weisheit der Liebe, die den Zweck erreicht, den der törichte und wilde Eifer des Weltschöpfers verfehlt.

3 Man könnte annehmen, daß M. lediglich aus der Not (weil er für seinen Gott keine sichtbare Schöpfung nachzuweisen vermochte) eine Tugend gemacht hat, indem er lehrte, daß die Erlösung die einzig würdige Art der Offenbarung des wahren Gottes sei; aber man würde ihm mit dieser Erklärung unrecht tun. Er hat klar erkannt, daß physische Schöpfungen nicht Beweise der Gutheit und Liebe sein können, sondern daß

etsi non per conditionem, sed per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Jesu"; I, 17: „Sufficit unum hoc opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate sua"; I, 14: „Hominem, hoc opus dei creatoris, ille deus melior adamavit, propter quem in haec paupertina elementa de tertio caelo descendere laboravit, cuius causa in hac cellula creatoris etiam crucifixus est"; Adamant. I, 3: *Συνεπάθησεν ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀλλοτρίοις ὡς ἁμαρτωλοῖς· οὔτε ὡς ἀγαθῶν οὔτε ὡς κακῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἠλέησεν).* An dieser Erlösung eben erkennt man, daß er der „Vater der Barmherzigkeit und Gott alles Trostes" ist und genannt werden muß (Tert. V, 11).

Weil der gute Gott aber die Sünder erlösen wollte, so brachte er seine Erlösung der ganzen Menschheit; denn sie sind allzumal Sünder. Die Parteilichkeit für ein Volk kennt er nicht, sondern er bringt eine universale Erlösung. Er erkannte aber auch, daß es mit der Welt und ihrem Schöpfer das Gesetz ist, von welchem die Menschheit erlöst werden muß; weil es aber das Gesetz ist, so ist es auch der Gesetzgeber; denn beide fallen zusammen. Das Gesetz ist die Kraft der Sünde; das Gesetz hat den trostlosen Zustand der Menschheit verstärkt; das Gesetz ist eine furchtbare Last; das Gesetz hat die „Gerechten" knechtisch, furchtsam und zum wahrhaft Guten unfähig gemacht, also muß es aufgehoben werden mitsamt dem ganzen Buch, in welchem es steht [1]. Der gute Gott kam, um das Gesetz und die Propheten aufzulösen, nicht um sie zu erfüllen; er tut das durch das Evangelium, um die Seelen zu erlösen.

Wie aber das Gesetz der Gesetzgeber selbst ist, so ist das Evangelium Jesus Christus (V, 19: „M. segregat alii deo legem et alii deo Christum"). Wer ist dieser Jesus Christus? Marcion antwortet:

„Der Sohn des Vaters, Gott von Art,
Ein Gast auf der Welt hier ward,

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diese sich nur in erlösendem, liebevollem Wirken auszusprechen vermögen. Paul von Samosata hat dasselbe erkannt, aber nicht dieselbe Konsequenz gezogen.

1 Tert. I, 19: „Separatio legis evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis".

Er führt uns aus dem Jammertal
Und macht uns Erben in seinem Saal."

Wie der Weltschöpfer einen Sohn hat, den er demnächst auf die Erde schicken wird, so hat auch der gute Gott einen Sohn, der jenem Sohn zuvorgekommen ist; aber mit diesem „Sohn" hat es eine andere Bewandtnis als mit jenem. Jener heißt nur uneigentlich Sohn, denn er wird ein Mensch aus Davids Stamm sein, der mit dem Geist seines Gottes gesalbt werden wird; auch dieser heißt nur uneigentlich Sohn; aber er unterscheidet sich von seinem Vater nur durch den Namen; denn „in Christo deus per semetipsum revelatus est". Der Vater und der Sohn bilden ebenso eine Gleichung, wie der Sohn und das Evangelium.

M. war Modalist wie andere urchristliche Lehrer, aber wahrscheinlich bewußter wie sie; er legte Gewicht darauf (wie der Verf. des 4. Evangeliums), daß Christus sich selbst erweckt habe, und korrigierte das in die Texte (jedoch nicht konsequent) hinein. Als nachmals die modalistische Frage in der Kirche brennend wurde, stellten die Gegner des modalistischen Monarchianismus seinen sonst orthodoxen Vertretern die Marcioniten zur Seite, um jene dadurch zu diskreditieren (s. Beilage S. 391*.)[1].

Daß der Erlöser (Tert. I, 19: „spiritus salutaris"; Orig., Fragm. in Gal., T. V p. 266: „spiritalis natura") sich Christus nannte, wie der vom Weltschöpfer Verheißene, war für M. unstreitig eine Verlegenheit, die durch die Auskunft (Tert. III, 15), daß er nur unter diesem Namen bei den Juden Eingang finden konnte, schlecht verhüllt ist[2]. Um so wichtiger war es M., daß der Name Jesus im AT nicht geweissagt war (l. c.). Eine Ver-

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1 Über den Jesus- und Christus-Namen s. S. 154*. Sein Modalismus veranlaßte M. und später seine Anhänger, an einigen Stellen „Gott den Vater" neben „Christus" wegzulassen (s. zu Gal. 1, 1 und den gefälschten Laod. Brief) oder Christus für Gott-Vater zu setzen (s. den gefälschten Laod. Brief). Der Modalismus M.s ist ihm übrigens nicht eigentümlich. Er ist derselbe, zu dem sich zahlreiche Montanisten und noch der römische Bischof Zephyrin bekannt haben.

2 Doch ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß Marcioniten noch im Anfang des 4. Jahrh. (Inschrift von Lebaba) den Namen *Χρηστός* schrieben und gewiß nicht übersehen haben, wie passend dieser Name für die persönliche Manifestation des guten Gottes ist.

legenheit für ihn war auch die Selbstbezeichnung Jesu als „der Menschensohn"; er mußte sie allegorisch verstehen (s. Megethius, Dial. I, 7 zu Luk. 6, 22) [1]. Daß er die Bezeichnung „ὁ ἐπερχόμενος" bevorzugt hat, ist begreiflich, wie er denn auch gern von der παρουσία (ἐπιδημία) des Erlösers gesprochen hat. Wie der gute Gott selbst, so hieß auch sein Christus bei den Marcioniten „der Fremde".

Ist der Erlöser nicht auch der Schöpfer und ist sein Erscheinen weder durch die Schöpfung noch durch die Geschichte noch durch Weissagungen [2] vorbereitet, so konnte er nur unerwartet und plötzlich erscheinen; ferner, ist „das Fleisch", weil aus der Materie stammend, grundschlecht, so konnte es der Erlöser, da er doch rein bleiben mußte, nicht annehmen und sich auch nicht der schmählichen Fortpflanzungsordnung unterwerfen [3]; endlich die unsichtbare Substanz des oberen Gottes vermag sich in dieser unserer Welt nicht zu manifestieren [4]. Hieraus folgt mit Notwendigkeit, daß die Geschichte Christi auf Erden erst mit seinem Auftreten als Erlöser anhebt, d. h. im 15. Jahr des Kaisers Tiberius, und daß er in einem Scheinleib erschienen ist [5].

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1 Auch sonst sah sich M. an einigen wenigen Stellen des Evangeliums genötigt, sie allegorisch zu verstehen; so bemerkte er zum „Großen Abendmahl": „Caeleste convivium spiritalis saturitatis et iocunditatis" (IV, 31 zu Luk. 14, 16 ff.), und „hoc est corpus meum" deutete er in „figura corporis mei" um (IV, 40).

2 Man könnte wiederum vermuten, daß M. aus der Not eine Tugend gemacht habe (weil er Weissagungen — die nach der damaligen Auffassung den Wert autoritativer Zeugnisse besitzen — auf seinen Christus nicht nachzuweisen vermochte); aber man würde ihm auch hier unrecht tun. Nach der S. 285* mitgeteilten prägnanten Stelle bei Origenes unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß M. nur die Beweise des Geistes und der Kraft anerkannte und von autoritativen Zeugnissen nichts gehalten hat.

3 Auch die Kirche hat sie durch das Theologumenon von der Parthenogenesis zurückgestoßen, aber ursprünglich den Geburtsakt hingenommen, ihn jedoch später als natürlichen nicht mehr gelten lassen („perpetua virginitas Mariae").

4 Es scheint auch, daß M. oder seine Schüler bereits die Erwägung angestellt haben, daß der göttliche Erlöser nur durch eine „Konversion" hätte Mensch werden können; wer sich aber konvertiert, hört auf, das zu sein, was er war; da nun das Unendliche nicht aufhören kann, kann es auch nicht konvertibel sein.

5 „Non vere, sed visu sub specie quasi amplioris gloriae" (Orig. T. V

„Doketismus“ bedeutete im antiken Zeitalter etwas anderes als heute, weil man die Konsequenzen nicht zog, die wir ziehen zu müssen glauben [1]. Verglichen mit den natürlichen Menschenleibern war der Leib Christi ein *φάντασμα*; aber wie die Engel, die zu Abraham kamen, nicht Gespenster waren, sondern als leibhaftige und wirkliche Menschen handelten und aßen [2], so war auch Christus kein Gespenst [3], sondern der Gott trat in menschlicher Erscheinung auf und setzte sich selbst in den Stand, wie ein Mensch zu empfinden, zu handeln und zu leiden, obgleich die Identität mit einem natürlich erzeugten Fleischesleib nur scheinbar war, da die Substanz des Fleisches fehlte. Es ist also durchaus unrichtig, zu meinen, nach M. habe Christus nur scheinbar gelitten, sei nur scheinbar gestorben usw. So urteilten die Gegner; er selbst aber bezog hier den Schein nur auf die Fleischessubstanz [4]. Natürlich nahm er nicht an, daß die Gottheit gelitten habe; aber daraus zu schließen, Leiden und Tod Christi seien ihm ein bloßes Schattenspiel gewesen, ist unrichtig. Zwar kann man es den Gegnern nicht verübeln, wenn sie mit Origenes in bezug auf M.s Lehre erklärten: *Κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐδραματούργει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν*, ja es ist auch möglich, daß M. wörtlich gesagt hat: *δοκήσει ὁ*

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p. 283 f.). Beweise für den Doketismus fand M. zahlreich in dem Evangelium; s. seine Bemerkung zu Luk. 4, 30 usw.

1 Der Doketismus war in jener Zeit auch ein Ausdruck dafür, daß Christus nicht Produkt seiner Zeit ist und daß das Geniale und Göttliche sich nicht aus der Natur heraus entwickelt.

2 S. Tert. III, 9; De carne 3; Ephraem, Ev. Conc. Expos. p. 255. Man sieht auch hier, daß das AT, trotz seiner Ungültigkeit, nach M. uns zur Lehre dienen soll. Wenn er oder seine Schüler sich außerdem gegenüber den Einwürfen der Katholiken auf den h. Geist mit dem Taubenleib berufen haben, obwohl sie selbst die ganze Taufgeschichte nicht anerkannten, so war dies eine argumentatio ad hominem.

3 Nach dem Evangelium, wie M. es las, sind es die Jünger, die ihn nach der Auferstehung für ein *φάντασμα* hielten; Jesus will das aber sogar als Auferstandener nicht sein.

4 Ebendeshalb traf ihn auch der Vorwurf der Gegner nicht, daß alles hier Täuschung und Betrug sei; vielmehr lediglich bei dem Irrtum mußte Christus („satis erat ei conscientia sua“, Tert., De carne 3) seine Gegner lassen, daß er eine Fleischessubstanz habe. Nach Hippol., Refut. X, 19 war Christus „der innere Mensch“; aber das ist nicht deutlich.

Χριστὸς πέπονθεν, allein dann bezog er *δοκεῖν* ausschließlich auf den als Fleischesleib vorgestellten Leib. Als biblischer Theologe hielt er sich an die Philipperstelle: *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν.* Sie war ihm die Grundstelle für die Lösung des hier vorliegenden Problems, und er lehrte deshalb, daß Christus in und an der menschlichen Gleichgestalt, in die er sich begeben hat, wirklich gelitten hat. Zum Heil der Menschen stieg er hernieder. Kann es eine größere Liebe und ein größeres Erbarmen geben als das, welches ihn vom Himmelszelt getrieben hat? Die verfehlte Schöpfung eines widerwärtigen Gottes, die jämmerliche Menschheit, und in ihr die Elendesten, will er aus purer Liebe retten! (s. die ergreifenden Worte De carne 4). Das, was nach Ursprung und Entwicklung dem Tode mit Recht verfallen war, weil es nichts Lebenswürdiges in sich hatte, will er zu ewigem Leben erlösen, und den Gott will er ins Unrecht setzen, der selbst da, wo er sein Recht verfolgt, alles verschlimmert und verdirbt.

In Reden und in Taten (nova documenta dei novi) erwies er alsbald das unerhört Neue, das er brachte (nova benignitas, nova et hospita dispositio, nova patientia, nova liberalitas, nova vita). Er predigt das Reich Gottes [1]; aber man soll auch wissen: „in evangelio est dei regnum Christus ipse" (Tert. IV, 33). Sich selbst brachte er also, bzw. seinen Vater, was dasselbe ist. In der neuen Gotteserkenntnis, die nur der Sohn mitteilt, ist alles beschlossen [2]. Auch die Form seiner Rede empfand M. als neu, „wenn er Gleichnisse entgegenwirft und Fragen widerlegt" (IV, 11. 19) [3]; M. besaß also Ohr und Sinn für die Genialität der

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1 „Regnum dei Christus novum atque inauditum adnuntiavit" (Tert. IV, 24). Diese Botschaft braucht ebensowenig einen „Beweis", wie die ganze Erscheinung Christi; denn sie beweist sich durch ihren Inhalt und ihre Kraft selbst, wie auch die Worte und Taten Christi; s. vor allem Orig., Comm. II § 199 f. in Joh. (S. 285*).

2 Zum großen Bekenntnis Jesu (Luk. 10, 21 f.): „Ipsam magnitudinem sui deus absconderat. quam cum maxime per Christum revelabat, in destructionem rerum creatoris, uti traduceret eas" ... „‚Omnia mihi tradita', i. e. omnes nationes".

3 In der Parabelform sah M. die Jesu eigentümliche Redeweise. Damit muß man vergleichen, daß er ein scharfer Gegner der allegorischen Auslegungsmethode war. Ein in den Einzelzügen vollständiges Bild Christi nach M. vermögen wir deshalb nicht zu gewinnen, weil es an so vielen Stellen

Reden Jesu und empfand den Kontrast ihrer Güte, Weisheit und Simplizität zu den peremptorischen, starren und kleinlichen Gesetzen des Weltschöpfers — die „novitas spiritus" (V, 1) leuchtete ihm auf. Aber obwohl nach M. Christus deutlich ausgesprochen hat, daß er gekommen sei, das Gesetz und die Propheten aufzulösen, und obwohl sich all sein Tun offenbar in dieser Richtung bewegte, so hat er nach M. doch nicht unzweideutig erklärt: „Ich verkündige einen neuen Gott", sondern hat die Konsequenz seinen Hörern überlassen. Mit Verwunderung hat dies Tertullian konstatiert (IV, 17), und es ist in der Tat verwunderlich. Aber das überlieferte Evangelium erlaubte nicht, Christo die offene Verkündigung zweier Götter zuzuschreiben. Die Zurückhaltung erklärte M. so, daß Christus auch hier seine Geduld und Langmut habe beweisen wollen; deshalb erlaubte er auch dem Aussätzigen, sich dem Priester zu zeigen (IV, 9), korrigierte die nicht, die seiner Wunder wegen den Weltschöpfer priesen (IV, 18) und ertrug die Mißverständnisse seiner Jünger, sogar das große des Petrus bei seinem Bekenntnis (IV, 21).

Vor allem sah M. in den Seligpreisungen die „proprietas" der Verkündigung Christi (IV, 14) und stellte sie als Magna charta der neuen Religion in den Vordergrund. In ihnen strömte für ihn die beseligende Liebe des Erlösergottes. Den Armen, Hungernden, Weinenden, Gehaßten, Geschmähten und Ausgestoßenen, also den Parias des gerechten Gottes [1], bringt Christus mit dem Evangelium die Seligkeit. „In den Gesetzen des Gerechten wird das Glück den Reichen gegeben und das Unglück den Armen, im Evangelium aber umgekehrt." Man muß dazu das Verbot der Sorge um Irdisches stellen [2], sowie weiter die

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zweifelhaft bleiben muß (s. S. 44 ff.), was er getilgt und was er stehen gelassen hat. Sehr wichtig ist es, zu wissen, daß er nicht nur die Taufe durch Johannes, die Versuchungsgeschichte, den Einzug in Jerusalem und die Tempelreinigung getilgt hat, sondern auch das Gleichnis vom verlornen Sohn; denn wie kann „der fremde Gott" der Vater sein, in dessen Haus der reuige Sohn zurückkehrt? Daß die trostreichen Sprüche von der Fürsorge Gottes für die Sperlinge und für die Haare auf dem Haupt fallen mußten, war schlechthin notwendig.

1 Den Zöllnern, s. seine Bemerkung zu Luk. 5, 27 ff.

2 S. M.s Bemerkung zu Luk. 12, 22 ff.: „Christus deprecator creatoris non vult de eiusmodi frivolis (Nahrung, Kleidung usw.) cogitari". Sehr

förmlichen Antithesen, die M. in bezug auf das Verfahren des Schöpfers und Christi komponiert hat, um zu erkennen, wie ausschließlich er die Liebe, Güte, Geduld und Überweltlichkeit des neuen in Christus erschienenen Gottes erkannt sehen wollte: „In lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio" (Tert. V, 3). Dabei sah er auch in der Universalität das Neue: „Creator quidem fratribus dari iussit, Christus vero omnibus petentibus": „hoc est novum et diversum" (IV, 16), sowie in der Schrankenlosigkeit der Vergebung, die nie ermüden darf (IV, 35. 38). Über die Universalität aber und die unbeschränkte Vergebung noch hinaus ist die Feindesliebe die charakteristische Note des Marcionitischen Christentums, weil sie allein mit der Liebesgroßtat des Gottes korrespondiert, der die „extranei et inimici" erlöst, der noch dazu der Vater solcher zu werden begehrt, die der Auswurf der ihm fremden und armseligen Menschheit sind, der für seine Peiniger gebetet und seine Hände ausgestreckt hat — nicht um wie Moses viele zu töten, sondern viele zu retten.

Freilich — die „Gerechten" lassen sich nicht retten; denn sie sind ganz versunken in den Dienst des inferioren Gottes und in den Grundsatz „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn"; wer diesem Grundsatz unbarmherzig folgt [1], der ist verhärtet und erlösungsunfähig.

Die Reden und Taten des Erlösers [2] waren aber auch von den deutlichsten Beweisen seiner Macht begleitet: er heilt Un-

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merkwürdig ist daher, daß er Luk. 12, 30 f. stehen gelassen hat (*οἶδεν ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων· ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα [πάντα?] προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν*). Wie mag M. die letzten Worte verstanden haben? Nach dem klaren Sinn, in welchem sie zu verstehen sind, gewiß nicht, und sicher würde man mit Unrecht aus ihnen folgern, daß M. eine spendende Vorsehung des guten Gottes in bezug auf irdische Dinge für seine Gläubigen angenommen habe.

1 M. hat die Lehre des Weltschöpfers, die von den Pharisäern vertreten wird, auch als Hypokrisie beurteilt, weil sie das wahre Gute nicht kennt und etwas anderes dafür hält; s. zu Luk. 12, 1 (Tert. IV, 28): „Fermentum, quod est hypocrisis i. e. praedicatio creatoris".

2 Da M. bei dem Unternehmen, den Lukastext seiner Theologie anzupassen, möglichst konservativ verfuhr und Streichungen augenscheinlich unterließ, wo sie nicht unumgänglich nötig erschienen, so mußte er an vielen Stellen höchst gezwungene, ja sophistische Auslegungen bieten, Jesus auf anderes antworten lassen, als was die Fragenden gefragt hatten,

zählige, ohne einer Materie zu bedürfen, nur durch das Wort, ja selbst ohne Wort „tacita potestate et sola voluntate" (Tert. IV, 9. 15. 35); er gebietet Wind und Wellen [1], er kommt als der Stärkere über den Starken [2], ja er dringt selbst in die Unterwelt des Weltschöpfers ein und führt die, welche ihm folgen, heraus, nämlich Kain und seinesgleichen, die Sodomiten, die Ägypter und ihresgleichen und überhaupt alle Heiden, die in jeglicher Bosheit gewandelt sind, die aber ihm entgegenliefen, als er bei ihnen erschien.

Hier muß man stille halten; denn hier ist der Punkt, der nicht nur den Kirchenvätern als der Gipfel der blasphemischen Bosheit M.s erschien, sondern der auch uns heute noch anstößig ist, und doch ist nach den Prinzipien M.s alles in Ordnung.

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die Antworten umdeuten oder abschwächen, Fremdes in die Erklärung einmischen, anstößige, angeblich geduldige AkkommodationenJesu annehmen, innerhalb einer und derselben Rede das Thema ändern, in ein und derselben Aussage verschiedene Subjekte annehmen und dergleichen; s. Beispiele zu Luk. 6, 23. 24 ff. 35; 7, 9; 9, 21; 10, 25; 11, 42 ff.; 12, 46; 17, 20 f.; 20, 27 ff.; 21, 25 ff.; 22, 70. Das Anstößigste ist, daß Jesus fort und fort das Dunkel darüber bestehen läßt, daß er der Sohn eines andern Gottes ist (s. o.; zur Erklärung ist auch das noch mangelnde Verständnis der Hörer von M. herbeigezogen worden). Auch beim Verhör habe er sich noch nicht als Sohn eines anderen Gottes bekannt, „ut pati posset" (Tert. IV, 41 zu Luk. 22, 61 f.) und nach M. bei Ephraem, Evang. Conc. Expos. p. 122 f. soll er sogar noch beim Abendmahl seinen Leib deshalb zum Essen dargeboten haben, „ut magnitudinem suam absconderet et opinionem eis inderet, se esse corporalem, quia eum nondum poterant intelligere". Ob das zuverlässig ist, ist ungewiß.

1 Zu Luk. 8, 25 bemerkte M. (Tert. IV, 20): „Iste qui ventis et mari imperat, novus dominator atque possessor est elementorum subacti iam et exclusi creatoris"; aber nur Proben seiner Übermacht hat Jesus auf Erden geben wollen; er läßt die Herrschaft des deus saeculi doch bestehen, solange das saeculum dauert; s. u. Vgl. die Ausführung zu Luk. 8, 27 ff. (der Dämonische): „Daemones ignoraverunt quod novi et ignoti dei virtus operetur in terris" (l. c.). Es ist sehr verständlich, daß Ephraem (Conc. Evang. Expos. p. 75) an der Stillung des Sturms Anstoß genommen hat; er sagt, M. hätte ihn nicht stehen lassen dürfen, da Christus hier „vis et imperium" habe anwenden müssen, die er als Sohn des guten Gottes doch nicht habe.

2 Zu Luk. 11, 22 (Tert. IV, 26): „Creator ab alio deo subactus". Aber auch das ist nur eine „Markierung"; der gute Gott handelt sogar mit dem Weltschöpfer nicht gewalttätig (s. u.).

Zunächst — daß Christus in die Unterwelt gehen und seine Erlösung dorthin bringen mußte, war ein selbstverständliches Stück allgemeiner urchristlicher Glaubensüberzeugung, das auch M. nicht beiseite lassen konnte. Darüber hat uns jüngst Carl Schmidt in seinem Werk „Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung" (1919) aufs neue aufklärend und umfassend belehrt. Die Universalität der Erlösung hing davon ab, daß nicht nur die Zeitgenossen Jesu und der Apostel und die Nachgeborenen das Evangelium hören, sondern die ganze Menschheit von Adam an. Was heute in den Kirchen eine vertrocknete Reliquie ist, war damals nicht nur ein, sondern nahezu das Hauptstück der Verkündigung vom Erlöser [1]. In der Unterwelt befanden sich nach M. sowohl die Verworfenen als auch die Gerechten des Schöpfers, wenn auch in verschiedenen Abteilungen und in verschiedener Lage („Utraque merces creatoris sive tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos est eis posita, qui legi et prophetis oboedierint" Tert. IV, 34). Indem aber M. seinen Christus in die Unterwelt bringen mußte, mußte es sich entscheiden, welcher von den beiden Gesichtspunkten für ihn der übergeordnete war, ob der Gesichtspunkt, nach welchem die Beobachtung der Moral „gut" ist gegenüber Sünde und Verbrechen (s. o. S. 109 f), oder der Gesichtspunkt, nach welchem diese Beobachtung, wenn sie als „das Gute" gilt, das schwerste Hemmnis ist, um sich von der barmherzigen Liebe finden und ergreifen zu lassen. Die Entscheidung konnte nicht zweifelhaft sein. Abel, Henoch, Abraham, Moses usw. konnten nicht gerettet werden; denn ihre Beobachtung der Moral stand im Dienste des Gottes, der mit seiner Norm „Auge um Auge" der schlimmste Gegner des guten Gottes ist. Ihm hatten sie sich ganz ergeben in Furcht und Zittern, Glaube und Mißtrauen. Ihr Mißtrauen, daß ihr Gott, der sie immer wieder durch Versuchungen gepeinigt hatte, ihnen hier aufs neue eine Falle lege, hebt M. bei Irenäus

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1 Fast die ganze Menschheit war ja bereits in der Unterwelt; was auf Erden bis zum nahen Weltende noch übrig war, war ja nur noch ein ganz kleiner Rest. Also findet der in die Unterwelt niedersteigende Erlöser erst dort die Masse der Zuerlösenden. Vgl. Apoc. Esra II, 5 (S. 38 Violet): „Ich sagte, Herr, siehe, denen verheißt du es, die am Ende sind. Aber was sollen die machen, die vor uns waren?"

als Grund ihrer Ablehnung hervor; bei Epiphanius heißt es einfach, daß sie Christus nicht folgen wollten, weil sie aus dem Glauben an ihren Judengott nicht mehr heraus konnten. Somit mußten sie in der Unterwelt bleiben; die vom Weltschöpfer aber zur Strafe gefolterten groben Verbrecher und die gottlosen Heiden, die ja sämtlich nach dem grausamen Strafkodex des gerechten Gottes bereits Doppeltes und Dreifaches für ihre Sünde erhalten hatten, liefen sehnsüchtig herzu zu dem neuen Erlösergott. Seine barmherzige Liebe rief sie alle, und sie alle kamen, und er errettete sie alle, die gläubig in seine Arme stürzten, und führte sie heraus aus dem Ort der Qual in sein Reich der Seligen. Man kann nach dem Bericht des Irenäus nicht zweifeln, daß M. eine Apokatastasis schlechthin aller vorchristlichen Menschen gelehrt hat, die sich nicht dem Judengott im Leben ergeben hatten [1], wie blutrot auch ihre Sünden gewesen; nur die Patrjarchen, Moses, die Propheten und ihr Anhang blieben in ihrem trübseligen „Refrigerium" zurück. Welch ein übersteigerter Paulinismus, zugleich aber — welch eine vor keiner Konsequenz zurückschaudernde Überzeugung von der Allmacht und Allgewalt der barmherzigen Liebe und von der Inferiorität der Moral, die, wo sie allein herrscht, zur Todfeindin des Guten wird.

Kein Zweifel — nach M. hat Christus als der Superiore Macht und Gewalt genug, um alle Kinder des Weltschöpfers, d. h. die Menschheit, ihrem natürlichen Vater zu entreißen und an sich zu ziehen. Die Kirchenväter behaupten daher auch, nach Marcion habe Christus mit Gewalt das Eigentum des Schöpfers in Besitz genommen, und dieser Christus sei mithin ein Dieb und Räuber. Allein M. war weit davon entfernt, so zu lehren; denn was er bei Paulus über den Tod Christi las, mußte ihn veranlassen, den Vollzug der Erlösung an diesen anzuknüpfen, damit aber alle Gewalt auszuscheiden, deren Anwendung ja überhaupt dem guten Gott nicht ziemt.

Christus hat allerdings schon im Laufe seines Wirkens dem Weltschöpfer gezeigt, daß er der Stärkere sei, allein das waren sozusagen nur Proben, und er beabsichtigte nicht, mit Gewalt seinen Gegner zu überwinden und ihm seine Kinder zu ent-

1 Über einen Einwurf, der hier aus den Quellen erhoben werden kann, s. u.

reißen. Man muß sich hier erinnern, was oben über δίκαιος und δικαιοσύνη ausgeführt worden ist: M. kennt eine Gerechtigkeit, die zur Gutheit gehört und die die wahre Gerechtigkeit ist, während die „Gerechtigkeit" des Weltschöpfers in Bosheit übergeht. Er respektiert auch, wie wir gesehen haben, das Gesetz, daß man nicht stehlen und rauben soll, als eine selbstverständliche Norm. Unter dieser Voraussetzung hat er sich einige Gedanken des Apostels Paulus über den Tod Christi nicht nur aneignen können, sondern er erfaßte insbesondere, und zwar mit Ausschließlichkeit und mit Pathos, den Gedanken, daß Christus die Menschen durch seinen Tod vom Weltschöpfer erkauft habe.

Ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνετο (Adamant. II, 9): das wurde M.s Grundbekenntnis und ebenso das seiner Schüler: „Wer auf den Gekreuzigten hofft, wird selig", sagt Apelles, und zwar war dieser Tod ein an den Weltschöpfer gezahlter Kaufpreis: M. hat nicht nur auf Gal. 3, 13 den Finger gelegt, sondern auch 2, 20 ἀγοράσαντος für ἀγαπήσαντος eingesetzt. Daß der Tod Kreuzestod war, war M. besonders willkommen; denn über diesen hatte der Weltschöpfer den Fluch ausgesprochen und ihn daher für seinen Christus nicht in Aussicht genommen (Tert. III, 18; V, 3; I, 11) — der deutlichste Beweis, daß der erschienene Christus nicht zum Weltschöpfer gehört. Ebenso willkommen war ihm aber auch die Vorstellung eines Kaufes; denn sein Eigentum kauft man nicht; also waren die Menschen dem guten Gott fremd, und er mußte sie erwerben (s. S. 288* f)[1]; zugleich aber zeigt sich in dieser Erwerbung der Fremden seine alle Vernunft übersteigende Liebe. Endlich erscheint das „Placidum" des Erlöser-Gottes in hellem

1 Der Einwurf der Gegner, daß der Weltschöpfer die Seele (oder das Blut) Christi nicht behalten hat, weil Christus auferstanden ist, und daß demnach der Kauf sofort illusorisch geworden ist, ist von M. unseres Wissens nicht berücksichtigt worden. Über die ausgeführte Lehre der Marcioniten bei Esnik s. dort. Ich kann sie nur für eine spätere Ausspinnung halten; denn sie geht über die biblische Grundlage, die M. nie verlassen hat, heraus, Tert. hätte sie sicher berücksichtigt, wenn er sie in M.s Antithesen gefunden hätte, und sie setzt voraus, daß die Macht des Weltschöpfers schon durch die Auferstehung Christi völlig gebrochen worden ist.

Licht; denn obgleich ihn der Weltschöpfer bzw. die irdischen Gewalten, die er kommandierte, in Unkenntnis, blinder Ungerechtigkeit und Eifersucht als Gesetzesübertreter ans Kreuz gebracht haben (Tert. V, 6; III, 23; Adamant. II, 9) und er also berechtigt gewesen wäre, sich den Leiden zu entziehen und sie niederzuschlagen, wählte er doch den gütlichen Weg. Ob hier bei M. noch eine tiefere Einsicht mitgesprochen hat auf Grund anderer Paulinischer Stellen, die in seinem Kanon standen, läßt sich nicht sicher sagen [1]; aber wahrscheinlich genügte ihm der unendliche Liebesbeweis, der in diesem Tode zum Zweck der Erkaufung liegt.

Welchen Umfang aber hat diese Erkaufung bzw. Erlösung, und ist sie bedingungslos oder unbedingt? Ferner, in welchem Zustand befinden sich die Erlösten in der Gegenwart? Endlich, wie steht es mit dem Endgericht und dem zukünftigen Zustand? Diese drei Fragen müssen noch beantwortet werden.

Daß der Erlöser nach M. die vorchristliche Menschheit, die in der Unterwelt schmachtete, in ihrer Totalität mit Ausnahme der Gerechten des Weltschöpfers erlöst hat, ist oben festgestellt worden (s. auch Tert. V. 11 „liberavit genus humanum"); allein auf Erden hat seine Erscheinung von Anfang an bis heute nicht denselben Erfolg. „Non omnes salvi fiunt, sed pauciores omnibus et Judaeis et Christianis creatoris" (Tert. I, 24; vgl. Iren. IV, 27, 4 ff. und Clemens Strom. III, 10, 69: *Μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ὁ δημιουργός ἐστιν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ ὁ σωτήρ*) [2]. Schon mit seinen Jüngern hatte Christus traurige Erfahrungen machen müssen, und zuletzt fielen sie wieder ganz in das alte Wesen zurück, hielten ihren Herrn und Meister doch wieder für den Sohn des Weltschöpfers oder gerieten in schlimme Halbheiten und leisteten den judaistischen Pseudoaposteln, welche der Weltschöpfer nun gegen das Evangelium aussandte, Vorschub

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1 Auf die Vergebung der Sünden legte M. das größte Gewicht; s. seine Exegesen, so zu Luk. 5, 20 (Vergebung der Sünden beim Gichtbrüchigen): „Nova ista Christi benignitas".

2 Dieser unerträglich scheinende Widerspruch zwischen der geringen Anzahl der nachchristlichen Erlösten zu der Fülle der vorchristlichen erleichtert sich, wenn man auf den urchristlichen Standpunkt tritt. Nach diesem erschien Christus am Ende der Weltzeit, in der alles Schlimme auf seinem Höhepunkt ist; da können nur noch wenige gerettet werden.

(s. o. S. 35 ff. 256* ff). Die halbschlächtige Konvention mit Paulus in Jerusalem war das letzte Aufflackern besserer Erinnerung in ihnen; aber auch sie war keine Konvention der Gemeinschaft (M. strich *κοινωνίας* in Gal. 2, 9), sondern eine halt- und fruchtlose, weil nur scheinbar friedliche Auseinandersetzung. Der neue Apostel, den der Erlöser statt ihrer nun erweckte, Paulus, entsprach zwar seiner Aufgabe vollkommen, hatte aber einen furchtbar schweren Stand; denn er mußte nicht nur gegen Juden und Heiden kämpfen, sondern auch gegen die falschen judaistischen Christen, und das war der schwerste Kampf. Er konnte daher nur verhältnismäßig wenige gewinnen, zumal da sich auch die „verbosa eloquentia philosophiae" (*διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὡς κενῆς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, so las M. Kol. 2, 8) ihm entgegenstellte. Er mußte erfahren, daß der Glaube nicht jedermanns Ding sei. Auf den Glauben aber an Christus kommt alles an; das hat M. von Paulus gelernt und wiederholt es in seinen „Antithesen" bzw. den Exegesen [1]. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt erklärte er die Geschichten von der großen Sünderin, vom blutflüssigen Weib, von den zehn Aussätzigen (Tert. IV, 18. 20. 35) usw. Glauben aber heißt sich auf die unverdiente Liebe Gottes in Christo verlassen und deshalb das Gesetz, welches den Glauben hindert (M. bei Iren. IV, 2, 7: „Lex prohibet credere in filium dei"), verachten und durchkreuzen, wie es die Blutflüssige getan hat [2]. Weil man das ewige Leben allein der Liebe Gottes verdankt (Tert. IV, 25: „Ex dilectione dei consequuntur vitam aeternam Marcionitae"), so ist die einzige, aber auch notwendige Bedingung hier der Glaube. Er steht dem sklavischen Gehorsam und der Furcht gegenüber, die das Gesetz verlangt. Immer wieder hat M. eingeschärft, daß dem guten Gott im Gegensatz zum Weltschöpfer, der gefürchtet werden will, nichts entgegengebracht werden darf als Glaube und daß alle Furcht beseitigt ist („Deus bonus timendus non est," Tert. IV, 8). *Κακοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*

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1 Christus hat also dem Weltschöpfer durch seinen Tod zwar die ganze Menschheit abgekauft, aber nur die erlöst er wirklich, die seinem Evangelium im Glauben folgen.

2 „Hanc vis mulieris fidem constituere, qua contempserat legem" (Tert. IV, 20).

ὄντας ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μετέβαλε[1] *διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγαθοὺς*[2] *τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ* (Megethius, Dial. II, 6) und *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ σώζει* (Markus, Dial. II, 1 f.)[2b]. Indem M. das Moment der Furcht aus dem Glauben völlig ausschied (Phil. 2, 12 hat gewiß nicht in M.s Bibel gestanden), entfernte er sich von Paulus, aber begegnete sich mit Johannes. Wenige nur lassen sich retten; die Geretteten aber sind ausschließlich die, welche glauben[3]. Auf die Frage Tertullians an Marcion aber, warum er nicht sündige, wenn sein Gott nicht zu fürchten sei und nicht strafe, liest man die wunderbar einfache Antwort: „Absit, absit"[4]. Das heißt doch nichts anderes, als daß M. keine Nötigung für die Gläubigen empfand, die „Moral" eigens noch zu begründen. Von der barmherzigen Liebe ergriffen und ihr sich im Glauben hingebend, ist

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1 *Μεταβολή* kenne ich (aus der vorkatholischen Literatur) aus Justin, Apol. I, 66; dort heißt es, daß durch die h. Speise im Abendmahl unser Fleisch und Blut *κατὰ μεταβολήν* ernährt werden. Eine mystisch-sakramentale Veränderung unserer leiblichen Natur ist gemeint. M. dagegen denkt an eine innere Umwandlung durch den Glauben. Paulus spricht von der neuen Kreatur. M. hat ihn verstanden. Apol. II, 2 nennt Justin die (erhoffte) Bekehrung eines in Sünden lebenden Menschen *μεταβολή*. Das ist derselbe Sprachgebrauch, den M. befolgt.

2 Durch den Glauben werden die Sünder wirklich zu Guten transformiert.

2b Apelles hat die entscheidende Bedeutung des Glaubens festgehalten, s. bei Rhodon (Euseb., h. e. V, 13): *Σωθήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἠλπικότας*. S. auch „*τοῖς πιστεύουσιν*", Hippol., Refut. VII, 38 Schluß.

3 Nach einer Marcionitischen Aussage bei Esnik (bei Schmid S. 144) waren und sind die Menschen dem erschienenen Christus Glaube (und Nachfolge) schuldig, weil Güte nicht zurückgewiesen werden darf: „M. schwatzt, daß es den Geschöpfen des Gerechten eine Schuldigkeit ist dem guten Fremden Verehrung zu erweisen wegen der Güte"). Ich zweifle nicht. Daß M. selbst so gelehrt hat.

4 Tert.s Kritik (I, 27) ist hier sehr peinlich: „Age itaque, qui deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebullis, summum, quod sciam, fructum vitae omnibus, qui deum non timent? quid non frequentas tam sollemnes voluptates circi furentis et cavae saevientis et scaenae lascivientis? quid non et in persecutionibus statim oblata acerra animam negatione lucraris?" Vgl. Esnik (S. 379 *): „Ist es daher (weil der gute Gott keine Strafleiden verhängt) nicht klar, daß sich die Marcioniten vor den Qualen nicht fürchten und daß sie vor den Sünden nicht zurückscheuen?"

der Erlöste in eine Sphäre erhoben, an welche der Schmutz der Materie und die inferiore Legalität nicht heranreichen; er braucht daher keine Normen der Moral und keine Begründung für sie; es bleibt also dabei, daß der Glaube genügt, weil Gott durch den Glauben aus Schlechten Gute macht [1]. Jenes „absit, absit" ist ein religionsgeschichtliches Dokument ersten Ranges (s. u.) [2].

Zur Frage des Umfangs der Erlösung gehört auch die Frage, ob der ganze Mensch gerettet wird oder nur seine Seele. Nach dem, was M. über die Materie und das Fleisch gelehrt hat, konnte die Entscheidung ihm nicht zweifelhaft sein: nur die Seele wird gerettet; denn im Fleische, das ja nicht einmal Erzeugnis des Weltschöpfers ist, sondern der Materie angehört, steckt ja nichts wesentlich Menschliches, sondern es ist nur eine ekle Beimischung. Daher trifft der Einwurf der Gegner, nach M. werde der Mensch nur unvollkommen erlöst, M.s Auffassung nicht. Übrigens dachte er sich die durch den Tod hindurchgedrungenen Erlösten nicht substanzlos. „Deus tuus", sagt Tert. III, 9, „veram

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1 Wenn Apelles der Bedingung des Glaubens hinzufügt: *μόνον ἐὰν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὑρίσκωνται*, so ist das nach M. entweder selbstverständlich oder — wenn es mehr sein soll — schwerlich in seinem Sinne.

2 v. Soden, W. Bauer und Grejdanus haben, wenn auch in verschiedener Weise, bestritten, daß M. ein tieferes oder überhaupt ein Schuldgefühl besessen habe, und haben daraus gefolgert, daß seine Frömmigkeit und Lehre im Grunde von der paulinischen ganz verschieden sei und tief unter ihr stehe. Eine gewisse Verschiedenheit leugne ich nicht; aber M. das Schuldgefühl abzusprechen, scheint mir eine seelsorgerische Ketzerspürerei zu sein und dem zu widersprechen, was wir von M.s Glaubensbegriff wissen. Ich habe in den „Neuen Studien zu M." (1923) ihre Annahmen, hoffe ich, widerlegt und glaube das dort Ausgeführte nicht wiederholen zu sollen. Die Christen dieses Zeitalters und der folgenden haben fast sämtlich die erste Hälfte des Bekenntnisses: „Herz, freu' dich, du sollst werden vom Elend dieser Erden und von der Sündenarbeit frei" stärker betont als die zweite; aber ihnen darum das Schuldgefühl abzusprechen, geht viel zu weit. Wendet man aber ein, daß M.s Schuldgefühl schon deshalb unterwertig sein müsse, weil sich die Schuld nicht auf den Gott, der da erlöst, bezieht, so übersieht man, (1) daß dieses Manko gedeckt wird durch das Gefühl eines unerschöpflichen Dankes an den, der uns zuerst geliebt und als Fremde in unbegreiflicher Barmherzigkeit zu seinen Kindern gemacht hat, (2) daß, wie gezeigt worden ist, Marcion den Sündenzustand, der sich als sittliche Verwahrlosung und Anarchie zeigt, für Sünde und Schuld gehalten hat.

quandoquidem substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur; ‚erunt enim', inquit, ‚sicut angeli' ".

In schneidendem Kontrast zur Erlösung, die der Gläubige im Glauben erlebt, steht seine tatsächliche Lage in der Gegenwart; denn, wie Tertullian bezeugt: „Marcion putat se liberatum esse de regno creatoris, de futuro, non de praesenti" (I, 24). Es ist also keineswegs so, daß das siegreiche Wirken des Erlösers in Krafttaten während seines Lebens auf Erden — sie waren nur Exempel — oder daß seine Auferstehung den Weltschöpfer bereits überwunden hat. Zwar hat er ihm die Menschen abgekauft, aber das ist ein, wenn auch absolut sicherer, Wechsel auf die Zukunft, weil, so lange dieses Säkulum besteht, auch noch die Herrschaft des deus huius saeculi [1] dauert. Daher bleiben die Armen, Hungernden, Geschmähten und Verfolgten nicht nur, was sie sind, sondern sie, die sich dem guten Gott im Glauben angeschlossen haben, erfahren größeres Leid als je zuvor. Die Heiden, Juden und die falschen Christen, dazu die weltliche Obrigkeit, angestachelt vom Gesetzgeber [2], verfolgen sie schonungslos; sie sind daher die Gemeinde „der Elenden und Gehaßten" in der Welt, und all ihr Trost liegt in ihrem Glauben und in der Zukunft. Schlechthin kein Strahl des Lichts fällt in der Gegenwart auf ihre äußere Lage; nur in dem e i n e n werden sie durch diese Lage bestärkt, nämlich in der Überzeugung, daß sie nicht mehr Kinder des Weltschöpfers sind, sondern dem „Fremden" gehören; denn der Weltschöpfer würde seine Kinder nicht also leiden und bluten lassen (Adamant., Dial. I, 21).

Wie aber gestaltet sich das Ende der Dinge? Hier mußte für M. eine große Schwierigkeit entstehen; denn wie er aufs bestimmteste erklärt hat, daß der gute Gott nicht gefürchtet wird, so hat er auch jede Gelegenheit, welche die h. Schrift bot, er-

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1 Der gute Gott ist *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου* (Tert. IV, 38) und will nicht *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* sein.

2 Er, der nach dem Verkauf gerechterweise Ruhe halten sollte, ist jetzt doppelt eifersüchtig, und, die Glaubensbedingung seines Gegners kennend, sucht er auf alle Weise die Gläubigen zu verfolgen, zu quälen und vom Glauben abzubringen, um seine Kinder nicht dem guten Gott überlassen zu müssen. War er schon vor der Erscheinung Christi wild und grausam, so überschreiten jetzt seine Leidenschaften alles Maß, und seine „Gerechtigkeit" wird von ihnen überwältigt.

griffen, um zu bezeugen, daß der gute Gott überhaupt nicht richtet (Adamant., Dial. II, 1 f.: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς οὐ κατακρίνει τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας αὐτῷ*), und hat in der Regel gestrichen oder korrigiert, wo der überlieferte Text ihn als Richter erscheinen ließ. Wie aber soll es dann zu einer Scheidung kommen, wenn doch an eine *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων* nicht zu denken ist? Hier muß man darauf achten, wie M. den Begriff und die Worte „Richten, Richter, Gericht" in seiner Bibel behandelt hat, wo er sie nicht (wie Luk. 12, 58 u. a. a. St.) auf den Gesetzgeber beziehen konnte. In Luk. 11, 42 hat er *κρίσιν* in *κλῆσιν* verwandelt; in Röm. 11, 33 hat er *κρίματα* getilgt; aber nicht durchweg verfuhr er so. Tert. hat uns den wichtigen Satz M.s mitgeteilt (I, 27): „Deus melior iudicat plane malum nolendo et damnat prohibendo"[1]. In diesem Sinne konnte M. also Richten und Verdammen auch bei dem guten Gott anerkennen. Daher ließ er Röm. 2, 2 stehen: *τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν*, ferner Gal. 5, 10: *ὁ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα*, und auch den gewichtigen Satz Röm. 2, 16 konservierte er: *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτι κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, sowie den anderen II Thess. 2, 12: *ἵνα κριθῶσι πάντες οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*. Auch die ernste Vorhaltung in bezug auf das Abendmahl: „Der isset sich das Gericht" (I Kor. 11, 29. cf. v. 34) behielt er bei und vermutlich auch v. 32 [2].

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1 Die Stelle ist auch deshalb wichtig, weil sie in Analogie steht zu der Marcionitischen Dialektik der Begriffe „Gerechtigkeit", „Gesetz" („Gutheit" usw.) und sie gegenüber prinzipiellen Einwürfen bestätigt. Wie man auch vom guten Gott ein „iudicare" und „damnare" aussagen kann, so auch umgekehrt vom gerechten Gott und vom Gesetz ein „bonum".

2 Das „Wehe" Luk. 6, 24 ff. strich M. nicht, bemerkte aber: „Vae non tam maledictionis est quam admonitionis". Zu dem „Wehe" gegen die Pharisäer Luk. 11, 42 ff. bemerkte er: „Ad infuscandum creatorem Christus ingerebat ut saevum, erga quem delinquentes Vae habituri essent". In Luk. 12, 46 las M.: *ἀποχωρίσει* (für *διχοτομήσει*) *αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων τεθήσεται*, und bemerkte höchst gezwungen dazu: „tranquillitatis et mansuetudinis est segregare solummodo et partem eius cum infidelibus ponere". Luk. 17, 1 (Wider den, der Ärgernis gibt) erklärte er: „Alius ulciscatur scandalum discipulorum eius." Zu Luk. 12, 49 (Ich bin gekommen, ein Feuer anzuzünden) bemerkte er: „Figura est." Luk. 12, 58 f. bezog er natürlich auf den Weltschöpfer. Esnik (S. 379*): „Und

Aus der Konservierung von Röm. 2, 16 folgt, daß M. einen Gerichtstag des guten Gottes (Christi) am Ende der Dinge anerkannt hat, und das folgt auch aus der Beibehaltung des Richterstuhls Christi Röm. 14, 10 (II Kor. 5, 10) [1]. An dem Gerichtstage wird Christus nach diesem Spruch alle Menschen richten — damit erscheint am Ende der Zeit der gute Gott als der Herr aller —, aber er wird, wie wir eben gehört haben, prohibendo richten, d. h. durch die bloße Exklusive. Was wird der Erfolg für die Sünder — die Gotteskinder werden, in der Substanz von Engeln „vitam aeternam" und „spiritalem saturitatem et iocunditatem" genießen (IV, 31) [2] — sein? Auch hier hat uns Tert. (I, 28) eine kostbare Nachricht überliefert: „Interrogati Marcionitae: Quid fiet peccatori cuique die illo? respondent: ‚Abici illum quasi ab oculis' " ... „Exitus autem illi abiecto quis? ‚Ab igni', inquiunt, ‚creatoris deprehendetur.' "

Hiernach ist M.s Lehre deutlich: Christus (der gute Gott) straft auch beim Endgericht nicht; aber indem er die Sünder von seinem Angesicht entfernt (prohibendo, segregando, abiciendo), verfallen sie dem Feuer des Weltschöpfers. Da aber M. die Paulinische Lehre teilt, daß alle Menschen, wenn sie sich nicht von Christus erlösen lassen, Sünder sind und es nach der kriti-

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wenn du fragst, ob der gute (Gott) über Qualen verfüge, so sagen die Marcioniten: sie bestehen nicht ... Sie sagen, sie sind aus diesem Grunde vor dem gerechten (Gott) geflohen, weil er in seinen Gesetzen furchtbare Drohungen androht, nämlich: ‚Das Feuer ist entfacht in meinem Zorn und wird brennen bis in die unterste Hölle' und ‚Alles dieses (die Strafen) wurde aufbewahrt in meinem Schatze' und anderswo: ‚Durch Feuer richtet Gott' ".

1 Da M. den Text der eschatologischen Abschnitte der Thessalonicherbriefe wahrscheinlich wesentlich unverändert gelassen hat, so muß er eine förmliche Wiederkunft Christi gelehrt haben; anders sein Schüler Apelles in Übereinstimmung mit Gnostikern; s. unten Kap. VIII, 3.

2 Nach Tert. V, 10 zu I Kor. 15, 44 lehrte M., daß die Seele bei der Auferstehung zu Geist werden wird, und zu I Kor. 15, 49, daß die Erlösten eine substantia caelestis haben werden. Ihr Leib steht überhaupt nicht wieder auf; dagegen sagte ein Marcionit zu Hieronymus (s. S. 394*): „Vae ei qui in hac carne et in his ossibus resurrexerit", d. h. die Nicht-Erlösten stehen mit Haut und Haaren wieder auf, um nun vom Höllenfeuer des Weltschöpfers ergriffen zu werden.

schen Erscheinung Christi Gerechte im Sinne des Weltschöpfers nicht mehr geben kann, so sind diese alle in gleicher Verdammnis. Wo aber bleiben die vorchristlichen Gerechten des Weltschöpfers, und wo bleibt der Weltschöpfer selbst, der hier am Schluß im Dienste des guten Gottes erscheint, weil ja auch er den Sündern die Verdammnis in seinem Gesetz angekündigt hat? [1] Die ältesten Quellen geben hier keine direkte Antwort; aber die vorchristlichen Gerechten befanden sich ja, wenn auch in einem leidlichen Zustande, so doch in der Unterwelt, und ewiges Leben kann der Weltschöpfer ihnen nicht geben und hat es ihnen auch niemals verheißen. Also wird man annehmen müssen, daß ihre Tage zu Ende gehen, wenn sie auch nicht durch das Höllenfeuer vernichtet werden wie die Sünder. Diese wie jene sterben also; denn da der Weltschöpfer nichts Ewiges besitzt, muß bei ihm alles auf den Tod in strengem Sinn hinauslaufen, und von einer ewigen Verdammnis kann nicht die Rede sein. Und er selbst? Da M. annahm, daß Himmel und Erde vergehen werde, da er ferner Welt und Weltschöpfer häufig identifizierte, und da er endlich I Kor. 15, 22 ff. beibehalten hat, so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß nach seiner Lehre auch der Weltschöpfer am Ende dieses Säkulums verschwinden wird. Bestätigt wird dies durch Esniks ausdrückliches Zeugnis. Er schreibt (s. S. 378 *): „Ferner das andere Wort des Apostels, welches richtig gesprochen ist, untergraben sie: ‚Wenn er alle Herrschaften und Mächte zerstört haben wird, muß er herrschen, bis daß alle seine Feinde unter seine Füße gestellt sind' (I Kor. 15, 24 ff.). Und die Marcioniten sagen, daß der Herr der Welt sich selbst zerstört und seine Welt in Ewigkeit" [2]. M. nahm also an, daß auch dem Weltschöpfer Christus zum kritischen Zeichen geworden ist,

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1 Man sieht auch hier wieder, daß doch ein gewisses Band den superioren und inferioren Gott verbindet (s. o. S. 107 f.), weil beide die Moral in Kraft erhalten, deren Gebote nach dem Urteil des superioren Gottes auch von denen übertreten worden sind, die der gerechte Gott für gerecht hält; aber eine Zusammengehörigkeit ergibt sich daraus nicht.

2 Wie sonst an manchen Stellen hat M. also auch hier das Subjekt wechseln lassen: in v. 24 soll der Zerstörer der Weltschöpfer, aber in v. 25 der Herrscher nicht er, sondern Christus sein. Diese Exegese ist entsetzlich, aber der Gedanke, der sie leitet, ist großartig.

bzw. werden wird: seit seiner Erscheinung vollzieht sich die Zersetzung der Welt. Der Weltschöpfer selbst zerstört sie, indem er alle seine Mächte und Herrschaften zerstört, um dann selbst mit ihnen zu zergehen und zu verschwinden. Durch Selbstvernichtung geht er mit der von ihm geschaffenen Welt zugrunde, so daß der gute Gott nun der einzige ist [1].

Wir haben hier vorgegriffen; aber das Übergangene ist schon oben Kap. III und IV dargelegt worden. Nach der Auferstehung des Erlösers, die das Weltdrama virtuell bereits zu Ende geführt hat, zeigte sich sofort der durch Nachsicht und Langmut herbeigeführte Mißerfolg der Auswahl der zwölf Jünger: sie fielen immer mehr in das alte Wesen zurück [2]. Jesus berief daher den Paulus durch eine besondere Offenbarung zum Apostel, und damit waren die Zwölf faktisch ihrer Würde entkleidet. In Paulus fand der Erlöser d e n Apostel [3], und er sollte fortab der einzige sein, beglaubigt lediglich durch Christus und in den

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1 Am Ende offenbart sich also (was man bei der Inferiorität des Weltschöpfers immer schon vermuten mußte), daß er schließlich als dienendes Organ den Willen des guten Gottes vollzieht — denn auch dieser will ja nicht, daß die Sünder ewiges Leben haben — und daß er trotz des Namens „Gott" kein wirklicher Gott ist; denn ein wirklicher Gott stirbt nicht. Was ist er denn? Der Weltgeist, die Welt! — Von hier aus ist vielleicht die Behauptung Hippolyts (c. Noët. 11) zu verstehen, daß auch die Marcioniten, wie die anderen Häretiker, unfreiwillig zu der Anerkennung gezwungen seien, *ὅτι πᾶν εἰς ἕνα ἀνατρέχει* (und *ὅτι εἷς αἴτιος τῶν πάντων*).

2 Tert. I, 21: „Ecclesiae apostolici census a primordio corruptae sunt". Zwar haben die Zwölf am Anfang einen guten Ansatz gemacht (Tert. III, 22: „Cum huic negotio [der Mission] accingerentur apostoli renuntiaverunt presbyteris et archontis et sacerdotibus Iudaeorum; ‚an non vel maxime', inquit, ‚ut alterius dei praedicatores?'" .... „Quae dehinc passi sunt apostoli? ‚Omnem', inquis, ‚iniquitatem persecutionum, ab hominibus scilicet creatoris, ut adversarii eius, quem praedicabant.'" Woher weiß das M., wenn nicht aus der Apostelgeschichte?); aber sehr bald verdunkelte sich ihr Verständnis.

3 Die Berufung des Paulus muß von M. als eine Manifestation Christi aufgefaßt worden sein, welche der ersten Erscheinung und Wirksamkeit nahezu ebenbürtig sei; s. den Bericht des Esnik, dessen Bericht zwar nicht nach M. selbst gegeben ist, aber seine Stimmung und sein Haupturteil wiedergibt.

dritten Himmel erhoben, um unaussprechliche Worte zu hören [1]. Ihm übergab Jesus das schriftliche Evangelium [2], denn die mündliche apostolische Überlieferung wurde immer schlechter und transponierte den Erlöser ins Gesetzliche zurück. Das eine Evangelium duldet, wie der Apostel, keinen Rivalen neben sich; Paulus durfte es „Mein Evangelium" nennen; denn ihm war es gegeben, und er allein wurde auch autorisiert, es durch seine Briefe zu verdeutlichen und zu verteidigen. Diese Briefe samt dem Evangelium sind nach Christi Anordnung „die heilige Schrift", treten an die Stelle des ATs und begründen und nähren die Gemeinde der Gläubigen. Sie hat an diesen Urkunden die vollkommene Darstellung der Erscheinung und des Werkes des Erlösers — gleichsam eine Wiederholung in dauernder schriftlicher Gestalt. Das wahre Christentum ist daher objektiv biblische Theologie und nichts anderes.

Die Lehre des Paulus ist mit der Lehre Christi absolut identisch; daher ist auch die Evangelienschrift nach den Briefen zu erklären, und so ist M. selbst bei seinen Auslegungen verfahren. Wie er die Briefe aufgefaßt und zur Entfaltung der Lehre benutzt hat, nachdem er sie durchkorrigiert, darüber s. S. 45 ff. 256* ff. 306*. Auch die Prologe sind zu berücksichtigen (S. 127* ff.); die Auslegungen und die Prologe zeigen, daß M. nur für wenige Hauptpunkte in den Briefen einen Sinn hatte und das andere beiseite ließ oder es gewaltsam auf die Hauptpunkte bezog. Das Wichtigste ist von uns in die Darstellung der Verkündigung M.s verwebt worden.

Auch Paulus ist mit „der Wahrheit des Evangeliums" nicht durchgedrungen; aber dem Apostel, der im Himmel zur Rechten Christi steht, folgte der Reformator. Einen Giganten und Theomachen hat ihn Clemens, sein großer Gegner, genannt.

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1 Nach Esnik behaupteten die Marcioniten (s. S. 377*), daß sie die unaussprechlichen Worte predigten; denn M. habe gesagt, daß er sie gehört habe; aber das stammt schwerlich von M. selbst.

2 Das „bis heute" II Kor. 3, 15 erklärte M. durch „bis auf Paulus, den Apostel des neuen Christus", der „die Decke" weggenommen habe. Durch Marcion wurde Paulus den katholischen Christen vollends unbequem, und unwillig hat ihn Tert. „apostolus Marcionis", „apostolus haereticorum" genannt.

Zur Linken Christi sah ihn seine Kirche stehen, wenn sie gen Himmel blickte.

VII. Die heilige Kirche der Erlösten und ihre Lebensordnung (Kultus, Organisation und Ethik).

Die Bedeutung der Kirche hat M. von Paulus gelernt; man darf ohne weiteres die originelle und große Konzeption des Apostels als von ihm anerkannt und wertgeschätzt ansehen. Der deutlichste Beweis hierfür ist, daß er Ephes. 5, 22—32 beibehalten hat. Diese Stelle mußte ihm an sich in hohem Grade unsympathisch, ja anstößig sein; denn sowohl das Verhältnis von Mann und Frau als auch das des Menschen zu seinem Fleisch mußten ihn anwidern. Trotzdem hat er die Ausführungen (nach einer Korrektur) nicht getilgt, weil er keine andere Stelle in den Paulinischen Briefen fand, die die enge Zusammengehörigkeit der Kirche mit Christus so deutlich machte: Christus das Haupt der Kirche; Christus die Kirche innig liebend und hegend [1]; der in der Kirche Stehende verläßt Vater und Mutter und wächst mit Christus zu einer Einheit zusammen. Wie M. über die Kirche dachte, geht noch aus einer zweiten Stelle hervor; Gal. 4, 26 hat er (oder ein Schüler?) durch Änderung und Zusatz so gefaßt, daß er gegenüber der Veranstaltung des Weltschöpfers, die auf die Synagoge abzweckt, die überschwenglich große Veranstaltung des guten Gottes *εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁ γ ί α ν ἐ κ κ λ η σ ί α ν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν*, abzwecken läßt. Die Kirche ist also die durch das Erlösungswerk hervorgebrachte Schöpfung Gottes, sie ist heilig (gewiß im Sinne des Paulus), und sie ist die Mutter der Erlösten. Widerwillig haben auch die Gegner anerkannt, daß M. „Kirchen" hat und nicht nur Schulen oder formlose Gemeinschaften [2].

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1 Nach Ephraem nannten die Marcioniten die Kirche die Braut Christi.

2 Tert. IV, 5: „Habet plane et evangelium Marcionis ecclesias, sed suas, tam posteras quam adulteras, quarum si censum requiras, facilius apostaticum invenias quam apostolicum, Marcione scilicet conditore vel aliquo de Marcionis examine. faciunt favos et vespae, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae".

In dieser Kirche wurde getauft und das Abendmahl gehalten wie bei den anderen Christen. Der Taufritus war auch kein anderer; sonst hätte die Marcionitische Taufe in Rom nicht als gültig angesehen werden können (vgl. Cypr., ep. 73, 4; 74, 7; übrigens bestätigt die Gleichartigkeit des Vollzugs ausdrücklich Augustin, De bapt. c. Donat. III, 15)[1]. Auch das Abendmahl vollzog sich in der überlieferten Weise, jedoch mit Wasser neben dem Brot; aber das findet sich auch sonst häufiger in jener Zeit[2]. Auch andere Ritualien fehlten nicht; s. Tert. I, 14: „Ille quidem (der Christus M.s) usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit[3], nec oleum, quo suos unguit[4], nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat, nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus creatoris"[5]. Dazu I, 23: „Non putem impudentiorem quam qui in aliena aqua alii deo tingitur, ad alienum caelum alii deo expanditur, in aliena terra alii deo

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1 Über die Taufe Verstorbener und über die Wiederholung der Taufe s. im nächsten Kapitel.

2 Vgl. meine Abhandlung über Brot und Wasser beim Abendmahl in den „Texten u. Untersuch." Bd. VII, H. 2 (1891). Der Ersatz des Weins durch Wasser wird für M. von Epiphanius und Timotheus ausdrücklich bezeugt, s. S. 365*, 381*. Die Worte zum biblischen Text („hoc est corpus meum"): „id est figura corporis mei" (Tert. IV, 40), die oft als Tertullianische angeführt werden, gehören M. an; denn Tert. fährt fort: „figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus; ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset". M. hat also das Einsetzungswort figürlich verstanden. Die weiteren Worte aber: „aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis" richten sich schwerlich gegen eine Behauptung M.s. Sehr beachtenswert ist, daß M. im Vater-Unser *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν* in *τὸν ἄρτον σου* verwandelt hat. Also wollte er die Bitte auf das Brot im Abendmahl bezogen wissen (ebenso viele Kirchenväter nach ihm ohne Textänderung); denn die Bitte um die Leibesnahrung erschien ihm als „frivola".

3 Vgl. I, 24: „Et caro tingitur apud Marcionem". I, 28: „Cui rei baptisma quoque apud Marcionem exigitur?"

4 Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis S. 297, bemerkt lediglich auf Grund dieser Worte: „Eine Öltaufe kennen die Marcioniten"; allein dann kennen auch die Katholiken eine „Öltaufe".

5 Man beachte, daß „Wein" fehlt.

sternitur[1], super alienum panem alii deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur, de alienis bonis ob alium deum nomine eleemosynae et dilectionis operatur". Generell heißt es III, 22: „Gloriae relatio et benedictio et laus et hymni et signaculum frontium et ecclesiarum sacramenta et munditiae sacrificiorum in te (scil. in deinen Kirchen) quoque deprehenduntur". Hiernach können sich die Marcionitischen Gottesdienste und h. Handlungen nicht wesentlich von denen der großen Kirche unterschieden haben[2]. „Korinthisch" kann es in ihnen nicht zugegangen sein; denn wenn auch Marcion behauptet haben mag, das Zungenreden sei eine dem neuen Gott eigentümliche charismatische Form (zu I Kor. 12, 10 bei Tert. V, 8; ganz sicher ist das nicht), so beweisen doch mehrere Stellen bei Tert., daß von enthusiastischen Vorgängen in den Gottesdiensten M.s und sonst in seinen Gemeinden nichts bekannt war. L. c. schreibt Tert: „Exhibeat M. dei sui dona, aliquos prophetas . . . edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem, dumtaxat spiritalem, in ecstasi . . . probet etiam mihi mulierem apud se prophetasse" etc., und V, 15 zu I Thess. 5, 19 f: „Incumbit Marcioni exhibere hodie apud ecclesiam suam exinde spiritum dei sui qui non sit extinguendus, et prophetias quae non sint nihil habendae. et si exhibuit quod putat, sciat nos quodcunque illud ad formam spiritalis et propheticae gratiae atque virtutis provocaturos, . . . cum nihil tale protulerit et probarit, nos proferemus et spiritum et prophetias creatoris secundum ipsum praedicantes". Die Marcionitischen Gemeinden waren also, den Enthusiasmus anlangend, keine Rivalinnen der Montanistischen, und schon M. selbst lebte nicht mehr in der urchristlichen enthusiastischen Stimmung. Sehr

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1 Lob- und Bußgebete sind gemeint. Sündenbekenntnis bei den Marcioniten nach Aphraates III, 6.

2 M.s Textfassung von Gal. 4, 26: *εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν*, macht es gewiß, daß auch er bei der Taufe ein verpflichtendes Bekenntnis ablegen ließ und daß in ihm die Kirche erwähnt war. Das ist für die Geschichte des apostolischen Symbols von Wichtigkeit. Doch folgt daraus nicht, daß er auch hier der großen Kirche in Rom vorangegangen ist (s. S. 316* über das Apostolische Symbol und M. und vgl. unten die Mitteilungen zu Apelles). Nach Esnik (S. 379*) wurden die Marcioniten „von der Taufe an verlobt zur Enthaltung vom Fleischessen und von der Ehe". Es wurde also ein Gelübde abgelegt.

zu bedauern ist es, daß uns keine Gebete M.s erhalten sind; erst dann würde das Bild seiner Frömmigkeit vollständig sein, wenn wir solche besäßen; sie müssen ganz eigenartig gewesen sein, da Hauptstücke der allgemeinen christlichen Gebete ihnen gefehlt haben, der Lobpreis des Schöpfers, der Dank für seine Gaben und die Zuversicht zu seiner Vorsehung und Weltleitung.

Was die Organisation der Gemeinden betrifft, so fand M. in den paulinischen Briefen „Bischöfe" und „Diakonen" und in der Überlieferung „Presbyter". Diese Ämter sind in den Marcionitischen Gemeinden rezipiert worden und damit auch der Unterschied von Klerus und Laien [1], zu welchem der andere Unterschied zwischen Getauften und Katechumenen trat. Fehlen uns auch Zeugnisse, daß M. selbst schon diese Organisation hat gelten lassen, bzw. eingeführt, so ist es doch sehr wahrscheinlich; denn die Zeugnisse für sie beginnen so frühe, als wir irgend erwarten können (s. das nächste Kapitel). Allein andrerseits scheinen alle Unterschiede, die hier wie in den großkirchlichen Gemeinden bestanden, in den Marcionitischen nicht so fest gewesen, bzw. freier behandelt worden zu sein als dort. Hierfür besitzen wir ein urkundliches Zeugnis aus M.s Antithesen (Auslegung von Gal. 6, 6: *Κοινωνείτω ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς*) bei Origenes (in dem Plagiat des Hieronymus): „M. hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis, illo vel maxime elatus, quod sequatur ‚in omnibus bonis' ". Diese Mitteilung trifft zusammen mit der Bemerkung Tert.s de praescr. 41 in seiner allgemeinen Schilderung der „conversatio haeretica": „Imprimis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant, etiam ethnici, si supervenerint; sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, iactabunt. simplicitatem volunt esse prostrationem disciplinae, cuius penes nos curam lenocinium vocant". M. strebte also nach Einfachheit in den Ordnungen, verwarf im Gottesdienst jede Geheimnistuerei (d. h.

1 Beispiele für „Bischöfe" usw. in den Marcionitischen Kirchen s. im nächsten Kapitel.

die Anfänge der Arkandisziplin)[1] und richtete sich gegen hierarchisches Kastenwesen und heilige Weltlichkeit. Ist es nun gewiß, daß die eben angeführten Sätze Tert.s sich auf die Marcioniten beziehen, so kann man schwerlich zweifeln, daß sein weiterer, zwar wohl übertriebener, aber nicht erfundener Bericht ebenfalls auf sie geht, zumal da dieser Bericht wirkliche Gemeinden voraussetzt und nicht Schulen wie die Valentinianischen (l. c.): „Ordinationes eorum temerariae, leves, inconstantes, nunc neophytos collocant, nunc saeculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros .... itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius; hodie diaconus, qui cras lector, hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus; nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt"[2]. Sicher würde man irren, wenn man diese Schilderung wörtlich nimmt; aber zuverlässig wird sein, daß die Funktionen der einzelnen Stände und Ämter nicht scharf geschieden waren, daß M. von jener Amtsgnade nichts wissen wollte, die in verschiedener Art und Stärke jedem einzelnen Amte angeblich anhaftet, und daß gegebenenfalls auch Laien vorübergehend geistliche Funktionen in den Gemeinden übernehmen konnten. Was sonst noch aus der Schilderung Tert.s auf die Marcioniten geht, ist nicht leicht zu ermitteln — wahrscheinlich die Bemerkung: „Ipsae mulieres haereticae quam procaces! quae audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere"; denn Epiphanius (Haer. 42, 3. 4) berichtet, daß in der Marcionitischen Kirche die Frauen taufen dürfen. Da die Geschlechtlichkeit bei den Erlösten keine Rolle mehr spielen durfte (s. u.), so kann man sich nur wundern, daß M. nicht auch alle Ämter und Funktionen den Frauen zugänglich gemacht hat. Welche Bewandtnis es mit einer dunklen Andeutung Tert.s („sanctiores feminae" M.s) hat, wissen wir nicht, wie uns ja auch die abgerissene Nachricht, M. habe eine Frau als Wegbereiterin nach Rom vorangeschickt (Hieron., ep. 131), dunkel ist.

Nicht auf M. allein, sondern auf alle Häretiker bezieht sich die gewiß berechtigte Klage Tert.s (l. c. 42), sie gewönnen ihren

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1 Auch Epiphanius (haer. 42, 3. 4) berichtet, daß bei den Marcioniten die Mysterien unter den Augen der Katechumenen vollzogen werden.

2 S. auch c. 42: „Nec suis praesidibus reverentiam noverunt".

Anhang nicht aus der Heidenbekehrung. sondern aus der Christenverführung.

Ohne Bedenken wäre die Charakteristik Tert.s (l. c. 43), die Häretiker verkehrten besonders häufig „cum magis, circulatoribus, astrologis, philosophis, curiositati scilicet deditis" ganz von den Marcioniten abzuwälzen, führe er nicht fort: „Negant deum timendum; itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta", und behauptete er nicht (I, 18): „Et mathematici plurimum Marcionitae, nec hoc erubescentes, de ipsis etiam stellis vivere creatoris". Man wird daher annehmen müssen, daß sich wirklich einige Marcioniten mit der astronomischen (also wohl auch mit der astrologischen) Wissenschaft beschäftigt haben, und daß sie Tert. deshalb leichtfertig mit den weltförmigen Häretikern zusammengeworfen hat. Daß M. von der Philosophie als einem „leeren Betrug" nichts wissen wollte, ist bekannt, und ein Freund der Astrologie war er gewiß nicht.

Auch die Ethik M.s legt hier Protest ein; denn eine weltflüchtigere und schwerere Lebensordnung und -führung hat keine christliche Gemeinschaft vorgeschrieben als die Marcionitische. M. verbot seinen Gläubigen die Ehe [1] und jeglichen Geschlechtsverkehr ganz und taufte daher nur solche Katechumenen und ließ nur solche zum Abendmahl zu, die das Gelübde der Ehelosigkeit leisteten, bzw. solche Eheleute, die eine vollständige Trennung fortan gelobten [2]. Er stellte also Leben und Wachstum seiner Gemeinden ausschließlich auf die Gewinnung neuer Mitglieder; denn die Gläubigen durften sich nicht fort-

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1 War die Ehe einmal geschlossen, so respektierte sie M. und hat das Gebot Christi, ihre Unauflöslichkeit betreffend, respektiert; das Verbot des Ehebruchs des Weltschöpfers hat er gelten lassen wie die anderen Hauptstücke der Moral (s. o. S. 111); es blieb ja auch für die Marcionitischen Katechumenen von Wichtigkeit.

2 S. die Zeugnisse oben S. 277*; vor allem Tert. 1, 29: „Non tingitur apud illum caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, caelebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata . . . sine dubio ex damnatione coniugis institutio ista constabit . . . coniugium accusatur spurcitiae nomine ad destructionem creatoris". IV, 34: „Quomodo tu nuptias dirimis nec coniungens marem et feminam nec alibi coniunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiae admittens nisi inter se coniuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum?"

pflanzen[1]. Die Ehe ist nicht nur eine schmutzige Schändlichkeit (*πορνεία*), sondern gebiert auch den Tod (*φθορά*)[2].

Das Motiv dieser Vorschrift war zunächst das übliche, die Befreiung vom sündigen Fleisch; aber nicht nur trat diese Forderung hier mit einer sonst unerhörten Kräftigkeit des Ekels auf (s. S. 273*. 103 f.), sondern es kam noch ein zweites Motiv dazu: man soll den Bereich des Weltschöpfers nicht vergrößern helfen, sondern man soll ihn einschränken, soweit es in Menschenmöglichkeit liegt; man soll diesen üblen Gott ärgern, ihn reizen, ihm trotzen und ihm dadurch zeigen, daß man nicht mehr in seinem Dienste steht, sondern einem andern Herrn gehört[3]. Der entschlossene Verzicht auf die Geschlechtlichkeit ist also bei M. nicht nur ein Protest gegen die Materie und das Fleisch[4], sondern auch ein Protest gegen den Gott der Welt und des Gesetzes. Er bezeichnet den gewollten Abfall und Austritt.

Aber nicht nur durch die vollkommene geschlechtliche Enthaltung soll man dem Schöpfer trotzen, sondern ebenso durch die strengste Enthaltung in Speise und Trank und durch die Bereitwilligkeit zum Martyrium. „Escarum usum quasi inhonestum criminant"; daher waren nicht nur Fleisch und wahrscheinlich auch Wein[5] verboten (Fische erlaubt, s. Tert. I, 14;

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1 Freilich wissen wir nicht, wie groß die Zahl der Katechumenen im Verhältnis zu den Gläubigen in den Marcionitischen Gemeinden gewesen ist; man darf vermuten, daß sie stets sehr groß war. Sie durften heiraten, bzw. in der Ehe leben; aber „viderint catechumeni" sagt Tert. V, 7 im Sinne Marcions.

2 Die Ehe als *φθορά* Iren. I, 28, 1: *φθορὰ καὶ πορνεία*, Hippol., Refut. X, 19) ist der stärkste Ausdruck der Verachtung für die sich fortzeugende Menschheit, die ohne die Erlösung überhaupt kein Existenzrecht hat.

3 Die Zeugnisse für dieses Motiv S. 277*.

4 Wo M. es irgend vermochte, hat er in seinen Exegesen die Ermahnung zu vollkommener Keuschheit angebracht.

5 Die Marcioniten, welche Esnik (s. S. 379*) kannte, erlaubten den Weingenuß, worüber er sich wundert; im Fihrist heißt es S. 384*), daß die Marcioniten ihn vermeiden. Da sie das Abendmahl ohne Wein feierten, wird er auch wohl sonst in der Regel vermieden worden sein. — Von ununterbrochenem Fasten bei den Marcioniten spricht der Fihrist (a. a. O.).

Esnik)[1], daher wurde nicht nur eine besonders strenge Fastenordnung eingeführt, die sich auch zum Trotz des Gesetzgebers auf den Sabbat bezog (Epiph., Haer. 42, 3), sondern Essen und Trinken überhaupt sowie jede Berührung mit dem Geschaffenen sollten „ad destruenda et contemnenda et abominanda opera creatoris" auf das geringstmögliche Maß eingeschränkt werden — das ist die „plenior disciplinarum ratio", die M. zu befolgen vorschrieb, eine Entweltlichung und Entkörperung des Lebens bis zum Äußersten.

Die so leben, sind Übermenschen geworden; denn sie betrachten den Menschen in sich als Feind[2]; aber irdisch angesehen, stehen sie im äußersten Elend. Sie sollen sich als „Elende und Gehaßte", ja als „Auswurf" zusammenschließen[3] und — das Martyrium nicht fliehen, sondern es auf sich nehmen. Sicher ist es nicht zufällig, daß wir von der Zeit des Irenäus ab immer wieder von Marcionitischen Märtyrern hören[4]; sie müssen in besonders großer Zahl vorhanden gewesen sein, und den Gegnern war es augenscheinlich peinlich, daß sie das nicht übersehen und vertuschen konnten.

Nur von M.s Askese (Tert., De praescr. 30 höhnisch: „Marcion sanctissimus magister") berichten seine Gegner[5]; mit welcher Stärke er das positive Gebot der Liebe verkündet hat, sagen sie uns nicht; aber gewiß hat er es in seinen Gemeinden in Kraft gesetzt, wenn doch die Gottesliebe der Mittelpunkt seiner Frömmig-

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1 Nach Esnik (s. S. 378*) beriefen sich die Marcioniten für die Erlaubnis, Fische zu essen, auf die Erzählung, daß Jesus nach der Auferstehung Fische gegessen habe.

2 Carmen Pseudotert. adv. Marc. V, 90: „Vetus homo, quem dicitis hostem".

3 M. redete die Seinigen als *συνταλαίπωροι* und *συμμισούμενοι* an IV, 9. 36); daß sie das seien, daran sollten sie ihre Jüngerschaft Christi erkennen: sie sollen sich das Elend und den Haß der Welt zuziehen.

4 S. Iren. IV, 33, 9; Tert. I, 24; I, 27. Clemens, Strom. IV, 4, 17; der Antimontanist bei Euseb., h. e. V, 16, 21; die Märtyrerakte des Pionius usw., vgl. auch das nächste Kapitel. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß jene Häretiker, die sich nach Clemens Alex. (Strom. IV, 4, 17) wie die indischen Gymnosophisten in den Tod stürzen, um dem verhaßten Schöpfer zu entgehen, Marcioniten waren. Der Antimontanist sagt, daß sie von allen Häretikern die meisten Märtyrer haben.

5 Marcioniten-Cyniker bei Hippolyt, Refut. VII, 29.

keit war. Ein Zeugnis de silentio besitzen wir in bezug auf die von ihm geübte Feindesliebe: seine Gegner haben kein schmähendes Wort M.s gegen die Kirche, der er einst angehört hat und die er als falsch beurteilte, ihm aufzurücken vermocht, so scharf er den Weltschöpfer und die Pseudoapostel auch bekämpft hat.

Von Kommunismus in den Marcionitischen Gemeinden hören wir nichts; aber da die Seligpreisungen nach Tert. die „ordinariae sententiae" M.s waren, „per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit", und Esnik (s. S. 378*) bestätigt, daß M. den Finger darauf gelegt hat, daß nach M. der Weltschöpfer den Reichen Glück verheiße, Christus aber den Armen, so muß er den Reichtum noch ungünstiger beurteilt und in seinen Gemeinden behandelt haben, als dies in der großen Kirche geschah. Vielleicht ist auch das große Geldgeschenk, welches er der römischen Kirche schon vor dem Bruche darbrachte, von hier aus zu verstehen.

Marcions Organisation seiner Kirche ist durch diese Darlegungen noch nicht erschöpft, ja der entscheidende Punkt ist noch nicht getroffen. M. begann mit einer geschichtlichen Kritik aller christlichen Überlieferung; man darf sagen, er machte zunächst vollständig tabula rasa, indem er sowohl das AT als auch die gesamte vulgäre apostolische Tradition verwarf. Dann begann er einen neuen Bau aufzuführen und führte ihn wirklich, freilich mit den größten Gewaltsamkeiten, durch. Erstlich, er fand den Zustand unerträglich, daß die Christenheit als littera scripta nur ein Buch besaß, das ihr größter Apostel selbst als tötenden Buchstaben bezeichnet hatte, und neben ihm nur mündliche Traditionen und Bücher von noch ganz unsicherer Autorität; er schuf daher eine Urkunde von absoluter Autorität aus elf Schriften und gründete auf sie die Christenheit. Diese Urkunde ist als solche ganz und gar sein Werk; er ist der Schöpfer der christlichen heiligen Schrift. Zweitens, an die Stelle des AT setzte er ein kritisches Werk, welches den Gegensatz der neuen Urkunde und dieses Judenbuches zum Ausdruck brachte (die Antithesen) und neben jener „in summo instrumento" gehalten und von allen Gläubigen beherzigt werden sollte; im Schatten der Antithesen das AT noch zu lesen, verbot er nicht; denn es enthält wahre, also lehrreiche, freilich trübselige

Geschichte. Bevor sich also die große Christenheit in Nachfolge Marcions das Neue Testament schuf und so zwei angeblich harmonische Testamente besaß, kannte die Marcionitische Kirche bereits zwei feindliche schriftliche Testamente. Drittens, eine formulierte Lehre hat M. seiner Kirche nicht gegeben — alle philosophische Dogmatik und alles Schulwesen waren ihm augenscheinlich verdächtig —, noch weniger hat er Propheten und Enthusiasten in ihr erweckt, deren Gedanken die Kirche leiten sollten, sondern er hat in den „Antithesen" lediglich durch Exegesen des Bibelworts den Inhalt der Urkunde zu verdeutlichen gesucht; die christliche Lehre soll nichts anderes sein als biblische Theologie, und er zweifelte nicht, daß diese in allen Hauptpunkten nur eine Auffassung zulasse und vor jedem Irrtum behüte. Viertens, durch den Glauben an den in Christus erschienenen fremden Gott als den Erlöser, durch den Abscheu gegen den Schöpfer, durch die Unterwerfung unter die neue Urkunde, durch eine einfache, aber bestimmte lokale Organisation und Gottesdienstesordnung und durch die strengste Lebensführung band er die Gläubigen aufs engste zusammen und konnte gewiß sein, daß diese Kräfte stark genug seien, um ihnen inmitten der allgemeinen Konfusion und Unsicherheit über das, was christlich ist, einen festen und einheitlichen Charakter aufzuprägen. In allem übrigen konnte er in seinen Gemeinden größere Freiheit walten lassen — in Lehrfragen, in den Verfassungsordnungen und im Kultus —, als die großkirchlichen Gemeinden zuließen.

Das ist die feste Grundlage der Organisation, die M. seiner Kirche gegeben hat; sie erweist ihn als einen wahrhaft genialen Organisator, der auch als solcher die große Christenheit durch seine Konzeptionen beeinflußt hat. Er brachte eine einheitliche, das Reich umspannende Kirche zustande durch sein persönliches Wirken und durch einfache Organisationsmittel; die Kirche der Bischöfe hat mehrere Menschenalter gebraucht, bis sie soweit kam — erst die Ausbildung des Synoden-Instituts hat sie das Ziel erreichen lassen; M. hat dieses Mittel, wie es scheint, nicht nötig gehabt.

VIII. Die Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirche. Die theologischen Schulen in ihrer Mitte und die Sekte des Apelles.

1. Die äussere Geschichte [1].

Von der äußeren Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirche wissen wir wenig. Die Angabe Justins, daß M. selbst seine Lehre bereits „in dem ganzen Menschengeschlecht" verbreitet habe, bestätigt sich durch die Zeugnisse, die wir in bezug auf die zweite Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts für Asien, Lydien, Bithynien, Korinth, Kreta, Antiochien, Alexandrien, Rom, Lyon und Karthago besitzen. (Tert. V, 19: „Marcionis traditio haeretica totum implevit mundum"). Überall schrieb man hier gegen die entsetzliche teuflische Sekte, die schon im zweiten Jahrhundert ihre Lehre auch in der lateinischen Sprache verkündigte, und spätestens seit Anfang des dritten auch in der syrischen [2]. Celsus, der griechische Römer, der als erster gründliche Kenntnis des Christentums verrät, hat die Marcionitische Kirche ebenso studiert wie ihre Gegnerin, die katholische. In der Folgezeit trifft man jene überall an, wohin sich das Christentum verbreitete; die Aufzählung bei Epiphanius (haer. 42, 1: Marcioniten in Rom, Italien, Ägypten, Palästina, Arabien, Syrien, Cypern, Thebais, Persien und anderen Gegenden) ist daher unvollständig. Weit entfernt, sich sektenhaft gegen die große Kirche abzuschließen, haben die Marcioniten stets versucht, auf diese missionierend einzuwirken und die ganze Christenheit in sich aufzunehmen. In bezug auf keine andere häretische Gemeinschaft hören wir soviel von ihren persönlichen Berührungen mit Andersgläubigen. Wie M. selbst an Polykarp und die römischen Presbyter herangetreten ist, so sind persönliche Berührungen, bzw. Disputationen mit Rhodon in Rom, Tertullian, Origenes, Bardesanes, Adamantius, Ephraem, einem unbekannten Syrer, Hieronymus, Chrysostomus und Esnik überliefert oder zu erschließen.

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1 Die Belege, soweit sie hier nicht mitgeteilt sind, findet man in der Beilage S. 314 ff*.

2 Es wäre ein Irrtum, wollte man aus Tert. III, 12 herauslesen, daß es auch Marcionitische Hebraei-Christiani gegeben hat.

Ihre Gemeindegottesdienste standen jedermann offen, auch den Heiden, und in den Städten und auf dem Lande sah man ihre Kirchengebäude. Origenes spricht schon von ihnen (Fragm. XIII in Jerem. p. 204); im Dorfe Lebaba bei Damaskus stand i. J. 318 eines, und der Bischof Cyrill von Jerusalem warnt die Gläubigen daß sie nicht, wenn sie in einer Stadt unbefangen nach der „Kirche" fragen, in eine Marcionitische geraten. In der Organisation und im Gottesdienst waren die Marcionitischen Gemeinschaften den katholischen so ähnlich, daß die Unkundigen leicht getäuscht werden konnten. Hier begegnet einem ein Marcionitischer Bischof, dort ein Presbyter[1]; von Jesus Christus und Paulus konnte nirgendwo mit größerer Devotion gesprochen und gepredigt werden als hier, und der Sonntagskultus scheint in den Gemeinden M.s nicht wesentlich anders verlaufen zu sein als in den großen Kirchen[2]. Dabei verbargen die Marcioniten aber nicht, wie manche Gnostiker, daß sie Marcioniten waren und heißen wollten. Zahlreiche Gegner haben ihnen vorgeworfen, daß sie sich nach ihrem menschlichen Stifter nennen, und machten ihnen das zum schweren Vorwurf; sie aber blieben dem Namen, den sie gleich anfangs angenommen hatten, treu und setzten ihn sogar auf ihre Kirchengebäude (s. die Inschrift von Lebaba S. 341* f.).

In dem Menschenalter zwischen 150 und 190 war die Gefahr, welche diese Kirche für die Christenheit bildete, am größten — in dieser Zeit war sie und sie allein wirklich Gegenkirche: aus der Fülle der Gegenschriften folgt diese Beobachtung, ferner aus der Art der Bekämpfung seitens Justins, und auch aus dem Werk des Celsus kann man es herauslesen. Jener rechnet Marcion zu den dämonischen neuen Religionsstiftern in christlicher Verbrämung; dieser spricht manchmal so, als gäbe es nur die zwei Kirchen, die „große" und die Marcionitische, und neben ihnen nur gnostisches Gestrüpp. Als dann

1 Der Marcionitische Bischof Asklepius in der Gegend von Cäsarea Pal. z. Z. des Kaisers Daza (Euseb., De mart. Pal. 10, 3), der Marcionitische Presbyter Metrodorus in Smyrna z. Z. des Decius (Mart. Pionii 21), der Marcionitische Presbyter Paulus in Lebaba im Hauran (Inschrift). Bischöfliche Sukzessionen bei den Marcioniten erwähnt Adamant. I, 8: *Ἐξ ὅτου Μαρκίων ἐτελεύτησε, τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων, μᾶλλον δὲ ψευδεπισκόπων, παρ' ὑμῖν διαδοχαὶ γεγόνασιν.*

2 S. S. 144 f. das Zeugnis Tertullians.

Irenäus, Clemens, Tertullian und Hippolyt zur Feder griffen, war die Situation für die Kirche zwar noch immer höchst gefährlich — Irenäus, der hauptsächlich gegen die Valentinianer schreiben will, schreibt vom II.—V. Buch in Wahrheit mehr gegen die Marcioniten, und Tertullians Werk gegen diese ist neben dem Apologeticus das Hauptwerk des eifrigen Polemikers —; allein die Gefahr, von den Marcioniten überrannt zu werden, die einst bestanden haben muß, war nicht mehr vorhanden. Dies beweist schon die Art, wie sie von und seit Irenäus in die Ketzerkataloge neben und zwischen den Gnostikern, Valentinianern, Ebioniten usw. eingeordnet wurden, während Justin alle Ketzer als Abkömmlinge von Simon Magus, Menander und Marcion beurteilt hat. Aber noch Origenes hat in Marcion den Hauptgegner der Kirche gesehen und sich mit allem Fleiß und ganzer Kraft in den Kampf gegen die „doctrina Marcionis" geworfen, die er scharf von der „longa fabulositas" des Basilides und den „traditiones" Valentins unterscheidet [1]. Er und die großen altkatholischen Theologen vor ihm haben neben den alten und den neugeschaffenen Autoritäten, die sie ins Feld führten, doch auch die geistigen Waffen geschmiedet, mit denen sie dem Marcionitismus begegneten. Die kirchliche Theologie, die sie ausbildeten und die heute noch die Lehrgrundlage der großen Konfessionen ist, ist in viel höherem Maße eine antimarcionitische als eine antivalentinianische oder antiebionitische. Man darf auch unbedenklich annehmen, daß diese Theologie einen großen Anteil an der Zurückdrängung der Marcionitischen Kirche gehabt hat [2].

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1 Natürlich behandelt auch er die Kirche M.s wie eine „schola", um sie verächtlich zu machen (s. z. B. Comm. I, 18 in Rom., T. VI p. 55: „M. et omnes, qui de schola eius velut serpentium germina pullularunt"); hat doch Hippolyt sogar in der römischen Gemeinde unter dem Episkopat des Kallist nur eine „Schule" gesehen.

2 Die Quellen geben keine Antwort auf die Frage, worauf die Anziehungskraft des Marcionitismus hauptsächlich beruht hat; wir sind daher auf Vermutungen angewiesen: wahrscheinlich war es die Paradoxie der Kombination der Verkündigung des ausschließlich guten Gottes, Christus, mit der Verwerfung des AT, mit einer Askese, die zum Übermenschentum zu führen verhieß, und mit dem grimmen Abscheu vor der „Welt", über die man sich hocherhaben fühlte. — Über den Einfluß M.s auf die werdende katholische Kirche s. das nächste Kapitel.

Spätestens nach der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts setzte im Abendland der Rückgang der Bewegung ein. Zwar ist noch im Ketzertaufstreit augenscheinlich die Marcionitische Taufe die eigentlich umstrittene gewesen; allein die Haltung Cyprians läßt schließen, daß die Marcionitische Gefahr in Afrika längst nicht mehr so groß war wie zu Tertullians Zeit und wie vielleicht damals noch in Rom (vgl. Novatians Werk de trinitate; auch der römische Bischof Dionysius bezieht sich noch an hervorragender Stelle auf die Marcioniten). Dann dauerte es im Abendland nur noch hundert Jahre und der Marcionitismus hatte ausgespielt. In Afrika war nach dem Zeugnis des Optatus selbst der Name vergessen, und selbst in Rom gab es nach dem Zeugnis Ambrosiasters nur noch kümmerliche Reste von ihm [1]. Was sich nach dem J. 400 noch gegen ihn rührt, kennt ihn entweder nur literarisch — man kam ja gerne bei der Bekämpfung neuer Häresien (Manichäer, Priscillianer usw.) auf die alten zurück — oder sah sich durch ein singuläres Aufflackern der alten Sekte zu einer Bekämpfung veranlaßt (Pseudotertullians Carmen adv. Marc. ?) [2]. Die Reste des Marcionitismus hat im Abendland sicher der Manichäismus aufgenommen, nachdem er ihn ausgesogen hatte, und auch die kurzlebige Bewegung des Patricius in Rom, eine Art von Neu-Marcionitismus, mag zu seinem Verschwinden beigetragen haben [3].

Aber im Orient, von wo er ausgezogen ist und wohin er trotz seines Agnostizismus gehört, hat der Marcionitismus noch eine lange Geschichte gehabt. Gedrückt und demütig, wie der

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1 Man darf sich durch Hieronymus' Polemik nicht täuschen lassen; er schreibt die ältere Polemik ab, und er ist nicht nur ein lateinischer, sondern auch ein griechischer Christ.

2 Seltsam ist es, daß die Erinnerung an den Marcionitismus im Abendland dadurch am längsten wach erhalten worden ist, daß man die „Sabellianer", deren Lehre dort sich noch immer regte, zur Abschreckung mit ihnen zusammenstellte.

3 S. S. 390* f. 424* ff. — Daß der Manichäismus den viel tieferen und geistigeren Marcionitismus allmählich verdrängte, läßt sich aus dem Rückgang der allgemeinen Kultur erklären, dem auch die religiöse folgte. In der Organisation der Manichäischen Kirche gegenüber der Marcionitischen steckte außerdem noch eine besondere Anziehungskraft.

Stifter es verlangte [1] und durch Martyrien in den großen Verfolgungszeiten bewährt [2], trat die Kirche M.s dort als eine große und starke Gemeinschaft in das konstantinische Zeitalter ein, die noch immer eine bedeutende Propaganda machte [3]. Man beobachtet jedoch, daß sie im Laufe des 4. Jahrhunderts allmählich in Ägypten und dem westlichen Kleinasien verdrängt wurde, in dem griechisch sprechenden Syrien bald darauf, namentlich durch die Bemühungen des Chrysostomus, der aber beiläufig berichtet (S. 368* f.), daß in Antiochia zu seiner Zeit ein hoher Beamter und seine Frau Marcioniten waren. Dagegen erhielt sie sich in Cypern und Palästina länger, und in dem syrischen Syrien ist sie (bis nach Armenien und Persien hin) wahrscheinlich an Bedeutung noch gewachsen. In Cypern (s. S. 367*: die Stadt Salamis dort war von Marcioniten geradezu belagert) war sie besonders stark, in Palästina nicht minder (Cyrill v. Jerus.). In der syrischen Stadt Laodicea sah man sich noch um die Mitte des 4. Jahrh. genötigt, in den ersten Artikel des Glaubensbekenntnisses die Worte aufzunehmen: *τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐαγγελίου, δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθόν* (S. 353*), und die großen Bischöfe Antiochiens bis Nestorius führten einen unausgesetzten Kampf gegen die gefährliche Sekte. Aber die Bedrohung dieser Kirchengebiete erscheint doch gering — soviel Sorge uns auch noch aus dem umfangreichen Kapitel des Epiphanius gegen die Marcioniten entgegentritt — gegenüber dem nationalsyrischen Gebiet, das in Edessa sein Zentrum hatte. Aus den Werken Ephraems

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1 Celsus berichtet, die Marcioniten hätten sich selbst „*σκύβαλα*" genannt (nach Phil. 3, 8).

2 S. S. 315* f. 348*; zu den Marcionitischen Märtyrern Metrodorus (Presb.) und Asklepius (Bischof) kommt noch in der Valerianischen Verfolgung ein Weib (Euseb., h. e. VIII, 12) in Cäsarea Pal.

3 Die Frage, ob zu den Voraussetzungen der Lehre Manis selbst der Marcionitismus gehört, d. h. ob Mani die Schriften Marcions gekannt und ausgebeutet hat, ist noch nicht spruchreif, aber wahrscheinlich ist sie zu bejahen. Ist sie zu verneinen, so ist doch gewiß, daß bereits am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts (s. die Acta Archelai) die Manichäer sich M.s Beurteilung des Gegensatzes von Jesus und dem AT. zunutz gemacht und die „Antithesen" reichlich ausgebeutet haben (s. Beilage VI, S. 349* f.). Gegen die Bardesaniten hat Mani drei Schriften innerhalb des „Buchs der Geheimnisse" verfaßt, (s. Flügel, Mani S. 102). Marcions Name kommt in der Überlieferung über Mani nicht vor.

u. a. gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß die Marcionitische Gefahr dort der Manichäischen nichts nachgab, ja sie noch übertraf. Marcioniten, die „den Fremden" anbeteten, und Manichäer — zuerst von Eusebius zusammengestellt (s. S. 348*) — sind im Orient viele Menschenalter lang getrennt marschiert, indem jene sich ihrer Eigenart voll bewußt blieben, aber galten der katholischen Kirche als sehr verwandte Brüder. Erst seit der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts ist der Marcionitismus auch dort zurückgetreten, nachdem sich namentlich Rabbulas um seine Bekämpfung bemüht hatte (s. S. 362*), und in seiner Diözese Cyrus Theodoret. Dieser berichtet triumphierend in seinen Briefen, er habe acht Marcionitische Dörfer bekehrt und überhaupt Tausende, ja Zehntausende von Marcioniten (s. S. 369* f.).

Marcionitische Dörfer — diese Angabe darf nicht übersehen werden und führt uns auf die Stellung der Staatsgewalt zu den Ketzern. Bis zur Zeit des Konstantin machte diese bekanntlich unter den Christen keinen Unterschied, und die Toleranzedikte von Mailand und Nikomedien kamen daher auch den Häresien zu gut. Die Kircheninschrift von Lebaba (s. S. 341* f.) im Gebiet des Licinius zeigt uns, daß die Marcionitische Gemeinde dort im J. 318/9 ein Kirchengebäude mit einer Inschrift errichten konnte, auf der die Besitzerin des Gebäudes jedermann kundgetan war. Aber die Freude dauerte nicht lange. Bereits Konstantin begann damit, die häretischen Zusammenkünfte zu verbieten, die Versammlungshäuser zu zerstören, selbst die Gottesdienste in den Privathäusern zu untersagen, die Grundstücke einzuziehen und die ketzerischen Bücher zu konfiszieren. Obschon diese Bestimmungen ein halbes Jahrhundert lang sehr mangelhaft durchgeführt wurden, blieben sie doch nicht ganz ohne Wirkung. Der Prozeß der Zurückziehung der Ketzer aus dem Westen in den Osten und aus den Städten auf das Land muß schon damals in einzelnen Gegenden kräftig begonnen haben. Mit den Edikten des Gratian und Theodosius setzte aber die unnachsichtliche Verfolgung der von den großen Bischöfen aufgestachelten Staatsgewalt ein. Staat und Kirche im Bunde waren zu vollkommener Unterdrückung der Häresien entschlossen und trafen die entsprechenden Maßnahmen. Jetzt erfolgte die „Landflucht" im großen Stil — denn auf dem Lande

war die Staatsgewalt gegen die Heiden und die Ketzer nachsichtiger —, soweit die Unglücklichen ihren Glauben nicht schon scharenweise unter dem doppelten Druck abgeschworen hatten: „Gott sandte zu ihnen Furcht vor dem h. Rabbulas, und sie nahmen gläubig die Wahrheit an, indem sie ihren Irrtum ableugneten". Nicht nur der h. Rabbulas, sondern auch die anderen großen Bischöfe hatten handgreifliche Waffen zu ihrer Verfügung und drangen nun auch in die ländlichen Bezirke ein. Wenn Theodoret acht Marcionitische Dörfer in seiner Diözese bekehren konnte, so zeigt das die soziale Gruppierung der Häresie, wie sie sich seit einem Jahrhundert vollzogen hatte, ihre noch bestehende äußere Stärke, aber zugleich ihre mangelnde Widerstandskraft. Der Rückzug auf das Land wird schon in vorkonstantinischer Zeit begonnen haben. Nicht nur die Existenz einer Marcionitischen Gemeinde in Lebaba im Hauran spricht dafür, sondern noch mehr, daß sie sich eine Inschrift in griechischer Sprache gesetzt hat. Man sprach dort nicht griechisch; also waren die Marcioniten daselbst griechische Ansiedler, die sich in diese abgelegene Gegend zurückgezogen hatten; ja es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß das ganze Dorf Marcionitisch war (s. S. 342* f.). Dies war der Fall bei den acht Dörfern, die Theodoret bekehrt hat. Also zog man sich nicht nur auf das Land zurück, sondern die Marcioniten bildeten daselbst auch geschlossene Ansiedlungen. Ihre schroffe Stellung zur Welt erklärt das sehr wohl, auch wenn man nicht an den ersehnten Schutz vor Verfolgungen denkt: sie vermochten so ihre Eigenart besser zu bewahren. Allein jede religiöse Sekte, die sich genötigt sieht, die Städte zu verlassen, muß notwendig verbauern, und wenn sie dadurch auch eine gewisse Zähigkeit in der Behauptung ihrer Überlieferungen empfängt, so büßt sie doch an geistiger Widerstandskraft ein und muß schließlich erliegen. So ist es auch der Marcionitischen Kirche im Osten ergangen. Übrigens hat sie dem Manichäismus gegenüber hier lange Zeit hindurch noch eine beachtenswerte Selbständigkeit bewährt [1], konnte aber nach der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich mit ihm wahrscheinlich nur noch eine unbedeutendere

1 Der „Fihrist" (s. S. 384* f.) bezeugt ihre größere Christlichkeit gegenüber den Manichäern.

Rolle spielen. Daß sie ihm näher rückte, zeigt vor allem auch (nach dem „Fihrist") die ganz nahe Verwandtschaft ihrer besonderen (den persischen und syrischen Buchstaben nachgebildeten) Schriftcharaktere mit den von Mani (bzw. den Manichäern) aus diesen Alphabeten entwickelten eigentümlichen Buchstaben (s. S. 385* [1].)

Was sich über den Ausgang des Marcionitismus im Osten ermitteln läßt (insonderheit über das Verhältnis zu den Paulizianern), ist in der Beilage (S. 381* ff.) zusammengestellt. Der Verfasser des „Fihrist" hat im J. 987/8 nur im fernen Osten noch Marcioniten konstatieren können, nämlich im Gebiet zwischen dem Kaspischen Meer und dem Oxus: „sie verkriechen sich hinter das Christentum". Seine Nachrichten aber über die Sekte und ihre Lehre beruhen vielleicht nicht auf zeitgenössischer Kunde, sondern auf literarischer Überlieferung.

2. Die innere Geschichte.

Marcion, der Kirchenstifter, hat als grundsätzlicher Biblizist und Gegner aller Philosophie kein philosophisch-theologisches System aufgestellt und nicht als Systematiker „Prinzipien" gelehrt, sondern den guten Gott in Christus verkündet, die Erlösung gepredigt und den gerechten Gott der Welt und des Gesetzes entlarvt. An den einen, den Fremden, soll man glauben und dem andern, der hinreichend bekannt ist, den Gehorsam versagen [2]. Gewiß sind im Sinne M.s beide Götter, aber sehr ungleiche Götter, da der zweite mit seinem Himmel und seiner

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1 Haben die Marcioniten eine mit der Manichäischen fast identische Geheimschrift angenommen, so ist das nicht nur ein Beweis dafür, daß sie sich dem Manichäismus sehr stark genähert, sondern auch, daß sie ihre ursprüngliche Öffentlichkeit aufgegeben haben; denn eine Geheimschrift wählt man nur, wenn man nur von Auserwählten gelesen sein will.

2 Treu hat der älteste Berichterstatter, Justin, M.s Lehre wiedergegeben, sofern er überhaupt nicht von Prinzipien (ἀρχαί) bei M. spricht, sondern einfach von zwei Göttern, dem Weltschöpfer und dem anderen, guten Gott; aber auch Tert. spricht fast ausnahmslos von Göttern und nicht von Prinzipien. Jedoch hat M. den Ausdruck ἀρχαί nicht durchweg vermieden (er brauchte ihn um der Materie willen); das ergibt sich aus dem Zeugnis seines Schülers Apelles (bei Anthimus von Nikomedien; s. S. 419* a).

Erde untergehen wird, also keine Ewigkeit besitzt. Daher kann man nur mit bedingtem Rechte sagen, M. habe zwei „Prinzipien" gelehrt; in gewissem Sinne ist das zuviel gesagt und zugleich zuwenig; denn ewiger Gott ist nur einer, und ungeschaffene Wesen gibt es nach ihm drei, da auch die Materie, aus welcher der gerechte Gott die Welt geschaffen hat, ungeschaffen ist. Zwar spielt sie in seinen rein biblischen Darlegungen als handelndes Prinzip durchaus keine Rolle; aber sofern alles Stoffliche und Leibliche von ihr herrührt und die Schöpfung des Schöpfers noch schlimmer gemacht hat, hat sie als φύσις doch im Ganzen der Schöpfung eine große Bedeutung.

Man versteht es von hier aus, daß auch solche Gegner, welche die eigene Lehre M.s und nicht die späterer Marcioniten ins Auge gefaßt haben, schwanken konnten, ob sie bei der Zusammenfassung ihm zwei oder drei „Prinzipien" beilegen sollten. Dieses Schwanken aber mußte sich durch einen Blick auf die Entwicklung der Marcionitischen Kirche verstärken.

Das Wichtigste in dieser Entwicklung nämlich war, daß die Marcionitische Kirche zwar den Charakter und Geist, den ihr der Stifter gegeben, streng und treu festhielt und mit einer Ausnahme (Apelles) keine Spaltung in ihrer Mitte aufkommen ließ, daß sich aber schon bald nach dem Tode des Meisters theologische Schulen auf ihrem Grund und Boden bildeten. Hierin zeigt sich wiederum, daß der Marcionitismus eine der großen Kirche ebenbürtige Erscheinung gewesen ist; denn auch in dieser bildeten sich ja schon seit der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts Schulen (die älteste uns bekannte ist die des Justin), die sich bald untereinander zu streiten begannen, deren Mitglieder aber deshalb nicht aufhörten, treue Kinder der großen Kirche zu sein [1].

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1 Daß diese Schulen in einigen Fällen doch schismatisch oder gar häretisch wurden, und daß der offiziellen Kirche die ganze Schulbildung in der Regel verdächtig gewesen ist, daran soll hier nur erinnert werden. Das große Problem von Kirche und Theologie hat hier begonnen, welches in allen seinen Entwicklungsstadien immer so geendigt hat, daß die Kirche zwar theologischer wurde, aber zugleich die selbständige Theologie immer heftiger ablehnte. Ob es in den Marcionitischen Kirchen ähnlich zugegangen ist, wissen wir nicht; aber es ist nicht wahrscheinlich; denn diese Kirchen waren nicht auf eine Schul- und Prinzipienlehre gestellt; wir hören

Die Einheit der Marcionitischen Schulen war (1) in der Anerkennung der von dem Stifter zusammengestellten Bibel (die „Antithesen" eingeschlossen), (2) in der Verwerfung des Schöpfers und des ATs, (3) in der Verkündigung von dem in Christus zur Erlösung erschienenen, fremden Gotte und (4) in der strengen Askese gegeben [1], sowie endlich (5) in der Hochschätzung des Meisters [2]. In diesen Stücken gewahrt man innerhalb der Kirche,

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auch nichts von Streitigkeiten in ihr, und nach den Dialogen des Adamantius stehen die beiden Marcioniten Megethius und Markus friedlich nebeneinander, obgleich der eine die Drei- und der andere die Zweiprinzipienlehre vertritt.

1 Auf diese Punkte bezieht es sich also nicht, wenn Tert. (de praescr. 42) schreibt, daß die Marcioniten „etiam a regulis suis variant inter se, dum unusquisque proinde suo arbitrio modulatur quae accepit . . . idem licuit Marcionitis quod Marcioni, de arbitrio suo fidem innovare", sondern auf die Prinzipienlehre und verwandte Fragen.

2 Die Hochschätzung des Meisters, der selbst für sich keinen Titel in Anspruch genommen hat, zeigt sich in der einstimmig bezeugten Fortführung und Hochhaltung der einzigen Selbstbezeichnung „Marcioniten" (vgl. u. a. die Inschrift von Lebaba), ferner in der Prädizierung Marcions als des Bischofs κατεξοχήν (Megethius bei Adamant. I, 8; ob allgemein?), weiter in der Aufstellung einer Marcionitischen Ära (Tert. I, 19), endlich in der Glaubensvorstellung, daß im Himmel zur Rechten Christi Paulus sitze und zur Linken Marcion (Orig., Hom. XXV in Luk., T. V p. 181; diese Vorstellung spiegelt sich in der dreizeiligen Inschrift von Lebaba wider: auf der ersten Zeile liest man Marcions Namen, auf der mittleren den Jesu Christi, auf der dritten den Namen Paulus, wenn auch als Namen eines Marcionitischen Presbyters). Doch hat M. in seiner Gemeinde den Namen „Apostel" mindestens zunächst nicht erhalten; der Biblizismus verbot das. Es ist Tert., der IV, 9 schreibt: „Christus Marcionis habiturus apostolum quandoque nauclerum Marcionem"; aber er selbst weiß nichts davon, daß M. als Apostel bei den Seinen gegolten hat; sonst hätte er de carne 2 nicht schreiben können: „Exhibe auctoritatem; si propheta es, praenuntia aliquid, si apostolus, praedica publice". Vollends ist es nur ein polemischer Fechterstreich, wenn Ephraem (Lied 56) schreibt: „Bei den Marcioniten heißt es nicht: So spricht der Herr, sondern: So spricht Marcion". Dennoch konnte es die Marcionitische Kirche nicht anders ansehen, als daß ihr Stifter in die Heilsgeschichte im weiteren Sinn des Worts gehört; denn die Christenheit wäre nach ihrem zweiten Sündenfall, den sie durch Mißverständnis und Abfall von Paulus begangen hat (der erste liegt zwischen Christus und Paulus), in die Anbetung des Schöpfergottes zurückgefallen, hätte sie nicht M. wieder auf den richtigen Weg gebracht.

solange sie bestanden hat, keine Veränderung und kein Schwanken. Dagegen mußten sich Verschiedenheiten einstellen, sobald man die biblisch expressionistische Verkündigung M.s theologisch zu systematisieren versuchte. Alsbald mußte sich zeigen, daß der Stifter hier der Theorie Lücken und ungelöste Probleme zurückgelassen hatte. Sie bezogen sich auf die Zahl der Prinzipien und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis, auf die Natur des Gottes dieser Welt, auf die Entstehung der Sünde und auf die Person Christi. Eine Theologie im Sinne einer rationalen Religionsphilosophie vertrug diese Religionsverkündigung letztlich ebensowenig wie die sog. „apostolische", obgleich sie als Religion ungleich einheitlicher und geschlossener war als diese; daher mußten sich Verschiedenheiten einstellen, sobald hier theologische Schulen entstanden.

Rhodon in Rom gegen Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts, zwei oder drei Jahrzehnte nach Marcions Tod, ist der erste, der uns von den Marcionitischen Schulen und der Abspaltung des Apelles berichtet. Mit diesem hat er selbst einen Disput gehabt und auch Anhänger des Marcionschülers Synerus sind ihm persönlich bekannt geworden; direkt von ihnen hat er die Nachricht über die Sondermeinung ihres Lehrers erhalten. Der Bericht bestätigt zunächst auch sonst Bekanntes und gibt dann folgendes Bild: Eine „unhaltbare Meinung" beherrscht alle Marcioniten und hält ihre Herde zusammen. Da diese nicht in der Prinzipienlehre zu suchen ist, so muß sie in den anderen (oben genannten) Stücken liegen, d. h. vor allem in der Überzeugung von der Erlösung durch den fremden Gott. Auf diesem Grunde aber erhoben sich theologische Meinungsverschiedenheiten — Rhodon sagt, die richtige *διαίρεσις τῶν πραγμάτων* wurde verkannt [1] —, die zur Schulbildung auf Grund einer Zweiprinzipien-

M. wird in seiner Kirche fort und fort mindestens die Rolle gespielt haben, die einige Dogmatiker des 17. Jahrh. Luther zubilligten, wenn sie ihm einen besonderen Artikel „De vocatione Lutheri" widmeten. Darüber hinaus berichtet ein später Zeuge, Maruta — sicher übertreibend —: „Statt des Petrus haben sie sich gesetzt als Haupt der Apostel den Marcion".

1 Der Ausdruck *διαίρεσις* ist zunächst technisch für die Einteilung der Rede; aber hier ist das Wort auf Dinge, bzw. Tatsachen, nämlich auf die gesamten Welterscheinungen angewendet, und das ist nicht nur hier geschehen, s. die philosophisch-kosmologische Anwendung in Athenag.,

lehre (Potitus und Basilikus) und einer „noch schlimmeren" Dreiprinzipienlehre, bzw. Dreinaturenlehre (Synerus) führten. Leider gibt Rhodon Näheres nicht an. Ob jene genau so wie der Marcionit Markus (bei Adamantius) lehrten, dieser aber wie der Marcionit Megethius (ebendort), ist nicht festzustellen.

Was die Quellen betrifft, so geben Justin, Irenäus, Tertullian, Clemens, Hippolyt (Ref. X, 19 init.), Origenes und Ephraem die genuine Verkündigung M.s wieder. Der Marcionit Markus lehrt eine Zweiprinzipienlehre, aber sie ist nicht mehr die genuine; denn er unterscheidet zwar die beiden Götter als den Erlöser und als den Schöpfer und Richter, sagt auch zutreffend, daß die Menschen an diesem Gott gesündigt haben, der Erlöser ihnen aber *ἀμνηστία* und *ἄφεσις* bringe [1], bezeichnet aber den

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Suppl. 10, 3; 12, 2; Tatian, Orat. 12, 1; vielleicht mit Recht hat ihn Schwartz auch in Tatian 5, 2 für *αἵρεσις* gesetzt (Orig., De orat. 3 schreibt: *Πᾶν σῶμα διαίρετόν ἐστιν*, und Athenag. 4, 1: *Ἡμῖν διαιροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἕτερον μέν τι εἶναν τὴν ὕλην, ἄλλο δὲ τὸν θεόν*). Wenn Rhodon sagt, jene Marcionitischen Schulhäupter hätten die *διαίρεσις* der in der Welt gegebenen Tatbestände nicht finden können, so kann das nur ein verkürzter Ausdruck dafür sein, daß sie den Grund der Verschiedenheiten nicht fanden. Hier kann es sich nur um die letzte und tiefste *διαίρεσις* handeln, um die Frage von gut und böse, bzw. um die Frage: „Unde malum?" (Das bezeugt auch Tert. 1, 2 für M.; aber man darf vermuten, daß er es von Marcionitischen Theologen gehört und mit genuin Marcionitischem vermengt hat; denn M. selbst hat nicht Probleme aufgeworfen und beantwortet, sondern, unbekümmert um die Probleme, Impressionen wiedergegeben: „Languens circa mali quaestionem, unde malum, et obtunsis sensibus ipsa enormitate curiositatis inveniens creatorem pronuntiantem: ‚Ego sum qui condo mala'" etc.). Dieses Problem vermochten sie durch die kirchliche Lehre von dem einen Gott nicht zu lösen und wandten sich nun der schnellfertigen Entscheidung (*ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ἐτράποντο*) zu, man müsse das Gottwidrige auf ein zweites Prinzip zurückführen. Auch diesen Schulhäuptern aber hat Rhodon den Vorwurf gemacht, den schon Justin dem M. selbst entgegengehalten hatte, daß sie *ψιλῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως* (Justin: *ἀλόγως*) lehren, d. h. daß sie philosophische Vertiefung und wirkliche Beweisführung (sei es durch ratio, sei es durch auctoritas) vermissen lassen.

1 Im Sinne M.s ist es auch, wenn er sagt, daß der Schöpfer seine Gläubigen erlöst (natürlich ist diese Erlösung irdisch zu denken) und die Sünder richtet und straft (Dial. II, 3 f.).

Schöpfer nicht als gerecht, sondern als *πονηρός* [1] und behauptet ferner, sich weit von M. entfernend und ein gnostisches Hauptdogma aufnehmend, daß der Geist im Menschen bei der Menschenschöpfung vom guten Gott eingeflößt worden sei und daß nur dieser Geist von ihm gerettet werde. (Rettung auch der Seele wird ausdrücklich abgelehnt, da sie vom Demiurgen geschaffen ist) [2]. Damit ist der Grundgedanke der Auffassung M.s, daß der Mensch durch kein natürliches Band mit dem Schöpfer verbunden ist, aufgehoben; doch hält Markus die Ansicht fest, daß Christus von niemandem vorher geahnt worden ist (Dial. II, 13 f: *Ξένος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ μηδὲ εἰς ἔννοιάν τινος πώποτε ἀφιγμένος*). Jene vermeintliche Korrektur ist aus rationalen Gründen wohlverständlich und setzte zugleich an den beiden schwachen Punkten in der Verkündigung M.s ein, daß der gute Gott nicht den ganzen Menschen rettet, obgleich das Seelisch-geistige ihm nicht näher steht als das Leibliche, und daß der Demiurg bei M. ein zwischen gerecht und lästig (als Quälgeist) schillerndes Wesen ist. Der Marcionit Megethius (Dial. I, 3 f.) unterscheidet drei *ἀρχαί*, den guten Gott, den Demiurgen (= den Gerechten = *τὸν μέσον*) und den schlechten Gott (= den Teufel) und verteilt die drei *ἀρχαί* auf Christen, Juden und Heiden. Einen schlechten Gott neben dem gerechten hat M. nicht gekannt (Meg. substituiert ihn der Materie), und die Heiden gehören ihm nicht zu einem Gott, sondern sind vom Schöpfer abgefallene und in das Materielle und deshalb in den Götzendienst

1 Markus ist also wirklich ein Vertreter des Dualismus *ὁ ἀγαθός* > *ὁ πονηρός* (ohne Berücksichtigung der Gerechtigkeit) gewesen, den Hippolyt leichtfertig dem M. selbst zugeschrieben hat. Des Epiphanius unsinnige Mitteilung (s. S. 365*), M. habe den zwei Prinzipien seines Meisters Cerdo (dem unsichtbaren guten Gott und dem sichtbaren Schöpfergott) den Teufel hinzugefügt und zwar als mittleren zwischen den beiden, bedarf keiner Widerlegung; denn an die „Feinheit" ist doch nicht zu denken, daß, sei es Epiphanius, sei es sonst jemand den Teufel als mittleren bezeichnet habe, weil schließlich die zum Teufel Abgefallenen nach M. noch gerettet werden, die Getreuen des Weltschöpfers aber nicht.

2 *Ὁ δημιουργός, ὅτε ἔπλασε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὐτὸν τελεσφορῆσαι. ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνωθεν ὁ ἀγαθὸς κυλιόμενον τὸ πλάσμα καὶ σκαρίζον, ἔπεμψεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐζωογόνησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τοῦτο οὖν φαμεν ἡμεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, σώζειν* (Dial. II, 8, vgl. die gleiche Lehre Satornils).

versunkene Sünder. Die drei ἀρχαί sind aber keineswegs nach Megethius „gleich", sondern ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰσχυροτέρα (das ist genuin Marcionitisch). αἱ ἀτονώτεραι ἀρχαὶ ὑπόκεινται τῇ ἰσχυροτέρᾳ, jedoch haben sie das, was sie getan haben, nicht κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ κρείττονος getan. Dennoch rückt Meg. den „Mittleren" (den Demiurg) sehr viel näher an das gute Prinzip heran als Marcion selbst, wenn er zu II Thess. 1, 6f. (Dial. II, 6) bemerkt: Ἡ μέση ἀρχὴ ὑπακούσασα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἄνεσιν δίδωσιν, ὑπακούσασα δὲ τῷ πονηρῷ θλῖψιν δίδωσιν. Das kann sich nur auf das Ende der Dinge beziehen; aber auch hier ist diese Lehre für M. selbst falsch und beruht auf der Vorstellung, es gebe nur eine ἄνεσις, während M. das vorübergehende und mangelhafte Refrigerium des Weltschöpfers von der Seligkeit, die nur der gute Gott gewähren kann, scharf unterschieden hat. Die Schöpfung ist nach Megethius so verlaufen (II, 6f): Der Demiurg hat die Menschen nach seinem Willen geschaffen; da sie aber schlecht gerieten, reute es ihn und er wollte sie richten und vernichten; genauer: auch die Seele des Menschen, die der Demiurg ihm eingeflößt, versagte ihm im Paradiese den Gehorsam, und er verwarf sie; der böse Gott zog sie nun an sich, aber dann kam der gute Gott und erlöste voll Erbarmen die Seelen „und befreite die böse gewordenen Menschen vom bösen Gott und veränderte sie durch den Glauben und machte diese seine Gläubigen zu Guten". Diese Lehrfassung zeigt, daß Meg. für die Heiden das Hauptinteresse gehabt hat und die Juden weniger beachtete (anders der Biblizist Marcion). Trotzdem aber blieb Meg. der Lehre des M. darin treu, daß er den Kaufakt der Erlösung, den er ausführlich wiedergibt, sich nicht zwischen dem guten Gott und dem bösen abspielen läßt, sondern zwischen jenem und dem gerechten Gott, der also als der rechtmäßige Eigentümer der Menschen anerkannt bleibt. Nicht von der Sünde (bzw. dem bösen Gott), sagt er ausdrücklich, hat uns Christus nach Paulus erkauft, sondern vom Demiurg.

Drei Prinzipien, bzw. Götter, legen den Marcioniten bei Dionysius von Rom (τρεῖς μεμερισμένας ὑποστάσεις καὶ θεότητας s. S. 335*f), Athanasius (s. S 350*f), Cyrill von Jerusalem (s. Katech. 16, 3; aber 6, 16 spricht er nur vom Gegensatz des guten Gottes und des Weltschöpfers, s. S. 351*), Gregor von Na-

zianz (Korrekt: die beiden Götter des A und NT, jedoch drei φύσεις[1] so daß der ATliche Gott, wie bei Megethius, als der Herr der „mittleren" φύσις erscheint; so wird wohl auch Basilius zu verstehen sein, wenn er auch nur dem Gegensatz des A und NTlichen Gottes bei M. Ausdruck gibt, s. S. 353*), Maruta („einen Guten, einen Bösen und einen Gerechten, den Mittleren zwischen ihnen", s. S. 363* f.) und Abulfaradsch (Korrect: „Aequum, Bonum et Malum, Aequum autem opera sua in Malo, i. e. Materia, exercuisse atque ex eo mundum condidisse", s. S. 387*). Diese Berichte enthalten eine Trübung der Lehre des Stifters und gehen auf verbreitete Schulmeinungen zurück, wenn sie rund drei Götter annehmen und den gerechten Gott für den „Mittleren" erklären. Durch letztere Präzisierung[2] wird das Marcionitische Christentum schwer verwundet oder vielmehr zum Vulgären abgestumpft; denn sobald das Gerechte als das Mittlere erscheint, wie schon bei Megethius, nicht aber als der tiefste Gegensatz zum Guten, ist der Marcionitismus in seiner Eigenart verletzt und dem Gnostizismus und Manichäismus angenähert, mag man auch sonst die Lehre des Meisters in Worten fortgeführt haben[3] In weiten Kreisen der Kirche wird sich diese Verschlechterung wirklich vollzogen haben; denn an Erfindungen der Berichterstatter ist nicht zu denken.

Die Dreiprinzipienlehre des Megethius (Gut, Gerecht, Schlecht) findet sich auch bei dem assyrischen Schüler M.s Prepon (der z. Z. Hippolyts gegen Bardesanes den Marcionitismus verteidigt hat, s. S. 333* f.), hier aber mit der seltsamen und auf den Spruch: „Nur einer ist gut", begründeten Wendung, Christus sei als „der Mittlere", wie ihn Paulus bezeichne, zwar „von der ganzen Natur des Schlechten" frei gewesen, aber auch von der des Guten. Hiernach würde Christus der Sohn des mittleren Gottes sein oder vielmehr der Mittlere selbst. S. darüber unten.

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1 Dieser Ausdruck auch bei Rhodon in bezug auf die Lehre des Marcionschülers Synerus (s. S. 321* f.).

2 Auch bei Epiphanius c. 6, 8 heißt der Gerechte „der Mittlere".

3 Die Dreigötterlehre (mit dem „Mittleren") und die falsche Zweigötterlehre (der Weltschöpfer als der schlechte Gott) rücken sich sehr nahe, was keines Beweises bedarf.

Daß einige Schüler zu einer Vierprinzipienlehre fortgeschritten sind (Gut, Gerecht, Materie, Schlecht), hören wir von Hippolyt (Ref. X, 19): die Differenzierung der Materie und des schlechten Gottes lag ja nahe, da die Zusammenordnung „der gute Gott, der Schöpfer und die Materie" ungeschickt erscheinen konnte. Derselbe berichtet auch von dem Schwanken, daß einige Marcioniten den Gerechten nur gerecht nennen, andere gerecht und schlecht [1].

Daß die Dreiprinzipienlehre einen gewissen Halt gegenüber dem Manichäismus bot, ist klar; aber dieser Halt drohte zu verschwinden, wenn der gute und der schlechte Gott als Gott des Lichts und der Finsternis unterschieden wurden. Daß dies nicht M.s Meinung war, darüber s. S. 97. 263* f.; aber später haben Marcioniten so gelehrt; das zeigen die Berichte des „Fihrist" und Schahrastanis: „Sie behaupten, daß die beiden ewigen Prinzipien das Licht und die Finsternis seien und daß es ein drittes Wesen gebe, welches sich ihnen beigemischt habe". „Sie nehmen zwei ewige, sich befeindende Grundwesen an, das Licht und die Finsternis, aber auch noch ein drittes Grundwesen, nämlich den gerechten Vermittler, den Verbinder; er sei die Ursache der Vermischung; denn die beiden sich Bekämpfenden und feindlich Gegenüberstehenden vermischen sich nur durch einen, der sie verbindet. Sie sagen, der Vermittler sei auf der Stufe unter dem Licht und über der Finsternis, und diese Welt sei entstanden durch die Verbindung und Vermischung. Es gibt unter ihnen solche, welche sagen, die Vermischung sei nur zwischen der Finsternis und dem Gerechten vor sich gegangen, da er dieser näher stehe, sie sei aber mit ihm vermischt worden, damit sie durch ihn besser gemacht werde und durch seine Vergnügungen ergötzt werde ....; sie sagen aber, wir nehmen den Gerechten nur an, weil das Licht, welches der höchste Gott ist, sich mit dem Satan nicht vermischen kann; wie sollte es auch

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1 Nach Hippolyt legt auch Theodoret (S. 369* f.) M. die Vierprinzipienlehre bei; er unterscheidet dabei *πονηρός* und *κακός*, so daß sich die Lehre so gestaltet: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄγνωστος, ὁ δίκαιος δημιουργός* (der auch *πονηρός* ist), *ἡ κακὴ ὕλη, ὁ κακός*. — Theodoret erwähnt übrigens einen Marcionschüler Pithon, der sonst nirgends genannt wird, als Schulvorsteher. Vielleicht liegt hier lediglich ein Irrtum vor (Prepon?).

möglich sein, daß die beiden Gegner, welche von Natur miteinander im Kampf sind und vermöge ihres inneren Wesens voneinander ausgeschlossen sind, sich miteinander vereinigen und vermischen? Es sei also ein Vermittler notwendig, der unter dem Licht und über der Finsternis stehe und mit welchem (durch welchen) die Vermittlung stattfinde" (s. S. 386*). Hier hat die materialistisch-manichäische Grundbetrachtung übel auf den Marcionitismus eingewirkt, und die Beurteilung des mittleren Prinzips, des Marcionitischen Demiurgs, wird nun eine total andere, mehr oder weniger günstige; dadurch wird aber die ganze Lehre M.s verdorben. Dieser Marcionitismus ist nichts anderes als ein gemilderter Manichäismus und mag als solcher eine gewisse Anziehungskraft besessen haben.

Vom Verfasser der pseudoaugustinischen Quästionen (siehe S. 389*) hören wir die Kunde, daß nach M. der Satan die Welt und auch den Leib des Menschen geschaffen habe, die Seele aber „errore quodam" gefallen und so in diese Welt der Finsternis geraten sei. Auch hier liegt gnostisch-manichäischer Einfluß vor, wenn der Bericht glaubwürdig ist. Andrerseits berichtet Theodoret (s. S. 371*), daß nach der Lehre der Marcioniten die Schlange besser sei als der Weltschöpfer, weil dieser das Essen vom Baum der Erkenntnis verboten, die Schlange aber dazu aufgefordert habe. So hat M. sicher nicht gelehrt; aber es ist vielleicht keine Erfindung Theodorets, da er berichtet, daß einige Marcioniten Schlangenverehrer seien und er selbst bei ihnen eine eherne Schlange in einem Kasten gefunden habe, die bei ihren Mysterien gebraucht werde. Möglich, daß hier Ophitismus eingewirkt hat; aber man tut besser, diese Erzählung beiseite zu legen.

Die Marcionitische Prinzipienlehre und Kosmologie, wie sie Esnik schildert, sind noch wesentlich genuin (der gute Gott, der Weltschöpfer, die Materie; der Mensch ein Produkt des Weltschöpfers mit Hilfe der Materie), und der Charakter des Weltschöpfers, wie ihn M. gezeichnet hat, ist festgehalten; aber die Ausspinnung der Kosmologie, der Vertrag zwischen dem Weltschöpfer und der Materie, der Betrug des Weltschöpfers ihr gegenüber und ihre Rache sind späteren Ursprungs; denn niemand, der die Antithesen gelesen, hat diese Erzählungen gekannt, und der Biblizist M. hätte sie abgelehnt (s. S. 374* f). Immerhin aber beweist die Esnik'sche Darstellung hier und in ihrer Fort-

setzung (Erlösungslehre), daß es in bezug auf die Prinzipienlehre noch eine dem Stifter treue Gruppe unter den Marcioniten im 5. Jahrhundert gegeben hat [1].

In bezug auf die Christologie finden sich in der Geschichte der Sekte ein paar merkwürdige Theorien. Wenn oben (S. 167) mitgeteilt worden ist, daß der assyrische Marcionit Prepon nach Hippolyt gelehrt habe, Christus gehöre weder zu dem guten noch zu dem schlechten Prinzip, sondern sei der Mittlere, da ja Gott allein gut sei und Paulus Christus als „den Mittleren" bezeichne, so kann man zunächst geneigt sein, hier einen bösen Irrtum Hippolyts anzunehmen, der den gerechten Gott als den *μέσος* und Christus als den *μέσος* (aber in ganz anderem Sinn) identifiziert habe. Allein das scheint nicht der Fall zu sein, denn Epiphanius c. 14 (s. S. 365* f.) berichtet, einige Marcioniten sagen, Christus sei der Sohn des schlechten Gottes, andere des gerechten; er habe, da er barmherziger und gut war, seinen eigenen Vater verlassen, sei zu dem oberen Gott aufgestiegen, habe ihm angehangen und sei von diesem zur Erlösung in die Welt gesandt worden und *πρὸς ἀντιδικίαν τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καταλῦσαι τὰ πάντα ὅσα ὁ κατὰ φύσιν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐνομοθέτει* (sei dieser der gerechte Gesetzesgott, sei er der schlechte Gott). Hiernach darf man nicht mehr behaupten, daß Hippolyt einen Irrtum begangen habe; vielmehr muß man glauben, daß es im Marcionitismus — sonderbar genug — ziemlich frühe schon Lehren gab, nach denen Christus von Hause aus nicht zum oberen guten Gott gehörte. Hier kommt auch der Bericht im „Fihrist" in Betracht. Er sagt, die Marcioniten seien verschiedener Meinung darüber, was das dritte Wesen sei; „Einige sagen, daß es das Leben d. i. Isa (Jesus) sei, andere behaupten, daß Isa der Gesandte dieses dritten Wesens sei, der die Dinge auf dessen Befehl und vermittelst dessen Macht geschaffen habe" [2]. Diese drei Mit-

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1 Wie bei Megethius tritt bei den Marcioniten Esniks das Interesse für die Juden hinter das für alle Menschen in bezug auf Schöpfung und Erlösung zurück.

2 Bei Schahrastani ist Christus Sohn und Gesandter des Lichtgottes. Er stellt ihn nicht zum mittleren Prinzip, welches die Vermischung von Gut und Schlecht ermöglicht: „Das Licht hat einen Christus-Geist in die vermischte Welt gesandt, das ist der Geist und sein Sohn".

teilungen machen nicht den Eindruck, als stammten sie aus einem Motiv; leider sind sie sämtlich zu abgerissen und kurz, um sichere Schlüsse zuzulassen. Prepon und der „Fihrist" gehören wohl zusammen. Schon Prepon scheint den Dualismus so streng gefaßt zu haben, daß er ein drittes Prinzip brauchte, aus welchem er Schöpfung und Erlösung dieser Welt ableitete [1], und ähnliches mögen gewisse Marcioniten gelehrt haben, von denen im „Fihrist" berichtet ist. Daß damit der ganze Marcionitismus umgestoßen wurde, liegt auf der Hand. Die Marcioniten aber, von denen Epiphanius gehört hat, sind vielleicht adoptianisch beeinflußt gewesen und wollten Christus dadurch noch besonders ehren, daß sie eine sittliche Großtat von ihm aussagten. Auch dieses Theologumenon ist freilich antimarcionitisch. Wieder steht es bei Esnik so, daß die Marcioniten, auf die sich sein Bericht bezieht, auch in der Christologie die Lehre des Meisters streng festgehalten haben; nur ausgesponnen haben sie sie, namentlich bei der Erzählung von dem Tode Christi und seinem Effekt gegenüber dem Weltschöpfer: nach der Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt steigt Jesus zum zweiten Mal, in der Gestalt seiner Gottheit herab zum Weltschöpfer und hält mit ihm Gericht wegen seines Todes. Jetzt erst erkennt dieser, daß ein anderer Gott außer ihm da ist; Jesus legt das eigene Gesetz des Weltschöpfers der Verhandlung zugrunde. Weil er selbst geschrieben hat, daß der sterben soll, der das Blut des Gerechten vergießt, muß er sich auf Tod und Leben in die Hände Jesu geben, der zu ihm spricht: „Ich bin mit Recht gerechter als du und habe deinen Geschöpfen große Wohltaten erwiesen". Jetzt bat der Weltschöpfer um sein Leben und sprach: „Dafür daß ich gesündigt und dich unwissend getötet habe, weil ich nicht wußte, daß du Gott seist, dafür gebe ich dir zur Genugtuung alle jene, welche an dich glauben werden". Auf dieses Anerbieten ging Jesus ein [2]. Das hat nicht M. erzählt; aber der Geist des Berichts verstößt nicht gegen seine Lehre. —

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1 Bei der Erlösung muß aber der gute Gott doch mitgewirkt haben.

2 Jesus verzichtet also auf sein Recht, den Weltschöpfer zu töten und ihm seine Kinder zu nehmen, und zahlt einen Preis. Auch darin soll man erkennen, daß der gute Gott sich nicht nach dem Grundsatz richtet: „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn".

Sieht man von Apelles ab, dessen eigentümliche Bedeutung besonders dargestellt werden muß, so hat die Marcionitische Kirche nach M. nur ein Schulhaupt besessen, das als Schriftsteller auftrat und dem Meister treu blieb, aber so bedeutend war, daß die Häreseologen ihm einen besonderen Platz nach dem Vorgang Tertullians, Hippolyts und Origenes' eingeräumt haben — das war Lukanus. Es ist freilich nur sehr wenig, was wir von ihm wissen. Er scheint im Abendland seine Schule geleitet zu haben (Rom?) und hat, sich mit Aristoteles beschäftigend [1], festgestellt, daß es über der Seele noch ein höheres Element im Menschen gebe, und dieses könne allein der Auferstehung teilhaftig werden [2]. Er hat die textkritische Arbeit des Meisters fortgesetzt und seine Schüler zu ihr angeleitet, und er hat nach dem Bericht des Epiphanius (Hippolyt) als Anhänger der Dreiprinzipienlehre den Schriftbeweis gegen den Schöpfergott ausgebaut. Auch als strenger Verfechter der Marcionitischen Askese ist er aufgetreten. Man hat den Eindruck, daß er nach dem Tode M.s der bedeutendste Marcionit gewesen ist (s. S. 401*f).

Einen bedeutenden Einblick in die Geschichte der Kirche nach dem Tode M.'s (aber noch im 2. Jahrh.) haben wir erst in der letzten Zeit durch zwei Entdeckungen erhalten — durch die Entdeckung von de Bruyne und Corssen, daß die seit alters weit verbreiteten Vulgata-Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen Marcionitischen Ursprungs sind, und durch den von mir geführten Nachweis, daß der in den Bibelhandschriften des Abendlandes weit verbreitete falsche Laodizenerbrief eine Marcionitische Fälschung ist (s. Beilage III). Jene Prologe, die Inhalt und Absicht der Paulusbriefe lediglich nach dem Gesichtspunkt des Kampfes Pauli mit den Judaisten bestimmen, zeigen, wie streng sich die Marcionitische Kirche an das Hauptinteresse ihres Meisters gebunden wußte; dieser gefälschte Brief, der mit dem Geist der Prologe aufs engste verwandt ist, zeigt aber, daß man auch zu Fälschungen geschritten ist, die der Meister sicher weit von sich

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1 Das war allerdings nicht im Sinne des Meisters.

2 Tert., De resurr. 2: „Viderit unus aliqui Lucanus, nec huic quidem substantiae (scil. der Seele) parcens, quam secundum Aristotelem dissolvens aliud quid pro ea subicit, tertium quiddam resurrecturus, neque anima neque caro, i. e. non homo, sed ursus forsitan, qua Lucanus".

gewiesen hätte. Auch kann man leider nicht einen einzenlen Marcioniten für die Fälschung verantwortlich machen; denn — abgesehen davon, daß wir noch von einer zweiten Fälschung hören, einem gefälschten Alexandrinerbrief des Paulus — sie hätte sich nicht so weit verbreiten können, wenn nicht eine propagandistische Autorität hinter ihr gestanden hätte. Andrerseits aber ist wichtig, daß keiner unserer Berichterstatter eine Marcionitische Bibel mit dem gefälschten Brief gekannt hat, weder Tertullian, noch Origenes, noch Epiphanius usw. Er scheint ein Exportartikel gewesen zu sein und, paradox genug, stärker in den katholischen „Apostolos" eingedrungen zu sein als in den Marcionitischen. Daß aber überhaupt diese Marcionitischen Stücke so häufig in die katholische Bibel gedrungen sind, ist ein Beweis dafür, daß (1) die Verbreitung katholischer Exemplare der Paulusbriefe im 2. Jahrhundert noch beschränkt gewesen sein muß, und daß (2) in eben diesem Jahrhundert uns undurchsichtige Einflußmöglichkeiten der Kirche M.'s auf die katholischen Kirchen bestanden haben. Dies bestätigt sich auch, wenn man auf die Geschichte des Textes blickt.

An dem Text Marcions ist von den Marcioniten fort und fort geändert worden; denn der Meister hatte das nicht untersagt, ja vielleicht dazu ermuntert (s. S. 43 f). Nicht nur der gebildete Schüler Lukanus hat geändert, sondern auch namenlose Korrektoren, wie direkt bezeugt ist (Tert. IV, 5: „Quotidie reformant evangelium, prout a nobis quotidie revincuntur"; Celsus bei Orig. II, 27; Origenes selbst; Ephraem, Lied 24, 1). Beispiele fehlen nicht; s. Adamant., Dial., II, 25 (hiernach haben spätere Marcioniten in I Kor. 15, 38 πνεῦμα für σῶμα eingesetzt); Esnik, S. 378* (hier ist in I Kor. 15, 25 θῇ in das Passiv verwandelt worden); vor allem vgl. man die verschiedenen Textüberlieferungen bei Tert. und Epiphanius, die mindestens z. T. auf spätere Marcionitische Korrekturen zurückgehen. Aber es sind auch aus andern NTlichen Büchern Zusätze zur Bibel gemacht worden. Johanneische Stellen werden vom Marcioniten Markus (Dial. II, 16 u. 20: Joh. 13, 34 u. 15, 19) zitiert; nach Isidor von Pelusium (s. S. 369*) war das Wort: „Ich bin gekommen, das Gesetz und die Propheten aufzulösen", in das Evangelium eingerückt. Nach Epiphanius (haer. 42, 3) muß man annehmen, daß Mark. 10, 37 f. (bzw. die Matthäusparallele) in einem

Marcionitischen Evangelienexemplar gestanden hat, und das ist auch nach Origenes wahrscheinlich (s. S. 252*). Ephraem scheint Matth. 23, 8 bei den Marcioniten gelesen zu haben (s. S. 359*), und vielleicht haben syrische Marcioniten die Taufe Jesu durch Johannes wieder aufgenommen (S. 357*). Bei einigen Marcioniten wurden auch die Pastoralbriefe gelesen, wie die Prologe beweisen und wie aus einer Stelle bei Chrysostomus hervorgeht (S. 368*): „Die Marcioniten folgern aus den Worten: *δῴη ὁ κύριος παρὰ κυρίου*, daß es zwei Herren gebe". (Ist das wirklich Marcionitisch, so liegt dieser Erklärung eine Auffassung vom Verhältnis der beiden Götter zugrunde, die nicht mehr die echte ist.) Auch Erklärungen nicht M.s, sondern späterer Marcioniten zum Evangelium lassen sich erkennen; so mag die eine der beiden verschiedenen Auslegungen zu dem Befehl Jesu, sich den Priestern zu zeigen (Luk. 5, 14 u. 17, 14; s. Tert. IV, 9. 35), eine spätere sein; so unterscheidet Tert. zu Luk. 6, 24 zwei Auslegungen, die eine (genuin Marcionitische), welche das „Vae" nicht als „maledictio", sondern als „admonitio" faßt, und die andere, nach welcher Christus hier davon spricht, was der Demiurg tun wird (Tert. IV, 15: „‚Alii adgnoscunt quidem verbum maledictionis, sed volunt Christum sic ‚Vae' pronuntiasse, non quasi ex sententia sua proprie, sed quod ‚Vae' a creatore sit et voluerit illis asperitatem creatoris opponere"). Möglich ist auch, daß ihm IV, 30 zu Luk. 13, 19 zwei Auslegungen vorgelegen haben. In den Dialogen des Adamantius finden sich zahlreiche Auslegungen, die wahrscheinlich nicht von M. selbst, sondern von späteren Marcioniten herrühren; aber wenn sie gut Marcionitisch sind, hat es kein Interesse, die wenig aussichtsvolle Aufspürung von Kriterien der Unterscheidung zu versuchen.

Was uns sonst noch aus der späteren Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirche in bezug auf ihre Schriften und ihren Glauben bekannt ist, ist wenig genug. Undurchsichtig sind uns ihre Beziehungen zu anderen Sekten, wenn wir auch ein paar halbe Nachrichten vom Muratorischen Fragment an besitzen und wissen, daß die „Antithesen" auch außerhalb der Kirche M.s von solchen gelesen worden sind, die sich vom AT befreit hatten; besonders der Manichäismus hat sie für seine Zwecke verwertet, ferner Patricius u. a. Ob die heidnische Polemik von ihnen Gebrauch gemacht hat (Porphyrius), ist so ungewiß, wie umge-

kehrt das Verhältnis der „Antithesen" zur jüdischen antichristlichen Polemik; doch ist in beiden Fällen Abhängigkeit wahrscheinlich.

Wie ernst es in dieser Kirche auch noch im 5. Jahrhundert mit der dem Schöpfer trotzenden Askese gehalten worden ist, zeigt eine Anekdote bei Theodoret (s. S. 371*). Er erzählt, er habe einen 90 jährigen Marcioniten gekannt, der sich am Morgen stets mit seinem Speichel gewaschen habe, um, wie er erklärte, nichts mit den Produkten des Schöpfers, also auch nichts mit dem Wasser, zu tun zu haben; er würde am liebsten auch Speise und Trank usw. vermeiden, aber leider könne man ohne diese Dinge nicht leben und auch die Mysterien nicht vollziehen.

Die Mysterien anlangend, so behauptet Esnik (s. S. 377*), daß die nähere Darlegung der Art der Erlösung (Erkaufung durch den Tod Christi als Preis) in der Marcionitischen Kirche geheimgehalten und nicht allen — und auch diesen nur mündlich — überliefert werde; zwar daß wir durch eine Erkaufung erlöst seien, werde mündlich allen mitgeteilt, aber „wie und wodurch Christus erkauft habe, das wissen nicht alle". Ist diese Nachricht, die durch kein zweites Zeugnis gestützt wird, zuverlässig? Wenn sie es ist, so ist die ursprüngliche Offenheit, durch die sich die Marcionitische Kirche einst ausgezeichnet hat (s. S. 146 f), hier eingeschränkt worden. Möglich ist das; äußere oder innere Einflüsse können maßgebend gewesen sein, und Esnik ist ein zuverlässiger Zeuge [1].

Von der Taufe behauptet Epiphanius, M. habe ihre Wiederholung zugelassen (haer. 42, 3), sogar über dreimal („so habe ich von vielen gehört"). Da Esnik, der dasselbe sagt, hier von Epiphanius abhängig ist, so ist dieser der einzige Zeuge. Nun aber berichtet Esnik dort, wo er auf Grund eigener Kenntnisse erzählt (s. S. 379*): „Die Marcioniten lügen dem (Tauf)gelübde; denn weil sie der Begehrlichkeit nicht widerstehen, unterwerfen sie (die Sünder) wieder einer Buße . . . die wahrhaft Gläubigen (die Katholiken) sind nicht wie jene, die da großsprechen, daß ‚wir von der Taufe an verlobt werden zur Enthaltung vom Fleisch-

1 Von Epiphanius gilt nicht dasselbe; wenn er und nur er (haer. 42,4) behauptet, M. lehre die Seelenwanderung, so ist das an sich unwahrscheinlich und wird durch Clemens widerlegt (s. S. 365*).

essen und von der Ehe', und dann das Gelübde lösen und in die Buße eintreten". Da der Biblizist M. unmöglich eine wiederholte Taufe zugelassen haben kann, da sich Epiphanius, der einzige Zeuge, nur auf Hören-Sagen beruft und da endlich Esnik von einer Buße bei den Marcioniten spricht, durch die die Restitutio erlangt werden kann, so haben die Gewährsmänner des Epiphanius sich höchstwahrscheinlich getäuscht oder gehässig berichtet. Jene Marcioniten haben die Buße als wiederholte Taufe betrachtet und da sie auf sie Luk. 12, 50 und Mark. 10, 38 anwendeten („die neue Taufe"), so war das Mißverständnis bzw. die Verleumdnng sehr naheliegend, die Marcioniten ließen die Wiederholung der Taufe zu [1]. Aber das geht allerdings aus den Berichten des Epiphanius und Esnik hervor, daß auch die Marcioniten Wasser in ihren Wein haben gießen und eine Bußmöglichkeit für alle Sünden haben einführen müssen, die sich mit der späteren katholischen deckte und schwerlich im Sinne des Meisters gewesen ist. Auch das katholische Bußsakrament ist nichts anderes als eine Wiederholung der Taufe.

Noch eine angebliche Singularität ist überliefert. Tertullian (V, 10) bemerkt zu I Kor. 15, 29 (Taufe für Verstorbene): „Noli apostolum novum statim auctorem aut confirmatorem denotare, ut tanto magis sisteret carnis resurrectionem, quanto illi, qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur, fide resurrectionis hoc facerent". Hieraus kann man nichts für einen besonderen Marcionitischen Brauch schließen, sondern M. hat zu der Stelle lediglich bemerkt, daß, da im Evangelium nichts von einer Taufe für Verstorbene stehe, die Anerkennung dieses Brauchs durch Paulus seine gesetzgeberische Würde in der Kirche dartue. Auch aus Tert., de carne 48 läßt sich für M. nichts erschließen. Chrysostomus aber berichtet zu I Kor. 15, 29, daß, wenn ein Katechumen bei den Marcioniten gestorben sei, er gefragt würde, ob er die Taufe begehre; die bejahende Antwort erteile dann ein unter das Bett gekrochener Bruder und nun werde die Taufe vollzogen (s. S. 367*f.). Diese von Esnik bestätigte Mitteilung (s. S. 380*); ob von Chrysostomus abhängig?) zeigt lediglich, daß sich in der

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1 Zu vgl. ist die gehässige dunkle Andeutung Hippolyts (Refut. IX, 12 fin.) in bezug auf die römische Gemeinde unter dem Episkopat des Kallist: *Ἐπὶ τούτου πρώτως τετόλμηται δεύτερον αὐτοῖς βάπτισμα.*

Marcionitischen Kirche ein Brauch des apostolischen Zeitalters länger erhalten hat als in der katholischen, bietet also nichts Besonderes [1].

3. Apelles und seine Sekte [2].

Apelles wurde von Marcion als Schüler gewonnen (vermutlich in Rom); er verließ ihn (De praescr. 30: „ab oculis sanctissimi magistri secessit") und ging nach Alexandrien [3], von wo er als selbständiger Lehrer, der sich von seinem Meister getrennt hatte, zurückkehrte. Da er jetzt den Dualismus M.s verwarf und die Monarchie Gottes sowie die Präexistenz der Seelen lehrte, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß die theologische Spekulation in Alexandrien, der die Lehrer des Clemens und Origenes gehuldigt haben, auf ihn Einfluß gewonnen hatte. In Rom gründete er eine Schule außerhalb der Marcionitischen Kirche. Zu ihr gehörte eine ekstatische Jungfrau Philumene [4], eine Prophetin, mit der er wie ein

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1 Der Brauch, der für das frühe Eindringen der Mysterienmagie in die Gemeinden besonders charakteristisch ist (doch ist nicht zu übersehen, daß die katholischen sich schon bald von ihm wieder befreit haben müssen), ist auch für Montanisten (Filastr., haer. 49) und Cerinthianer (Epiph., haer. 28, 6) überliefert: Dort heißt es: „Hi mortuos baptizant", hier: *καί τι παραδόσεως πρᾶγμα ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς τινῶν μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφθανόντων τελευτῆσαι ἄνευ βαπτίσματος, ἄλλους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν, εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνων βαπτίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀναστάντας αὐτοὺς δίκην δοῦναι τιμωρίας, βάπτισμα μὴ εἰλήφοτας.*

2 S. die vollständigen Belege in Beilage VIII, ferner meine Dissertation: De Apellis gnosi Monarchica, 1874 (sie ist durch die neue Darstellung antiquiert) und meine Abhandlung (in den „Geschichtlichen Studien, Albert Hauck dargebracht", 1916): Rhodon und Apelles, die ich z. T. hier wiedergebe.

3 Daß eine Fleischessünde dabei im Spiele war, berichtet nur Tertullian, während die Römer Rhodon und Hippolyt davon nichts wissen; umgekehrt berichtet Hippolyt die Fleischessünde von Marcion, und Tertullian schweigt (s. o. S. 23). Ist sie nicht für Apelles ebenso gehässig erfunden wie für Marcion?

4 „Postea immane prostibulum", behauptet Tert., was ihm niemand glauben wird. Was uns von ihr bekannt ist, geht auf Rhodon und Tertullian zurück. Als Hippolyt sein Syntagma schrieb, wußte er noch nichts von ihr (daher weiß auch Epiphanius nichts); in der Refutatio kennt er sie und ihre Phaneroseis aber, weil er unterdessen Tertullians uns verlorene Schrift adv. Apelleiacos gelesen hat. Diese hat auch Pseudoter-

hingebender Adept zusammenarbeitete, indem er ihr seine Gedanken vortrug und ihre Offenbarungen und Weissagungen entgegennahm. Auf Grund dieser schrieb er das verlorene Werk „Phaneroseis“ [1]. Ein klares Bild von dieser Frau läßt sich nicht gewinnen, die einen so hochgebildeten Mann wie Apelles zu fesseln verstand, von ihren Visionen erzählte, in denen ihr ein Jüngling erschien, der sich selbst bald als Christus, bald als Paulus bezeichnete, und die wie ein Orakel Antworten erteilte, die A. dann den Fragenden weitergab. Auch Wunder soll sie getan und sich ausschließlich von einem großen Brote genährt haben, das sie (täglich) in eine Flasche mit ganz dünnem Hals unversehrt praktizierte und mit den Fingerspitzen unversehrt herauszog [2].

Mit der romantisch-religiösen Betätigung verband Apelles im Verein mit dieser Frau eine kritisch-theologische. Sein ehemaliger Meister hatte „Antithesen“ geschrieben und in ihnen den religiösen Unwert des AT nachgewiesen (es dabei aber für ein durchweg glaubwürdiges Buch haltend); Apelles verfaßte ein großes Werk von mindestens 38 Bänden, dem er den Titel

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tullian kennen gelernt und seine Notiz über Philumene ihr entnommen. De praescr. 6 führt Tert. die Häresie des Apelles geradezu auf Philumene zurück.

1 Alles, was Tert. über die Lehre des A. berichtet, scheint aus diesem Werk genommen zu sein, sowie das oben im Text folgende. Nach Pseudotert., der sicher den Tert. ausgeschrieben hat, scheinen die „Phaneroseis“ kanonisches Ansehen in der Sekte genossen zu haben; der Ausdruck „privatae, sed extraordinariae lectiones“ ist etwas dunkel.

2 Dies alles nach dem in einer Augustin-Handschrift zufällig erhaltenen Fragment aus Tertullians Schrift adv. Apelleiacos. Daß in Visionen die himmlischen Erscheinungen (Tert., De praesc. 6 [ein dämonischer Engel soll sie bewirkt haben] etc.; hiernach Hieron. zu Gal. 1, 8) als „pueri“ auftreten, ist auch sonst bezeugt. Wenn sich hier der Jüngling bald als Christus, bald als Paulus bezeichnet hat, so erkennt man noch die Sphäre Marcions. Der h. Thekla erschien Christus in der Gestalt des Paulus, was sich aus ihrem Verhältnis zu Paulus erklärt. Zum Mirakel s. den Aufsatz von Buchholtz „Das okkulte Berlin“ („Berliner Zeitung am Mittag“, 3. Juni 1920). In einer spiritistischen Sitzung erzählt hier ein Teilnehmer: „Neulich gelangte von mir ein Salzfaß in eine dünnhalsige Flasche“. — In dem Brot darf man wohl das geweihte Brot erkennen, von dem die Prophetin ausschließlich gelebt hat.

„Syllogismen" gab und in welchem er die Fabeleien und Widersprüche, kurz die Unglaubwürdigkeit und dazu den dem Christentum fremden Geist des Gesetzes und der Propheten dartat. Die Reste dieses Werkes zeigen, daß er dabei mit keckem Rationalismus verfuhr [1]. Gegen seinen Lehrer, obgleich er ihm in der Hauptsache doch treu blieb, nahm er kein Blatt vor den Mund: „M. lügt", schrieb er, „wenn er von (mehreren) Prinzipien spricht" [2].

In Rom und von Rom aus hat Apelles eine sehr erfolgreiche Wirksamkeit ausgeübt. Zwar hat Irenäus noch nicht von ihr Notiz genommen (auch Clemens nicht); aber schon in der frühen Schrift Tert.s „De praescr. haer." erscheint die Sekte des Apelles neben denen Marcions und Valentins als die bedeutendste häretische [3]. Diese Trias, die sich öfters bei Tert. findet, stellt auch Origenes an vielen Stellen zum Zweck der Polemik zusammen neben der anderen „Marcion, Valentin, Basilides" oder schiebt beide ineinander — ein Beweis, daß die Secte des A.[4] in Palästina und sonst in orientalischen Gebieten [5] Wurzeln geschlagen hatte

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1 Rhodon spricht von mehreren Schriften blasphemischen Inhalts, die mit großem Fleiß zur Widerlegung des AT von Apelles verfaßt worden seien. Origenes und Tertullian (in der verlorenen Schrift gegen A.) haben die Syllogismen gekannt und sich mit ihnen eingehend auseinandergesetzt; den Titel nennt nur Pseudotert. (nach Tertullian). Epiphanius hat außer dem Syntagma Hippolyts (der hier und in der Refutatio eine Bekenntnisschrift des Apelles [oder eine ältere Gegenschrift? Rhodon?] zur Hand gehabt hat) zwar nicht die Syllogismen, wohl aber eine Schrift des Apelles (vielleicht dieselbe wie Hippolyt) direkt oder indirekt benutzt. Eine Schrift des Apelles hat auch Anthimus gekannt.

2 S. bei Anthimus, Beilage S. 419*, vgl. Apelles bei Epiph., Haer. 44, 1: *πεπλάνηται Μαρκίων.*

3 Die vier großen Spezialschriften Tert.s richten sich gegen Marcion, Apelles, Valentin und Hermogenes; in der Schrift de carne Christi werden fast ausschließlich die drei erstgenannten bekämpft; sie werden de praescr. 37 als die „insigniores et frequentiores" von den anderen Häresien unterschieden.

4 Ob die von A. gestiftete Gemeinschaft eine förmliche Kirche war wie die M.s, von der sie sich streng geschieden hatte, oder eine Schulsekte, ist nicht sicher auszumachen. Ihre kurze Lebensdauer spricht für letzteres. Epiph., Haer. 44, 1: *σχολή.*

5 Ob auch in Aegypten, ist nicht gewiß, da Origenes erst in seinen späteren Werken auf Apelles eingeht.

und mit den bedeutendsten Häresien rivalisierte. Doch war ihr ein sehr viel kürzeres Leben beschieden als der Kirche Marcions. Wir haben keine Gewähr, daß sie sich nach dem Zeitalter des Origenes, der ihr unermüdlicher Gegner gewesen — er hat auch Reisen unternommen, um sie in verschiedenen Städten in Vorträgen zu bekämpfen [1] — noch lange erhalten hat. Das Urteil Firmilians, A. habe der Blasphemie des M. beigestimmt, dazu aber vieles dem Glauben und der Wahrheit noch Feindseligere hinzugefügt [2], war wohl trotz der Einprinzipienlehre des Apelles in der Kirche allgemein und hat zu besonders heftigem Kampf gegen den Ketzer angespornt, der das AT in Märchen und Fabeln auflöste.

Wie uns von Marcion und den Marcioniten Dispute mit Katholiken überliefert sind, so auch von Apelles. Hippolyt im Syntagma berichtet, Apelles habe in einer Unterredung über den Glauben geäußert: „Ich brauche nicht von Marcion zu lernen, um mit ihm zwei gleichewige Prinzipien zu behaupten; ich verkündige ein Prinzip". Wichtiger ist das Religionsgespräch, das Rhodon mit dem schon im Greisenalter stehenden Apelles [3] geführt hat [4], ja es ist das bedeutendste Religionsgespräch, welches wir aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte überhaupt besitzen. Es wird gegen Ende der Regierung Marc Aurels stattgefunden haben:

„Der greise Apelles" — schreibt Rhodon — „ließ sich mit uns in ein Gespräch ein [5] und wurde dabei überführt, daß er in vielen Stücken Schlimmes behaupte. Daher sagte er auch, man dürfe schlechterdings nicht die Lehre (jemandes) untersuchen, sondern jedermann solle in dem Glauben bleiben, wie er ihn einmal angenommen habe; denn, so behauptete er, erlöst würden die, welche auf den Gekreuzigten ihre Hoffnung gesetzt haben (σωθήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυ-

1 S. Beilage S. 418*.

2 S. Beilage, S. 419*.

3 „Der sich auf seinen (strengen) Lebenswandel und sein Alter etwas zugut tut", schreibt Rhodon bissig.

4 Es ist möglich, daß Hippolyt eben dieses Gespräch meint; denn in beiden hat sich A. kurz und klar zur Einprinzipienlehre bekannt.

5 Apelles also hat die Initiative ergriffen.

ρωμένον ἠλπικότας) ‚wenn sie nur in guten Werken erfunden würden. Als das undeutlichste Objekt aber von allem wurde von ihm, wie wir schon bemerkt haben [1], immer wieder die Lehre von Gott bezeichnet (τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδογματίζετο αὐτῷ πρᾶγμα, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ θεοῦ) denn er sagte wiederholt ‚ein Prinzip', wie auch unsere Lehre lautet."

Eusebius fährt in seinem Exzerpt also fort: Nachdem Rhodon hierauf des Apelles ganze Lehrmeinung dargelegt, fügt er folgendes hinzu:

„Als ich aber zu ihm sagte: ‚Woher hast du den hier nötigen Beweis oder wie kannst du ein Prinzip behaupten? Sag es uns!', entgegnete er, daß die Weissagungen sich selbst widerlegen, weil sie schlechterdings nichts Wahres gesagt haben; denn sie sind unstimmig und lügenhaft und mit sich selbst im Streit; wie aber ein Prinzip sei — so erklärte er wiederholt — das wisse er nicht, sondern werde dazu nur getrieben (τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστιν μία ἀρχή, μὴ γινώσκειν ἔλεγεν, οὕτως δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον). Als ich ihn darauf beschwor, die Wahrheit zu sagen [2], schwur er, daß er mit voller Aufrichtigkeit rede, er wisse nicht, wie ein ungezeugter Gott sei (μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἷς ἐστιν ἀγέννητος θεός), aber er glaube es. Ich aber gab ihm unter Lachen meine Verachtung kund, daß er ein Lehrer zu sein behaupte, aber das von ihm Gelehrte nicht zu beweisen wisse."

Rhodon stellt das Ergebnis so dar, als seien die letzten Aussagen des Häretikers, nämlich die, auf welche sich leider die Wiedergabe Eusebs beschränkt hat, ein Ausfluß der Verzweiflung des in die Enge getriebenen alten Mannes, und Euseb verstand sie ebenso und hat die Worte angeführt, um Apelles bloßzustellen. Aber es ist nicht der einzige Fall in seiner „Kirchengeschichte", in welchem er durch seine Zitate eine ganz andere Wirkung bei der Nachwelt erzielt hat, als er beabsichtigte. Die Worte sind auch keineswegs aus einer augenblicklichen Verlegenheit entsprungen — dazu sind sie viel zu gewichtig —, sondern

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1 Das muß in einem früheren Abschnitt geschehen sein, den Eusebius nicht exzerpiert hat.

2 Rhodon argwöhnte wohl, Apelles habe eine Geheimlehre, die er nicht enthüllen wolle (wie die Valentinianer und andere Gnostiker).

stellen die wohlerwogene Überzeugung des Apelles, ja ihren Kern und Stern dar. Nur das ist nicht sofort deutlich, ob sie als Resignation zu verstehen sind oder ob erst Rhodon den resignierten Ton hineingebracht hat, und auch die Frage bleibt offen, ob Apelles sich als Lehrer immer so ausgesprochen hat oder erst als Greis.

In dem Satze: „Das Heil ist denen gewiß, die auf den Gekreuzigten ihre Hoffnung gesetzt haben, wenn sie nur in guten Werken erfunden werden", hat sich A. zum paulinischen Christentum, wie sein ehemaliger Meister Marcion, unzweideutig bekannt — auch in der Formulierung, wie das absolute „*ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος*" beweist[1], das sonst m. W. in der ganzen nachapostolischen Literatur nicht vorkommt und dem Gedanken eine besondere Wucht verleiht. Wie in einer Devise ist das Wesen des Christentums hier zusammengefaßt[2].

Aber erst aus dem folgenden Gedanken erkennt man, welche über Paulus hinausgehende Tragweite dieses Bekenntnis bei Apelles hat. Nach Paulus ist *ἠλπικέναι εἰς Χριστόν* und *πιστεύειν εἰς ἕνα θεόν* gleich wesentlich, gleich notwendig und unzertrennbar; er hätte sich gar nicht vorstellen können, daß jemand diese Verbindung zerreißen könne; anders Apelles. Schlechthin notwendig zum Heil ist nach ihm vielmehr nur die Hoffnung auf den Gekreuzigten, d. h. auf die im Kreuzestod sich darstellende Gottestat der Erlösung[3]. Diese Glaubenshoffnung ist zwar bei ihm selbst mit der Annahme nur eines Prinzips, des *ἑνὸς ἀγεννήτου θεοῦ*, verbunden[4]; aber er weiß,

1 Röm. 8, 24 (*τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν*), I Kor. 1, 23; 2, 2; 15, 19 (*ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ*; II Kor. 1, 10 (*εἰς ὃν ἠλπίκαμεν*). Auch das *εὑρίσκεσθαι ἐν* ist paulinisch (Phil. 3, 9), und Paulus hätte auch den Satz: *μόνον ἐὰν ἐν ἔργοις εὑρίσκωνται* schreiben können (s. II Kor. 5, 10 und sogar Gal.); denn es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß Apelles ihn als gleichwertig zu *ἐλπίζειν εἰς τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον* gemeint hat.

2 Vgl. auch den Satz des Apelles bei Hippolyt, Refut. VII, 38: (*Χριστὸς* bei seinem Aufstieg zum Vater) *καταλιπὼν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς σπέρμα εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῖς πιστεύουσι.* Das „*σπέρμα*" erinnert an I Joh. 3, 9. M. hätte sich nicht so ausdrücken können.

3 Auch dies ist M.s Meinung; denn er rückt den guten Gott und Christus bis zur Identität zusammen.

4 Die von A. selbst gebotene Paraphrasierung des Begriffs *μία ἀρχή* = *εἷς ἀγένητος* oder *ἀγέννητος θεός* ist zu beachten (in den alt-

daß andere Christen darüber anders denken und das stört ihn nicht, vielmehr meint er, daß wo jene Hoffnung auf den Gekreuzigten (samt dem heiligen Leben) sich findet, man jeden in bezug auf das Gottesproblem bei dem Glauben lassen solle, den er einmal angenommen hat [1]. Selbst die Frage, wie viele ewige Prinzipien es gibt, entscheidet nach A. nicht über den Christenstand; denn der Gekreuzigte allein ist das A und das O [2]. Die ganze „theoretische" Theologie wird hier aus der christlichen Religion einfach ausgewiesen und jedes „*ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον*" kategorisch verboten. Die christliche Religion ist sichere Hoffnung und hat es einzig mit dem Heil und dem gekreuzigten Erlöser zu tun. So verkündete dieser Christ im Zeitalter des Platonismus und des alles beherrschenden religiösen Intellektualismus!

Wie rechtfertigt A. aber seine Haltung in bezug auf die theoretische Theologie? Durch zwei in sich verbundene Urteile, ein negatives und ein positives. Das erstere lautet: *Τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ περὶ θεοῦ* ist von allen Problemen das dunkelste [3], ja es gibt überhaupt keine Gnosis und kein Wissen über Gott (*οὐ γινώσκω, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι*). Damit wird jede Erkenntnis Gottes aus der Welt abgelehnt, aber dazu noch ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, daß eine solche Erkenntnis auch nicht aus dem AT zu holen sei [4], denn in diesem Buche finde man nichts

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kirchlichen Bekenntnissen ist *ἀγένητος* selten [s. Ulfilas' und Patricius' Bekenntnis], ebenso *ἀγέννητος*. Unter den Apologeten ist der philosophische Athenagoras der einzige, der *ἀγένητος* — recht häufig — braucht; Justin [und nur er] braucht ebenso häufig *ἀγέννητος*).

1 Man hat zu beachten, daß Apelles der Klarheit wegen statt des Worts *πιστεύειν* für den Heilsglauben *ἐλπίζειν* braucht, *πιστεύειν* aber einen weiteren Sinn gibt, nach welchem es eine Überzeugung im allgemeinen ausdrückt. — Zur Sache vgl. das Goethesche Wort: „Frage nicht, durch welche Pforte du in Gottes Haus gekommen, sondern bleib am stillen Orte, wo du einmal Platz genommen".

2 Das ist wohl verständlich, wenn Apelles' Theologie und Christologie lautete wie die seines jüngeren Zeitgenossen, des römischen Bischof Zephyrin: *Ἐγὼ οἶδα ἕνα θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα.*

3 So beginnt auch bei Plato die Gotteslehre; aber dann gehen A. und er auseinander.

4 Auch in diesen beiden Überzeugungen geht A. mit Marcion, aber nicht mehr bei Begründung der zweiten.

Wirkliches und Wahres; was es enthält, sei unsinnig, lügenhaft und in sich voll Widersprüche. Es bleibt in bezug auf Gott das πῶς ἐστιν[1] dem Wissen verschlossen und deshalb ist auch jeder Beweis hier unmöglich. Das zweite Urteil aber ist aus der Selbstbeobachtung geschöpft: „Ich für meine Person habe zwar den Glauben an das eine Prinzip (den einen ungezeugten Gott)[2], aber ich vermag ihn nicht durch Beweis zu übertragen; denn er ist kein rationales oder auf Autoritäten sich gründendes Wissen, sondern Sache einer innern Bestimmtheit (οὕτως κινοῦμαι), über die ich nicht weiter Rechenschaft geben kann".

A. ist also kein Skeptiker[3]; er ist vielmehr Gottes gewiß und zwar als des einzigen Prinzips; aber diese Gewißheit ist für ihn kein Heilsglaube, sie ruht auch nicht auf einer Einsicht, sondern ausschließlich auf einem „κινεῖσθαι".

Dieses „οὕτως κινοῦμαι" ist unstreitig neben dem runden Paulinischen Bekenntnis zum Gekreuzigten das Wertvollste in der ganzen Ausführung. Κινεῖσθαι, ein stoischer Begriff, ist eine seelische Erregung im Sinne des innern Bestimmtwerdens[4]. Verdient A. nicht eine ausgezeichnete Stelle in der Geschichte der Religionspsychologie mit der Erklärung, daß die Gottesfrage (im Sinne der Existenz und der Einheit) nicht Sache des Wissens (weder des logischen noch des historischen), sondern ausschließlich Sache eines seelischen Bestimmtseins sei? Wer hat denn vor ihm das so sicher ausgesprochen, ja wer hat es überhaupt ausgesprochen? Wer hat vor ihm jedes Wissen über Gott aufgehoben und vom Standpunkt der theoretischen Erkenntnis die Gottesfrage für πάντων ἀσαφέστατον erklärt, ohne in Materialismus oder Skeptizismus zu enden, sondern um für seine Person zu erklären, daß auf diesem Gebiet πιστεύειν = κινεῖσθαι sei und daß dieses κινεῖσθαι ihm die Antwort auf die Frage τὸ πῶς ἐστιν μία ἀρχή d. h. πῶς εἷς ἐστιν ἀγέννητος θεός ersetze. Ist

1 D. h. wie er angesichts des Tatbestandes der Welt und der Menschheit überhaupt und wie er ein einziger sein kann.

2 D. h. ich bin überzeugt, daß er ist und daß er einer ist.

3 Schon seine stets dezidierte Ausdrucksweise, mag er vom AT oder von Gott oder vom Heil oder von Christus oder von Marcion sprechen, beweist das.

4 S. Norden, Agnostos Theos, S. 19 ff.

das nicht die Unterscheidung der „theoretischen" und „praktischen" Vernunft Kants, so jedoch, daß an Stelle des zweideutigen Begriffs der praktischen Vernunft der eindeutige Begriff einer seelischen Tatsache tritt, die sich als solche nicht begründen, aber auch nicht übertragen läßt. A. hat wie ein anderer Schüler M.s, Lukanus (s. o. S. 172), Philosophie studiert — das zeigt seine Terminologie — und hat das AT gründlich durchgearbeitet; aber beide hat er als Quelle der Gotteserkenntnis verworfen. Diese hat er überhaupt verworfen, aber dafür das subjektive Gottesbewußtsein eingesetzt — und zwar das monotheistische, und es mit den Mitteln der Stoa, aber über sie hinausgehend als ein innerliches Getrieben- und Bestimmtwerden beschrieben. Sein „κινοῦμαι" entspricht dem „ad te" Augustins, und es ist psychologisch genauer beobachtet als das „absolute Abhängigkeitsgefühl" Schleiermachers, dem es in der starken Betonung der μία ἀρχή verwandt ist. Für A. ist und bleibt Gott ἄγνωστος (im schlichten Sinn des Worts); aber das ist nicht sein letztes Wort; denn durch eine innere Bestimmtheit ist ihm Gott als Seiender und als einer subjektiv aufgenötigt und er glaubt ihn daher.

Allein nun darf man nicht übersehen, daß die Verwandtschaft mit Kant und Schleiermacher doch nur eine bedingte ist. Warum? Weil für A. die Gottesfrage in der Religion — auch in der Beantwortung durch das κινεῖσθαι — nicht die entscheidende Rolle spielt. Er will vielmehr hier jedwede Erfahrung gelten und sich auch solche Christen gefallen lassen, die einen Zwei- und Dreiprinzipienglauben haben, also von dem eindeutigen κινεῖσθαι nichts verspüren. Er will das, ja er fordert, daß jeder bei seinem subjektiven metaphysischen Glauben bleibe, weil für die Erlösung und das Heil nur die Hoffnung auf den Gekreuzigten in Betracht kommt. Diese Hoffnung hat A. also nicht nur vom Wissen, sondern auch vom monotheistischen Glauben völlig losgerissen.

Aber worauf beruht sie dann selbst, wenn sie doch für jedermann notwendig ist und weder demonstriert werden kann, noch den metaphysischen monotheistischen Glauben (das κινεῖσθαι) zu ihrer Grundlage hat? Die Antwort kann nur lauten: entweder kommt hier ein zweites κινεῖσθαι in Betracht, das im

Unterschied von jenem ersten nicht nur subjektiv ist — denn jedermann kann und soll auf den Gekreuzigten hoffen — oder die Tatsache des Gekreuzigten spricht einfach für sich selber und das Evangelium schafft sich die Hoffenden. Nur letzteres kann A. gemeint haben; denn ein κινεῖσθαι ist und bleibt subjektiv. Also ordnen sich die Gedanken des A. so: es gibt (1) ein seligmachendes ἐλπίζειν an den Gekreuzigten, das aus der Tatsache selbst, bzw. der Predigt entsteht; wer es gewonnen hat, ist des Heils gewiß, weil nur aus dem Erfassen des Gekreuzigten die Erkenntnis des barmherzigen (guten) Gottes entspringt; das hat A. hier zwar nicht ausdrücklich gesagt; aber es folgt aus dem Zusammenhang und steht nach seiner Marcionitischen Überlieferung fest [1]. Das κινεῖσθαι hat keine Beziehung auf Gott als den Barmherzigen (den Erlöser) [2]. Es gibt (2) ein innerliches κινεῖσθαι, welches diesen und jenen zum metaphysischen Glauben an einen einheitlichen Weltgrund führt, also an einen Gott; aber da es nicht jedermann erlebt, kann die Anerkennung der μία ἀρχή nicht zum Heile notwendig sein [3]; auch bleibt die Frage: πῶς ἐστιν εἷς θεός, wissenschaftlich stets unbeantwortet. Es gibt (3) ein rationales, der Demonstration fähiges Wissen (γινώσκειν. ἐπίστασθαι), aber

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1 Dazu: wo er von der Prinzipienfrage und der μία ἀρχή spricht, setzt er für diese nicht etwa τὸν ἕνα ἀγαθὸν θεόν, sondern τὸν ἕνα ἀγέννητον θεόν ein.

2 Im ἐσταυρωμένος steckt vielmehr der Erlösergott.

3 Apelles identifiziert für seine Person den im Gekreuzigten erschienenen Erlösergott mit der μία ἀρχή, aber er fordert diese Identifizierung von anderen nicht. — Sehr beachtenswert ist hier die Übereinstimmung und die Verschiedenheit zwischen Apelles und Augustin (Confessiones, Prolog; s. meine Abhandlung in den „Reden und Aufsätzen" Bd 5 S. 69 ff.). Dem κινεῖσθαι entsprechen bei Augustin das „ad te" und das „inquietum", dem ἠλπικέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον aber die „praedicatio", durch welche erst das „ad te" seinen für das Subjekt erkennbaren und beseligenden Inhalt empfängt. Der Unterschied ist hier jedoch folgender: nach Augustin ist die „praedicatio" für sich allein wurzellos; Apelles dagegen stellt alles auf die „praedicatio", bemerkt aber bei sich — er sieht das nicht für etwas Generelles, sondern für etwas Subjektives an —, daß ihr ein κινεῖσθαι entgegenkommt.

es bezieht sich ausschließlich auf die Welt; die Gottesfrage bleibt ihm als metaphysische und als beseligende verschlossen.

Das ἠλπικέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον (und damit an ein gutes, erlösendes Prinzip) und das πιστεύειν εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον θεόν, das auf einem κινεῖσθαι beruht, hat A. auseinander gerissen und dazu noch beides vom Erkennen und Wissen getrennt! Er hat also die christliche Religion ausschließlich auf den Eindruck ihres geschichtlichen Inhalts gestellt. Hat er die ungeheure Resignation, die darin liegt, selbst empfunden? Man darf das wohl annehmen; denn neben dem κινεῖσθαι steht ein bedeutsames „μόνον", welches erst recht auch zu dem Heilsglauben gehört. Dazu kommt, daß wir wissen (s. o.), daß er früher die Zweiprinzipienlehre seines Lehrers für Irrtum und Lüge erklärt hat, also unmöglich schon damals den Satz vertreten haben kann, jeder könne und solle bei dem πιστεύειν in bezug auf die ἀρχαί bleiben, das er habe. Also ist es der greise Apelles, der das, was er selbst früher als eine Sache des Wissens beurteilt hat, nunmehr für eine subjektive, außerhalb der Erkenntnis liegende Bestimmtheit erklärt, von der der Heilsglaube ganz unabhängig ist. Solch eine Wandlung kann sich nicht ohne Resignation vollzogen haben[1].

Durch die scharfe Unterscheidung der drei Größen (rationale Welterkenntnis, die es zu keinem Wissen von Gott bringen kann – psychologisch-subjektiv bedingter Glaube an Gott als den einen Weltgrund — auf Geschichte sich gründender christlicher Hoffnungsglaube an Gott, den Erlöser) verdient Apelles einen hohen Platz in der Religionsgeschichte. Er ist vor Augustin der einzige christliche Theologe, mit dem wir uns heute noch ohne mühsame Akkomodation zu verständigen vermögen[2].

1 Für seine Person ist A. niemals an seinem alten Bekenntnis: εἷς ἀγέννητος ἀγαθὸς θεός irre geworden; aber er differenzierte nunmehr die Beziehung auf diesen Gott: die erlösende Liebe, so lehrte er nun, kann aus dem Evangelium jedermann erfahren, aber nicht jedermann braucht sich von der Einheitlichkeit des Weltgrundes zu überzeugen, da diese Überzeugung zur Seligkeit nicht notwendig ist und erfahrungsgemäß auch gute Christen nicht zu ihr bewogen werden können. Hat er damit nicht seinem Lehrer Marcion, den er einst so scharf angegriffen, am Schlusse seines Lebens die versöhnende Hand gereicht?

2 Sein Gegner Rhodon hat sich selbst hinreichend charakterisiert in den Worten: „Ich aber gab ihm unter Lachen meine Verachtung kund,

Die Lehre des Apelles in ihren Abweichungen von Marcion ist aus den Resten seiner Schriften noch erkennbar und verständlich; sie setzt überall bei offenbaren logischen Schwächen der Lehren M.s ein; die sachliche Superiorität ist dabei keineswegs immer auf Seiten des Apelles.

(1) M. nahm zwei Prinzipien an, aber da er sie nicht gleichsetzen, vielmehr den guten Gott gegenüber dem gerechten als den oberen fassen und dazu lehren mußte, daß es am Ende der Dinge auch mit dem gerechten Gott aus sein werde, so erschien die Statuierung zweier Prinzipien logisch nicht haltbar; Apelles statuierte daher, damit der allgemeinen christlichen Lehre entgegenkommend, nur ein göttliches Prinzip; dieses habe außer den Engeln noch eine besondere „virtus" geschaffen; Apelles nannte sie „den berühmten Engel", ja auch im weiteren Sinn ἀρχή; denn sie ist der Weltschöpfer.

(2) M. hat die Schöpfung (incl. des Menschen) in ihrer Totalität und im einzelnen als ein wertloses und schlimmes, ihrem Schöpfer gleichartiges Produkt beurteilt, im „Fleische" jedoch noch etwas besonders Abscheuliches erblickt, was aus dem Stoff, dessen sich der Schöpfer bedienen mußte, entstanden sei; diese Beurteilung der Welt vermochte Apelles nicht zu billigen (in bezug auf das Fleisch dachte er wie M.), weil sie dem offenbaren Tatbestande nicht gerecht werde. Hier setzte er nun mit der Erkenntnis ein, die er von den alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophen gelernt hatte: in der Welt steckt doch auch etwas relativ Erhabenes und Gutes, so schlimm sie ist; dieses Gute erklärt sich am besten, wenn man die Welt als das nicht gelungene Abbild einer höheren besseren Welt auffaßt, in der sich deshalb auch ein tragischer Zug der Reue finde[1]; also muß ihr Schöpfer besten Willen mit Schwäche verbunden haben. Dazu tritt noch eine Beobachtung, die ganz und gar die platonische Herkunft verrät, aber sich

daß er ein Lehrer zu sein behauptete, aber das von ihm Gelehrte nicht zu beweisen wisse". Man weiß nun von ihm selbst, daß er zu den Dutzendphilosophen des Zeitalters gehört hat.

1 S. den Bericht des Pseudotertull.: „Mundum institutum ad imitationem mundi superioris, cui mundo (ab angelo creatore) permiscuisse paenitentiam"; Tert., de carne 8: „Angelum quendam inclytum nominant qui mundum hunc instituerit et instituto eo paenitentiam admiserit".

zugleich von M.s Auffassung völlig entfernt: es gibt in dieser unvollkommenen Welt etwas, was trotz seiner traurigen Zuständlichkeit doch einen himmlischen Ursprung haben muß, die menschlichen Seelen; sie können nur von der μία ἀρχή selbst stammen. Wie konnte M. ihre Hoheit verkennen; aber wie sind sie in diese Welt gekommen?

(3) M. hat die Schöpfung und das AT qualitativ einfach identifiziert; beide sind ihm in ihrer Art gleich und gleich schlimm; aber er hat es völlig übersehen, das AT auf seine Glaubwürdigkeit zu prüfen, und sich mit einer rein religiösen Kritik begnügt. Hier setzte A. ein; er untersuchte das Buch eingehend und fand, daß es ein Fabel- und Lügenbuch sei; sind aber Moses und die Propheten nichts anderes als eine große Lügenlegende, so sind sie weit schlimmer als die Schöpfung; also muß hinter ihnen eine andere Macht stehen als der Weltschöpfer; ein zweiter „Engel" muß hier im Spiele sein, ein Abgefallener, und es kann nur jener feurige Lügengeist sein, der zu Moses im Busch geredet hat. Er, der praeses mali, ist der Gott Israels und auch der Gott der Christen, die dem Gott Israels folgen; er war es auch, der die Seelen durch gemeine Verführung („terrenis escis") aus den oberen Regionen des guten Gottes verlockt hat, um sie hier unten mit dem sündigen Fleisch zu bekleiden.

(4) M. hat den Leib Christi nicht geboren sein lassen und für einen bloßen Scheinleib erklärt. Ersteres nahm auch A. an; aber er sah ein, daß der Doketismus M.s schwer zu verteidigen sei, weil er dem Erlöser eine Täuschung zumutet und weil er die Wirklichkeit des Werkes Christi in Frage stellt, auf die alles ankommt; daher legte Apelles Christo einen wirklichen, aber aus den reinen Elementen gebildeten Leib bei, mit dem er sich bei seiner Herabkunft, als er die Sternenwelt passierte, bekleidet hat.

Dies sind die wichtigsten Abweichungen von M.s Lehre, die eine neue Lehre begründen. Durch die erste und zweite ist Gott als der fremde Gott beseitigt: das ist der Hauptpunkt der Differenz zwischen Marcion und Apelles.

Hiernach lautete der Katechismus des Apelles also:

(a) Die christliche Bibel, auf der sich allein die Lehre zu gründen hat, ist von M. richtig bestimmt worden; sie besteht

also aus dem (verkürzten und verfälschten) Evangelium des Lukas und den (verkürzten und verfälschten) Paulusbriefen; das AT ist abzulehnen [1]. Auch die „Offenbarungen" der Prophetin Philumene sind zu lesen (s. o. S. 177 f.).

(b) Es gibt einen guten Gott (*εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς θεὸς καὶ μία ἀρχὴ καὶ μία δύναμις ἀκατονόμαστος*) [2]; dieser Gott hat Engelmächte und eine obere Welt, sowie auch die Menschenseelen geschaffen, die ursprünglich bei ihm in den oberen Regionen waren [3], aber die Welt hat er nicht geschaffen und er kümmerte sich auch nicht um sie [4]. Bei ihm ist von Ewigkeit sein Christus, der Sohn [5].

(c) Der höchste der geschaffenen Engel („inclytus", „gloriosus") — so hoch, daß er als „virtus", *δευτέρα ἀρχή*, *ἄλλος θεός*, *δεύτερος θεός* [6] und *κύριος* zu bezeichen ist, somit also dem Logos ganz nahe kommt; doch scheint A. diesen Namen vermieden zu haben — gehorcht den Winken, Geboten und Befehlen des obersten Gottes in allen Stücken. Dieser hat ihm mit

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1 Daß Apelles ein eigenes Evangelium gehabt hat, ist dem Hieronymus nicht zu glauben (s. Beilage S. 418*); Pseudotertullian bezeugt den Marcionitischen Kanon für A. Das verirrte Schaf und Luk. 8, 20 sind von ihm zitiert worden (Tert., De carne 7, der in demselben Kapitel voraussetzt, daß A. das Joh.-Ev. verwirft), und die Geburtsgeschichte fehlte. Allerdings zitiert A. (bei Epiphanius, Haer. 44, 2) das Wort: „Werdet gute Geldwechsler", als im Evangelium stehend: aber das entscheidet nicht. Übrigens spricht nichts dagegen, daß A. am Evangelium M.s ebenso geändert hat, wie andere Schüler. Hippol. (Ref. VII, 38) drückt sich zu allgemein aus, wenn er von A. sagt, er habe aus den Evangelien und dem Apostolos herausgenommen, was ihm gefiel.

2 Epiph., haer. 44, 1, (auch *ὁ ἅγιος ἄνωθεν θεὸς καὶ ἀγαθός*) und Origenes, Comm. in Tit. („Ingenitus et bonus deus").

3 Tert., de anima 23. 36; de carne 8. Dort schon waren die Seelen männlich und weiblich (so Philumene in den Phaneroseis). Es verdient besondere Beachtung, daß sich die Prophetin mit dem sexuellen Problem beschäftigt und die Differenzierung nicht in dem Leiblichen (das paßte sich also nur an), sondern in der seelischen Anlage gefunden hat. Sie muß also auf ihr Geschlecht etwas gehalten haben.

4 Epiph., l. c. und sonst.

5 Gewiß, wie M. lehrte, in unzertrennlicher Einheit als der erscheinende „spiritus".

6 Fälschlich behauptet Hipp., Ref. X, 20, der Weltschöpfer werde von A. nicht Gott genannt.

der Weltschöpfung betraut, die er nach dem Bilde der oberen Welt zu Ehren („gloria") des Einen vollbringen sollte, und Christus unterstützte ihn dabei mit seinem Geiste und Willen und mit seiner Kraft. Aber da dieser Engel nicht „gut" sein konnte, weil dies dem obersten Gott allein vorbehalten ist, wurde die Welt (Himmel, Erde und alles, was in dem Kosmos ist, auch die sichtbaren Gestirne) unvollkommen und ihr Schöpfer mischte ihr die „Reue" darüber bei, ja in dieser Reue hat er sich schamvoll von dem guten Gott vollends entfernt, sodaß er mit dem verirrten Schaf im Evangelium zu vergleichen ist [1].

(d) Mit der Welt, bzw. mit dem Menschen, wurde es aber noch schlimmer; denn ein zweiter Engel fiel gänzlich vom obersten Gott ab, wurde zum „praeses mali" und lockte die Seelen aus der oberen Welt durch irdische Speisen zu sich, um sie mit dem Sündenfleisch zu bekleiden; aber damit begnügte er sich nicht: als feuriger (also verzehrender) Engel sprach er im Busch zu Moses und entführte das jüdische Volk dem Weltschöpfer, dazu diejenigen Christen, die, wie die Juden, ihn als ihren Gott verehren [2].

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1 Die wichtigsten Zeugnisse hier stehen bei Tert., de praescr. 34; de carne 8; Orig., Comm. in Tit.; Pseudotert. und Filaster. Epiphanius vergröbert und fälscht (l. c.), wenn er sagt, der Weltschöpfer habe *κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φαύλην διάνοιαν* die Welt geschaffen. Bei Hippol., Refut. VII, 38 heißt er *ὁ δίκαιος*.

2 S. Tert., de praescr. 7. 33; de carne 8; de anima 23; de resurr. 5 („Corpusculum istud, quod malum appellare non horrent"); Hipp., l. c. — Die komplizierte Kosmologie ist natürlich nur der Exponent der Weltbeurteilung des Apelles: er sah im Kosmos einen göttlichen Plan und die ursprüngliche Einwirkung göttlicher Kräfte; er sah sogar in den Seelen Größen, die eigentlich zur oberen Welt gehören, aber er sah daneben nicht nur eine sehr unvollkommene Durchführung des Planes, sondern auch Teuflisches und Böses, das Wirken eines satanischen Geistes, das sich vor allem in dem Zustand der Menschen zeigt, die neben ihrem himmlischen Teil das abscheuliche Fleisch an sich haben und die, sofern sie Juden sind, sich unter das Joch des lügenhaften „Gottes" gebeugt haben. Sehr fein ist es, daß Apelles der ganzen Welt, soweit sie nicht durch den praeses mali verkommen ist, den Stempel der „Reue" aufgeprägt fand. Was Valentin als „Pathos" aufgefaßt hat, faßte Apelles tiefer als schmerzliches Bewußtsein der Unvollkommenheit mit dem Wunsche, besser zu werden. — Wenn Hippol. in der Refut. X, 20 vom feurigen Engel noch einen anderen bösen Engel unterscheidet und Christus als fünften rechnet,

(e) Von ebendiesem feurigen Engel, dem Widersacher- und Lügengeist, stammt das Lügenbuch, das AT, welches voll Fabeln, Absurditäten, Widersprüchen und logischen und tatsächlichen Unmöglichkeiten ist. Das Gesetz und die Propheten haben das Juden- und gemeine Christenvolk vollends verführt und in ihre Bande geschlagen. In den „Syllogismen" kann jeder lesen, wie es um dieses Buch steht. Doch ist einiges im AT von Christus Inspirierte enthalten [1].

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so ist das irrig. Nicht völlig ins klare kommt man in bezug auf den Weltschöpfer des Apelles und sein Verhältnis zum feurigen Engel. Epiphanius sagt von ihm *ἀπέβη οὐκ ἀγαθός*, und da ihn A. mit dem verirrten Schaf verglichen hat, so liegt es nahe, daß eine Verschlechterung bei ihm stattgefunden hat; aber das ist doch nicht wahrscheinlich; denn er bittet den obersten Gott, Christus zu senden, um die Menschheit zu erlösen. Wer regiert diese vor dem Erscheinen Christi? Hat der Weltschöpfer alle Macht gegenüber dem feurigen Engel verloren? Regiert der Weltschöpfer etwa die Heiden? Dann wären diese die besseren gegenüber den Juden. Das ist wohl denkbar.

1 Alle Zeugen bestätigen die Verwerfung des AT (*μύρια κατὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως νόμου ἠσέβησε*), und mehrere, von ihnen lehren, daß A. der Verwerfung aus religiösen Gründen (Marcion) die Ablehnung aus rationalen hinzufügte. Die zahlreichen Fragmente bei Orig. geben ein gutes Bild von Apelles' Keckheit, Scharfsinn und logischer Nüchternheit (s. Beilage S. 412* ff). Interessant ist, daß er u. a. auch die Geschichte vom Sündenfall deshalb verworfen hat, weil sie gegen die paulinischen Theologie verstößt: „Si hominem non perfectum fecit deus, unusquisque autem per industriam propriam perfectionem sibi virtutis adsciscit, nonne videtur plus sibi homo acquirere, quam ei deus contulit?" — Man ist nach den allgemeinen Äußerungen der Gegner über Apelles' Kritik am AT nicht darauf gefaßt, daß doch einiges in dem Buch vom Weltschöpfer gesagt, ja sogar von Christus inspiriert ist; aber die Sache leidet keinen Zweifel; denn Origenes berichtet es beiläufig (Comm. in Tit: „Non omnibus modis dei esse legem vel prophetas denegavit") und Epiphanius (Hippolyt) ausdrücklich und mit den Worten des Apelles selbst (haer. 44, 2: „Christus hat uns gezeigt, was und in welcher Schrift von ihm her gesagt ist und was vom Demiurgen; denn so sprach er im Evangelium: ‚Werdet erprobte Geldwechsler'; so brauche ich denn nun aus jeglicher Schrift das Nützliche, es sammelnd"). — Leider ist uns keine einzige ATliche Stelle namhaft gemacht, die A. auf den Weltschöpfer oder Christus zurückgeführt hat. Seine Unterscheidung im AT ist alexandrinisch-gnostisch (s. auch die ep. Ptolem. ad Floram) und entspricht seiner Unterscheidung in dem Bestande der Welt. Aber die Welt ist etwas Mittleres mit guten und schlechten

(f) Der gute Gott erbarmte sich der Menschheit und sandte in dieser Endzeit auf Bitten des Weltschöpfers seinen Sohn zur Erlösung der Menschheit [1]; vor ihm ist kein Bote dieses Gottes aufgetreten [2]. Mit dem Sohne kam auch der h. Geist.

(g) Der Sohn, Christus, bildete sich bei seiner Herabkunft aus den vier Elementen, wie sie sich auch in der zum Kosmos gehörigen Sternenwelt finden, einen Leib und erschien also auf Erden mit einem wirklichen Leibe. In diesem hat er alles, was er getan und gelitten, wirklich getan. Das wichtigste Stück der Glaubenslehre lautet [3]: „Beim Herabsteigen aus dem überhimmlischen Gebiet kam er auf die Erde und komponierte sich aus den vier Elementen einen Leib; denn von dem Trocknen nahm er das Trockne und von dem Warmen das Warme usw. . . . Dann gab er sich dem Leiden in ebendiesem Leibe preis und wurde wahrhaftig gekreuzigt und wahrhaftig begraben und auferstand wahrhaftig und zeigte sein Fleisch seinen Jüngern und dann löste er sein Menschsein wieder auf und teilte den einzelnen Elementen das ihrige wieder zu, hob damit sein *σῶμα ἔνσαρκον* wieder auf und flog in den Himmel zurück, woher er gekommen war [4].

Zusätzen; das AT aber ist etwas Schlechtes mit wenigen mittleren und guten Zusätzen. — Die Mühe, die sich A. in den Syllogismen gegeben hat, das AT als Fabelbuch zu zerstampfen, zeigt die Energie seiner reformatorischen Absicht, die Christenheit von diesem Buch zu befreien. — Zweifelhaft bleibt, ob A. die Geschichte vom Sündenfall ebenso für eine Fabel gehalten hat wie die von Noas Arche. Hat er es nicht getan — und bei dem Eifer, mit dem er die Geschichte zerpflückt, ist mir das wahrscheinlich —, so muß man bei den Alternativen, die er bei seiner Kritik stellt, annehmen, A. habe nicht sowohl die Schlechtigkeit als die Schwäche des Weltschöpfers ans Licht stellen wollen.

1 Genauer (Epiph. 44, 2): *ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένων*; vgl. Orig., Comm. in Tit.

2 S. A. bei Orig., c. Cels. V. 24: *Μόνος οὗτος ἐπιδεδήμηκε τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν* Epiph. 44, 2.

3 Bei Epiphan., l. c. (Hippolyt).

4 Die Berichte über den Leib Christi sind darin einstimmig, daß er nicht aus dem Gebiet des oberen Gottes stammt, sondern zu dieser Welt gehört; aber der eine Bericht läßt Christus den Leib bei seiner Herabkunft aus den vier Elementen schaffen, die er in der irdischen Sternenwelt findet und auch dort wieder ablegen (bei der Himmelfahrt); nach dem

In dem wirklich erlittenen Kreuzestod besteht sein Erlösungswerk [1].

(h) Die Erlösung bezieht sich nur auf die Seelen [2]; denn wie die Annahme des Sündenfleisches Christus befleckt hätte, so muß auch der vollendete Gläubige es abstreifen.

(i) Die Ehe ist gänzlich zu verwerfen [3].

Die Lehre des Apelles — von der Stellung, die er zuletzt eingenommen hat, sehe ich ab — ist eine interessante Verbindung des Marcionitismus mit dem Gnostizismus auf Kosten des ersteren [4];

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andern bildet sich Christus den Leib erst auf der Erde selbst und legt ihn auch dort vor der Himmelfahrt wieder ab. Die Differenz ist unerheblich. — Deutlich ist, daß in dieser Glaubensregel eine Nachbildung des altrömischen Symbols steckt (vgl. besonders das *ταφέντα* und das *ὅθεν καὶ ἧκεν* für *ὅθεν καὶ ἔρχεται*), so daß Apelles als ein Zeuge desselben in Anspruch genommen werden darf (vgl. Kattenbusch, Das Apostolische Symbol II S. 87. 639 f). Man erinnere sich hier auch der *ἁγία ἐκκλησία* bei Marcion (oben S. 181 f.). — Die Wiederkunft Christi hat Apelles abgelehnt (wie andere Gnostiker auch). Das folgt aus dem „*ὅθεν καὶ ἧκεν*" und aus der Lehre, Christus habe sein Fleisch bei der Himmelfahrt abgelegt. Er weicht also auch an diesem Punkt von seinem Meister ab. — Da heute wieder Neigung bei den Forschern besteht, das altrömische Symbol bis um d. J. 200 herunter zu drücken, so ist demgegenüber geltend zu machen, daß die Glaubensformel des Apelles es höchst wahrscheinlich voraussetzt.

1 Vgl. zum Glaubensbekenntnis bei Epiph. die Stelle de carne 7: „Confitentur vere corpus habuisse Christum". Nach Abstreifung des Leibes ist Christus wieder nur „spiritus" (Pseudotert.).

2 Aber auch der Weltschöpfer muß von Christus nach Apelles errettet worden sein oder werden; sonst hätte er ihn nicht mit dem verirrten Schaf vergleichen können.

3 De praescr. 33. Hieraus ist zu folgern, daß A. in der Askese ebenso streng war wie Marcion; aber war er es auch noch am Ende seines Lebens, als er erklärte, daß die auf den Gekreuzigten Hoffenden gerettet werden, wenn sie nur in guten Werken erfunden werden? Ich glaube, daß die Frage zu bejahen ist; denn seinen Widerwillen gegen das Fleisch wird A. schwerlich verloren haben.

4 Nahezu eigentümlich innerhalb des Gnostizismus ist dem Apelles die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Weltschöpfer und dem Gott des Gesetzes (Judengott). Indem er den letzteren moralisch tief unter den Weltschöpfer (also auch unter die Welt) stellt, bringt er seinen Abscheu vor dem AT. noch stärker zum Ausdruck als sein ehemaliger Lehrer.

sie steht dem Valentinianismus [1] nahe (auch Clemens Alexandrinus), am nächsten aber, so scheint es, Tatian [2] und ist umsichtiger und „verständiger" als die Lehre Marcions, aber in dem Maße als sie das ist, ist sie schwächlicher und matter [3]. Sie ist Korrektur des Marcionitismus durch eine mit der valentinianischen verwandte Spekulation. Unzweifelhaft rückt sie aber auch durch die Einprinzipienlehre der Theologie des vulgären Christentums näher als die Lehre M.s; daß jedoch A. jenem Christentum hat Konzessionen machen wollen, ist eine zwar beliebte, aber unerweisliche Annahme, an die auch kein Kirchenvater jemals gedacht hat. Am Ende seines Lebens hat A. den Gnostizismus wieder abgeschüttelt, als Denker eine ganz eigenartige, weitherzige Position eingenommen und als Christ sich auf der Planke des paulinischen Heilsglaubens gerettet, tolerant gegen alle, die sie mit ihm ergreifen. Festgehalten aber hat er auch in diesem letzten Stadium an der Erkenntnis, daß das AT in seinen Hauptteilen ein Fabelbuch sei. Durch diese Erkenntnis trat er an die Seite der gebildeten Griechen, die das Christentum bekämpften [4],

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1 Mit dem Valentianismus, dessen Äonenlehre ihm freilich völlig fremd geblieben ist, teilt Apelles die differenzierende Beurteilung der Welt und des AT, welche göttliche, „mittlere" und schlechte Bestandteile unterscheidet.

2 Tatian ist rigider Enkratit und Ehefeind wie Apelles und hat den Weltschöpfer ähnlich aufgefaßt wie dieser; denn seine Meinung, der Weltschöpfer habe in dem Worte „Fiat lux" eine Bitte an die oberste Gottheit gerichtet (Clemens, Eclog. 38; Orig., de orat 24), kommt der Ansicht des Apelles sehr nahe, er sei bei der Schöpfung von Christus unterstützt worden und habe auch den obersten Gott gebeten, seinen Sohn zur Erlösung zu senden. Da beide ihre Schule in Rom hatten (die Tatians war die ältere, da Irenäus sie schon kennt), so darf man einen gewissen Zusammenhang hier vermuten, über den sich aber nichts Näheres sagen läßt.

3 Im Grunde ist Apelles trotz seines Monotheismus „mythologischer" als Marcion; denn seine beiden Engel, der weltschaffende und der feurige, sind in Wahrheit Halbgötter (M.s Weltschöpfer ist das seiner Theorie nach nicht), und seine Lehre vom Leibe Christi, den auch er für ungeboren hält, ist vorwitziger als M.s Doketismus, der bei der negativen Beurteilung stehen bleibt.

4 Sein ehemaliger Lehrer M. stand bekanntlich auf seiten der Juden, weil er das AT. für ein wahrhaftiges, wörtlich zu erklärendes Buch hielt.

und diese fatale Bundesgenossenschaft wird der Verbreitung seiner Schule nicht zuträglich gewesen sein.

IX. Marcions geschichtliche Stellung und seine Bedeutung für die Entstehung der katholischen Kirche.

Die geschichtliche Orientierung, die wir an die Spitze dieser Darstellung gestellt haben, ist hier wieder aufzunehmen:

Das Lebenswerk eines Mannes ist durch den Kampf bestimmt, den er geführt hat. M. hat nur einen Gegner bekämpft, die „pseudoapostoli et Judaici evangelizatores". Kein Wort von ihm, das die Heiden angreift, ist uns bekannt; — den „Betrug" und „die wortreiche Eloquenz" ihrer Philosophen schob er einfach beiseite — über Judenchristen im nationalen Sinn des Worts schweigt er ganz, die Gnostiker erwähnt er nicht [1], und die Juden bekämpft er, weil er die judaistischen Christen bekämpft.

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1 Was das Verhältnis des Christentums M.s zum Gnostizismus betrifft, so stelle ich den Satz voran: Wo der Marcionitismus oberflächlich, d. h. nach seinen Lehren und nicht zugleich nach seinen Motiven aufgefaßt und angeeignet wurde, konnte er sehr leicht als „Gnostizismus" erscheinen und wirken, und ist nicht nur seinen Gegnern, sondern vermutlich auch manchen seiner Anhänger so erschienen; denn er hatte mit vielen Gnostikern gemeinsam:

(1) die Verwerfung des AT.'s,

(2) die Auffassung Gottes als des Unbekannten,

(3) die Trennung des Weltschöpfers vom höchsten Gott,

(4) die Auffassung Gottes als des absolut Guten,

(5) die Auffassung vom Weltschöpfer (= Gesetzgeber) als eines irgendwie mittleren Wesens,

(6) die Annahme der Ewigkeit der Materie,

(7) den Doketismus in bezug auf Christus,

(8) die Lehre, daß das Fleisch nicht aufersteht,

(9) die dualistische Askese.

Aber eben die Verwandtschaft in diesen Lehren allein zeigt, daß durch sie weder das Wesen des Gnostizismus noch das des Marcionitismus zum Ausdruck gebracht werden kann; denn

Unter diesen aber, den von den pseudoapostoli und Judaici evangelizatores Bekehrten und Betörten, versteht er die ganze große Christenheit; sie ihres Irrtums zu überführen und durch Reformation zum wahren Christentum zurückzubringen, ist sein einziges Streben gewesen.

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(1) im Gnostizismus ist die Religion durch die Gnosis bestimmt, bei Marcion bestimmt sie die Pistis an den gekreuzigten Christus; dort wird die Aristokratie der Geistesmenschen gesammelt, hier sind die demütigen Brüder die Berufenen.

(2) dort herrscht in Abgrund und Schweigen der unnennbare Gott, hier herrscht Gott als Christus; dort ist der Menschengeist dem höchsten Gott stammverwandt, hier ist dieser der absolut Fremde und erst durch die Erlösung Nahe,

(3) dort herrschen außerbiblische Mythen, hier fehlen sie,

(4) dort ist die Lehre vom Abstieg und Aufstieg der Seele (des Geistes) fundamental, hier fehlt sie; dort kehrt der Geist in seine Heimat zurück, hier soll ihm eine Fremde zur Heimat werden,

(5) dort herrscht eine apostolische Geheimtradition, hier fehlt sie,

(6) dort bleiben die Schlechten schlecht, hier sind sie erlösungsfähig,

(7) dort gibt es Mysterienmagie, hier fehlt sie.

Die bedeutendsten elementa concordiae et discordiae zwischen dem Gnostizismus und Marcion mögen damit bezeichnet sein; ohne Zweifel sind die letzteren die wichtigeren; zugleich zeigen sie die Verwandtschaft mit den großkirchlichen Glaubensüberzeugungen aufs deutlichste. Von hier aus könnte man den Marcionitismus in die Mitte zwischen der Großkirche und dem Gnostizismus setzen; aber solch' eine Betrachtung wäre nichts weniger als aufklärend, da in jenem Zeitalter schlechterdings niemand so geurteilt hat und urteilen konnte. Aber begreiflich ist es von hier aus, daß der Marcionitismus eine Kirche bilden konnte wie die vorkatholischen Christen, und anderseits, daß diese ihn mit dem Gnostizismus in einen Topf werfen mußten. Aber auch das ist zu erwarten, daß, wie nach freilich sehr übertriebener Überlieferung Marcion vom Gnostizismus gelernt hat, so auch umgekehrt Gnostiker von ihm gelernt haben. Sein Antithesenwerk vor allem mußte ihnen sehr willkommen sein, und es gibt auch einige Spuren der Wirksamkeit des Werks bei ihnen. Nicht unwahrscheinlich ist ferner, daß der Valentinianer Ptolemäus von M.s doppelter Auffassung des „Gerechten" gelernt hat (s. o. S. 112 f.). Andrerseits ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß, wenn jene oben zusammengestellten neun Stücke im ganzen der Religion die Hauptsachen gewesen wären, alle gnostischen Schulen in der imponierenden Kirche Marcions sehr bald hätten untergehen müssen; aber das Gegenteil ist der Fall: sie bleiben neben ihr bestehen, vor allem auch

Worin sah er ihren Irrtum? Im Grunde in einem Element, aus dem sich, wie aus einer schlechten Wurzel, ein ganzer Baum des Irrtums entwickelt hat: sie haben den neuen Wein in die alten Schläuche gegossen und das Evangelium in das AT transponiert. Diese Transposition sah er nicht in Einzelheiten und Kleinigkeiten — die Christenheit hatte zwar die jüdische Beschneidung, die Festordnung, die Speisegesetze usw. nicht angenommen; aber das machte auf ihn nicht den geringsten Eindruck und vermochte ihn nicht im geringsten zu beruhigen; denn der Schaden lag in seinen Augen viel tiefer: diese Christenheit betrachtet Gesetz und Evangelium als eine Einheit und verleugnet damit das Wesen des Evangeliums. Wo alles darauf ankommt zu scheiden[1], verbindet sie! Und auch das genügte ihm nicht, daß die Christenheit, wie er selbst, den gegenwärtigen Äon für gottfeindlich hielt, aus ihm herauswollte und das Unterpfand der Seligkeit in der Erlösung durch Christus zu besitzen gewiß war; denn wie konnte das der rechte Glaube sein, der in dem Schöpfer der Welt den Vater Jesu Christi erkannte?

Wie immer M. den Gegensatz von Glaube und Werken, Evangelium und Gesetz aufgefaßt und welche Folgerungen er aus ihm für die Religionslehre gezogen hat — er war das wirklich, was er sein wollte, ein Jünger des Paulus, der das Werk und den Kampf des Apostels wiederaufgenommen hat als ein wirklicher Reformator[2]; man versteht es, daß Neander ihn den ersten Protestanten nennen konnte.

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deswegen, weil der Dualismus M.s kein echter metaphysischer ist und weil die religiöse Denkmethode und ihre Voraussetzungen bei den Gnostikern, wie sie sich in den oben angeführten 7 Punkten aussprechen, von denen M.s toto coelo verschieden sind. Ein Valentin hätte gewiß die Glaubenslehre M.s für eine „Bauernreligion" erklärt, d. h. für eine Spielart der psychischen Religion. Somit besteht die scharfe Unterscheidung, die wir in der Kirchengeschichte machen müssen, zwischen den Gnostikern und Marcion zu Recht, und ihre Aufhebung bedeutet eine schwere Verdunkelung.

1 M. nach Tertull. I, 19: „Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus".

2 M. nach Tertull. I, 20: „Non innovo regulam separatione legis et evangelii, sed retro adulteratam recuro".

Man darf noch einen Schritt weiter gehen: nicht nur den Kampf und das Werk des Paulus hat er wiederaufgenommen, sondern er hat das auch in der Glaubensgesinnung des Apostels getan; denn nur Christus den Gekreuzigten wollte er kennen; in ihm allein schaute er das Angesicht des gnädigen Gottes, und mit diesem Gott der Güte und Barmherzigkeit wußte er sich in Glaube und Liebe untrennbar verbunden, weil er sich durch Christus erkauft und erlöst wußte. Hinter ihm lag Sünde und Welt, hinter ihm Gebot und Gesetz.

Und hätte Paulus, wenn er nach drei Menschenaltern wiedererschienen wäre, über die Christenheit, die er nun fand, nicht auch die schärfsten Urteile gefällt, ja sie des Abfalls geziehen? Was hätte er wohl gesagt, wenn man ihm „den Hirten" des Hermas vorgelegt und ihm mitgeteilt hätte, die Christenheit folge diesem Buche als einer echten Offenbarung? Wie hätte er über diese Mandate, diese Visionen und Gleichnisse geurteilt, wie über die Selbstgerechtigkeit und Selbstgefälligkeit des Verfassers und über die stumpfe Bußgesinnung, die aus diesem Buche spricht, in welchem der Name Christi überhaupt nicht vorkommt? Oder welches Urteil hätten die Werke des Justin von ihm empfangen? Gewiß hätte er vieles mit Freude in ihnen gelesen; aber wie hätte er die Freiheits- und Tugendlehre Justins aufgenommen? Was hätte er über die Auseinandersetzung mit der Philosophie, über die Anerkennung Sokrates' und Platos was über die neue Gesetzlichkeit, die ihm in jeder nachapostolischen Schrift entgegentrat, gesagt?

Kein Zweifel — Paulus hätte das Auswachsen des christlichen Synkretismus mit Schmerz und Entrüstung wahrgenommen, wäre der Marcionitischen Kritik der Christenheit in den wichtigsten Stücken beigetreten, hätte diese auch als eine verführte und verirrte Herde beurteilt und in dem Mann, der hier als Reformator auftrat, seinen echten Schüler gesehen.

Aber Marcion zerschnitt das Band zwischen dem Gesetz und dem Evangelium, verwarf das AT, wies es einem anderen Gott zu, verkündigte Jesum Christum als Sohn eines fremden Gottes und leugnete seine Geburt und die Wahrhaftigkeit seines Fleisches. Kein Zweifel — Paulus hätte sich mit Entsetzen von diesem blasphemischen Lehrer abgewandt und ihn dem Satan übergeben, und sicher wäre ihm niemals auch nur von ferne

die Frage aufgetaucht, ob er nicht selbst mit seiner Lehre an diesen grundstürzenden Irrtümern M.s schuld sei.

Und doch ist diese Frage eine sehr nötige Frage, und es ist nicht schwer zu zeigen, daß die extreme Lehre M.s, durch die er geradezu zum Stifter einer neuen Religion auf dem Boden der christlichen Überlieferung geworden ist, aus dem Paulinismus, bzw. aus einer Fortbildung desselben entstanden ist. Auch ist M. nicht der erste Fortbildner gewesen, sondern er führt diese Fortbildung nur zum Abschluß.

Zunächst muß man sich hier vergegenwärtigen, welche Fortbildung des Urchristentums die Lehre des Paulus selbst bedeutet; dabei mag die Lehre Christi auf sich beruhen bleiben; denn es ist nicht nötig, soweit zurückzugehen [1]:

Paulus hat die Geltung des ATlichen Gesetzes und damit das AT als eindeutige Unterlage der Religion für die zu bekehrenden Heiden außer Kraft gesetzt, an die Stelle des Messiasglaubens den Kyrios Christos mit seinem Heilswerk des Todes und der Auferstehung gestellt und die Religion mit dem Glauben an den Vater Christi, den Gott der Liebe und Erlösung, streng identifiziert. Etwas ganz Neues — auch im Sinne des Paulus — war damit gegeben: das Alte ist vergangen, siehe, es ist alles neu geworden [2]. Um den inneren Zusammenhang mit dem Gott des Gesetzes und der Propheten aber doch festhalten zu können, der ihm so selbstverständlich war, daß ihm hier niemals ein Zweifel auftauchen konnte, mußte er statt eines Mittels eine ganze Reihe aufbieten; denn jedes tut nur unvollkommene Dienste und hat seine enggezogenen Grenzen. Aber statt, angesichts der Unvollkommenheit jedes einzelnen Mittels zur Erklärung des Problems stutzig zu werden, sah Paulus in ihrer Fülle nur den Reichtum und die Weisheit Gottes und zog sich

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1 Doch ist die Betrachtung nicht abzuweisen, vielmehr der weiteren Erwägung in hohem Maße würdig, daß von einem wichtigen Gesichtspunkt aus Jesu Verkündigung, die Lehre des Paulus und die Lehre Marcions eine konsequente Entwicklungslinie gegenüber der jüdischen Religion bilden.

2 S. hierzu die Einleitung, oben S. 11 f. Paulus ist dem urchristlichen Synkretismus der religiösen Motive und Überlieferungen durch die Reduktion des Stoffs auf eindeutige Glaubenserkenntnisse entgegengetreten und hat ebendadurch die Neuheit des Evangeliums ans Licht gestellt.

zuletzt, wenn jedes Mittel versagte, auf seine Unerforschlichkeit zurück. Die Mittel, die er aufbot, waren (1) eine eigentümliche dialektische Betrachtung der Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts im Zusammenhang mit einer Adam-Christus-Antithese, (2) eine besondere Dialektik in bezug auf Sünde und Gnade, Sünde und Gesetz, Schuld und Erlösung, Leben und Tod und (3) die allegorische Auslegung von Schriftstellen. Lehnt man diese Mittel ab oder vermag man ihnen überhaupt kein Verständnis abzugewinnen, so muß man Paulus streng dualistisch (prinzipieller Gegensatz des Gottes des Gesetzes und des Gottes des Evangeliums) verstehen, und muß dann folgerecht das, was dieser Auffassung widerspricht, für Interpolationen erklären[1].

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1 Es gab freilich noch drei Auswege, die alle drei gewählt worden sind. Man konnte einfach über jene Paulinischen Ausführungen stillschweigend zur Tagesordnung übergehen, als existierten sie gar nicht (so ist in der Christenheit vor Irenäus vielfach verfahren worden), oder man konnte sie drehen, deuteln und abstumpfen (auch das ist geschehen) oder man konnte diesen Paulus für einen unsäglich verworrenen, aus Widersprüchen aller Art zusammengesetzten Denker und Schriftsteller erklären, mit dem jede Auseinandersetzung unmöglich sei. Das ist das Urteil, welches Porphyrius gefällt hat. — Das Urteil, zu welchem M. kam (prinzipieller Dualismus bei Paulus) wurde auch von zahlreichen Gnostikern geteilt, und wenn man sich auf den Standpunkt eines geborenen Griechen oder Römers stellt, war es fast unvermeidlich; denn wie sollte ein solcher in dem Gegensatz „Gott und der Gott dieser Welt" „Geist und Fleisch" usw. etwas anderes erkennen als den ihm von Plato und sonsther geläufigen Gegensatz? M.s Größe aber besteht darin, daß er zwar auch einen prinzipiellen Gegensatz hier erkannte, aber nicht den geläufigen religionsphilosophischen, und daß er scharfblickend und ehrlich genug war, um andrerseits einzusehen, wie viele Ausführungen in den Briefen zu diesem Gegensatz nicht stimmen. Die übrigen, die den Apostel zu einem Dualisten machten, halfen sich durch sophistische Auslegungen über die monotheistischen und das AT anerkennenden Ausführungen des Apostels hinweg (genau so, wie umgekehrt die kirchlichen Theologen die Sätze über Sünde, Gnade und Prädestination mißhandelten) — Marcion allein zog die Konsequenz, die schlechterdings unvermeidlich ist, wenn man sich (irrtümlich) überzeugt hat, daß Paulus den Gott des Evan-

Diesen Standpunkt nahm M. ein. Auf die Sache, d. h. auf die Religion gesehen, tat er damit von dem gegebenen Boden des Paulinismus aus einen Schritt, der an sich nicht größer, sondern kleiner war als der Schritt, den Paulus getan hatte[1]; denn nach Paulus ist die alte Religionsordnung des jüdischen Gottes, an welchem das Urchristentum vor und neben ihm festhielt, abgetan, und das AT ist nicht mehr die göttliche Urkunde, aus welcher man den Heilswillen Gottes und sein Wesen jetzt zu erkennen hat. Eine Urkunde aber, zumal eine göttliche, die nur bedingt gilt, ist im Grunde

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geliums von dem des Gesetzes trenne: er erklärte, daß in den paulinischen Briefen Unpaulinisches stecke, das man tilgen müsse. Diese Folgerichtigkeit machte M. in einem Zeitalter der Konfusionen und Verkleisterungen nur Ehre, so verkehrt der Ausgangspunkt ist.

Es mag hier die Stelle sein, um M.s Verhältnis zu Paulus an dem Hauptpunkte kurz zu beleuchten. Überzeugt man sich, daß M. in bezug auf die tiefe Würdigung der Begriffe Sünde und Gnade, Gesetz und Evangelium, Gesetzesgehorsam und Glaube wirklich ein Schüler des Paulus gewesen ist und sie ihm nachempfunden hat, so muß man andererseits anerkennen, daß ihm die paulinische Denkweise (s. Leisegang, Der Apostel Paulus als Denker, 1923) absolut verschlossen geblieben ist. Während die Denktechnik des Paulus in bezug auf die ersten und letzten Dinge durchaus dialektisch ist (weil Gott ihm *πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* ist), ist dieses Niveau M. unverständlich und unerreichbar geblieben. Sein Denken ist vielmehr von dem Satz des Widerspruchs vollkommen beherrscht und von der Unfähigkeit, über ihn hinaus etwas zu verstehen. Das ist überall klar, zeigt sich aber am deutlichsten bei seinem Begriff der „Gerechtigkeit". Hier wäre er genötigt gewesen, das Problem dialektisch durchzudenken (denn auch der gute Gott hat nach M. Gerechtigkeit und das gerechte Gesetz hat auch Gutes); allein er ist, soweit wir zu urteilen vermögen (s. S. 112), in diesem Problem stecken geblieben und hat es nicht durchdacht. Als Erlöster empfindet er also mit Paulus und ist wie dieser innerlich beherrscht von dem Glauben an den gekreuzigten Christus, als theologischer Denker bezeichnet er aber geradezu den Gegenpol zu Paulus, zieht den Apostel gewaltsam auf sein eigenes Niveau herab und entstellt ihn damit aufs schlimmste; indessen — kommt er ihm zuletzt nicht doch nahe, indem auch nach seiner Eschatologie der Demiurg schließlich verschwindet und Gott als *πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* erscheint? Unterscheidet er sich, von hier aus betrachtet, nicht lediglich durch einen stärkeren Pessimismus in bezug auf die Welt und den gegenwärtigen Weltlauf von dem Apostel?

1 In seinen Konsequenzen freilich war er unübersehbar groß.

samt ihrem Urheber außer Kraft gesetzt. Der Paulinismus bedeutete also eine ungeheure Revolution in der jüdisch-christlichen Religionsgeschichte. Daß die Kirche bei der Paulinischen Halbheit stehen geblieben ist, ja sie bald sogar nach rückwärts revidiert hat, ist erstaunlich und ausschließlich aus der ungeheuren äußeren und inneren Autorität des AT im Zusammenhang mit dem geschichtlichen Ursprung des Christentums aus dem Judentum zu verstehen. Aber es steht doch keineswegs so, als sei M. der einzige gewesen, der die Paulinische Halbheit empfunden hat, vielmehr sind uns aus der nichtgnostischen Christenheit des nachapostolischen Zeitalters mehrere Ansätze verschiedener Art überliefert, über sie hinauszukommen. Wenn der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs in bezug auf das AT nur die Betrachtung gelten läßt, daß es etwas Schattenhaftes (c. 10, 1) und nunmehr veraltet sei (c. 8, 13), so geht er damit in der Beurteilung dieses Buchs weiter als Paulus und spricht ihm jede Geltung für die Gegenwart ab; wenn ferner der Verf. des Barnabasbriefs unzweideutig und mit dem Bewußtsein, daß es sich um die wichtigste Sache handelt, erklärt, durchweg und überall sei das wörtliche Verständnis des AT ein vom Teufel herbeigeführtes, greuliches Mißverständnis der Juden und wer diesem Mißverständnis in Glauben, Lehre, Kultus, Lebensordnung usw. folge, sei ein Satanskind — so schafft er einfach und förmlich aus dem AT ein zweites Buch; nur dieses Buch hat für die Christen Gültigkeit! Auch hier ist die Identität des Gottes des Gesetzes und des Evangeliums, wie von Paulus, festgehalten, aber um welchen Preis! Auf solch eine Sophisterei wollte sich Marcion nicht einlassen. Sehr beachtenswert ist es auch, daß Ignatius in seinem Brief an die Philadelphener (c. 8) gegen die These judaistischer Christen: „Wenn ich etwas nicht im Archiv (im AT) finde, so glaube ich es nicht, auch wenn es im Evangelium steht", schreibt: „Mir ist das Archiv Jesus Christus, sein Kreuz, sein Tod, seine Auferstehung und der von ihm gestiftete Glaube". Das kommt einer Abrogation des AT, weil durch das Evangelium ersetzt und daher überflüssig, sehr nahe. M. schuf wirklich aus den Paulusbriefen und dem Evangelium „das Archiv", weil sie den Kreuzestod und die Auferstehung enthalten. Auch auf den Verfasser des Diognetbrief sei noch hingewiesen, der in seiner Apologetik ganz

vom AT. absieht, Christus als den einzigen Gottesgesandten erscheinen läßt und in Gott nur die Liebe und Güte hervorhebt [1].

Aber die wichtigste Erscheinung auf der Linie von Paulus zu Marcion ist das Johannesevangelium samt den Briefen. Zwar steht der Verf. in bezug auf das Gesetz und die Propheten theoretisch auf dem Grunde des Paulus, läßt Jesum erklären, daß das Heil von den Juden kommt und daß das AT ihn bezeugt. Er denkt nicht daran, zwei Götter zu unterscheiden [2]; aber in seinem lebendigen religiösen Denken geht er in bezug auf den Gottesbegriff und die verwandten Fragen über Paulus und zwar in der Richtung auf M. hinaus. Inwiefern er mit diesem verwandt ist in bezug auf das Unternehmen, ein neues Evangelium vorzulegen, weil ihm die kursierenden Evangelienschriften nicht genügten, darauf ist bereits oben S. 70 f. hingewiesen worden. Die souveräne Stellung gegenüber der Tradition, ja gegebenenfalls ihre Nichtachtung charakterisiert beide, und die Motive sind hier und dort sehr ähnlich: Johannes und Marcion wollen aus dem bunten Stoff, den jene Schriften bringen, eine durch Hauptgedanken zentralisierte Darstellung schaffen; sie wollen die Neuheit der Erscheinung Christi und seines Evangeliums scharf herausarbeiten; sie wollen den absoluten Wert seiner Person und seines Werkes begründen, seine schlechthinige Überweltlichkeit und mit ihr seine volle Gottheit zu deutlicher Darstellung bringen und allein die neue trostreiche Gotteserkenntnis, die durch ihn und an ihm aufgeleuchtet ist, aussagen.

Im Sachlichen und Geschichtlichen zeigt sich die Verwandtschaft. In bezug auf jenes sei darauf hingewiesen, daß auch nach Johannes Gott (er ist „Geist", wie bei Marcion: „spiritus salutaris") die Liebe ist, welche die Furcht austreibt [3], und ausschließlich als Liebe soll er vorgestellt werden — freilich

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1 Bunsen legte deshalb den Brief Marcion bei!

2 Wie diese, so liegen auch andere durchgreifende Unterschiede zwischen Marcion und Johannes so klar auf der Hand, daß es unnötig ist, sie anzuführen.

3 In dieser Richtung geht der Johanneische Gottesbegriff im ersten Brief über den Paulinischen hinaus (trotz Röm. 8, 35; denn s. Phil. 2, 12) und ist eindeutiger; gerade dies ist aber auch die Richtung, in der M. bis zum Ende gegangen ist.

nach M. hat Gott nicht die W e l t geliebt, sondern die Menschen. Ferner erscheint der Sohn als ein solcher, der selbst Macht hat, sein Leben zu opfern und zu nehmen (10, 18); nach M. hat er sich selbst auferweckt, und dem Marcionitischen Modalismus entsprechen zahlreiche Johanneische Aussagen. Die ganze Johanneische Dialektik über das „Richten" Gottes hat den Gedanken zur Voraussetzung, daß der Vater nicht richtet, sondern das Gericht dem Sohn übergeben hat; aber auch der Sohn spricht (12, 47), daß er die Ungläubigen nicht richten werde; „denn ich bin nicht gekommen, die Welt zu richten, sondern die Welt selig zu machen". Auch er ist also nur Liebe und Erlösung. Das ist ganz im Sinne Marcions. Und wie bei ihm, steht in e i n e r Gedankenreihe des Johannes der Kosmos als eine dunkle, fremde, feindliche Macht Gott gegenüber; die Menschen gehören zu diesem Kosmos, der (I Joh. 5, 19) ganz und gar ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται, und müssen von ihm und aus ihm erlöst werden. Auch was Johannes von den „Juden" sagt, nähert sich der Auffassung M.s von ihnen; denn, unbeschadet anderer Auffassungen, die Joh. über sie hegt, sind sie die eigentlichen Feinde Christi, die Kosmos-Menschen, d e r e n V a t e r d e r T e u f e l i s t. Dies und vieles Verwandte wird zwar bei Johannes bekanntlich dann wiederum einer anderen Betrachtung unterworfen, nach welcher sie nicht das letzte und abschließende Wort dieses religiösen Denkers enthalten; aber sie sind doch da und dürfen nicht übersehen werden. Für M. sind sie das letzte Wort: die Juden sind ihm als das erwählte Volk des Weltschöpfers die Feinde Christi κατεξοχήν, und ihre Patriarchen, Propheten und Führer können nicht erlöst werden. Die Eigenschaften aber, um derenwillen die Juden nach M. unerlösbar sind, ihr Pochen auf Moses, ihre verblendete Verkennung des wahrhaft Guten und ihre fleischliche Selbstgerechtigkeit, sind auch nach Johannes, der sie in der Apokalypse „die Synagoge des Satan" nennt, für sie charakteristisch.

Damit sind wir bereits zur g e s c h i c h t l i c h e n Betrachtung, welcher beide Männer gefolgt sind, übergegangen. Über Paulus hinaus stellt Joh. in dem Gespräch Jesu mit der Samariterin der neuen Anbetung im Geist und in der Wahrheit die jüdische und heidnische Anbetung als gleichartig und gleichfalsch gegenüber; wie M. kann er Jesum sagen lassen, daß alle, die vor

ihm gekommen, Räuber und Mörder gewesen sind; wie M. schließt er die Verkündigung der Gnade und der Wahrheit aus dem AT aus — nur das Gesetz hat Moses verkündigt. Aber weiter; es liegt auf dem Wege zu Marcion, wenn es Joh. für überflüssig hält, obgleich Matthäus und Lukas bereits ihre Evangelien verfaßt hatten, von der Geburt Christi zu reden, wenn er ferner die Bedeutung der Taufe Christi auf ein Zeichen herabdrückt, das dem Täufer gegeben werden sollte, und wenn er zwar die Botschaft: „Das Wort ward Fleisch", verkündet, aber das Menschliche in Christus in einer gespenstigen Schwebe hält.

Diese Züge, die sich vermehren lassen, mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, daß der Marcionitismus geschichtlich nicht wie aus der Pistole geschossen in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Gewiß — nicht Johannes hat ihn vorbereitet, wohl aber eine Entwicklung, die sich an den Paulinismus auf heidenchristlichem Gebiet mit innerer Notwendigkeit anschließen mußte, und deren stärkste Elemente wir bei Johannes finden. Er selbst allerdings als geborener Jude hat es verstanden, die letzten Konsequenzen zugunsten der allgemeinen Tradition zu vermeiden und die Autorität des jüdischen Gottes samt seinem Buche aufrecht zu erhalten.

Marcion und zahlreiche Christen mit und neben ihm vollzogen den Schnitt [1] und trennten im Interesse der Neuheit des Christentums, seiner Eindeutigkeit und seiner Kraft, das Evangelium vom AT und von seinem Gott; aber nur von M. wissen wir, daß er sich geschichtlich Rechenschaft gegeben hat, warum er es tat und wie das gewaltige Unternehmen zu rechtfertigen sei. Während Johannes mit pneumatischer Souveränität und Sicherheit seine einschneidenden Korrekturen und Sublimierungen der Tradition als geschichtliche Tatsachen vorgetragen hat, besaß M. — das gibt ihm in der gesamten Geschichte der

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1 Wie groß im Verhältnis zu den traditionstreuen Christen die Zahl der Christen war, die im nachapostolischen Zeitalter und bis gegen das Ende des 2. Jahrh. das AT verworfen haben, wissen wir leider nicht. Merkwürdig ist es immerhin, daß Tert. V, 20 schreibt: „Hodie maior pars est omnibus in locis sententiae nostrae quam haereticae". Es ist nicht ganz unmöglich, daß es im 2. Jahrhundert ein Jahrzehnt gegeben hat, in welchem die Christen, welche das AT verwarfen, zahlreicher waren als die, welche es anerkannten.

alten Kirche eine einzigartige Stellung — ein klares Bewußtsein von seiner Pflicht als Kritiker, seinen Standpunkt geschichtlich zu begründen. Es wird dabei immer denkwürdig bleiben, daß er mit sicherem Griff den Galaterbrief zur Unterlage wählte — wie in der Neuzeit Semler und F. Chr. Baur —, ferner aber, daß neben diesem Brief und den anderen Paulusbriefen allgemein anerkannte Urkunden oder zuverlässige Überlieferungen schon damals nicht mehr vorhanden gewesen sein können, die so übertriebene Schlüsse verboten, wie er und später Semler und Baur sie gezogen haben[1]. Aus dem Galaterbrief schloß M., daß Paulus ein total anderes Evangelium verkündet habe als die Urapostel, nämlich das echte Evangelium Christi, das jene judaistisch verfälscht hätten, ferner, daß Paulus in allen seinen Briefen nur eine Lebensaufgabe und einen Kampf gekannt habe, den Kampf gegen die Judaisten. In seinen Auslegungen der Paulusbriefe stellte er dies ans Licht, und nun war es ihm auch möglich, Echtes und Unechtes in ihnen

1 Das ganze Unternehmen M.s ist ein Beweis dafür, daß es zwei bis drei Menschenalter nach Paulus ein maßgebendes, jede Subjektivität in der Konstruktion der Vergangenheit zügelndes Wissen um den geschichtlichen Verlauf der Dinge (abgesehen von den Schriften, die auch wir noch besitzen) nicht mehr gegeben hat; sonst hätte es M. gar nicht wagen können, mit einer so grundstürzenden Betrachtung hervorzutreten. Der Satz Ritschls bewährt sich auch hier: „Nirgendwo ist das geschichtliche Gedächtnis kürzer als unter der Herrschaft einer Tradition"; die Tradition war in diesem Fall die willkürliche Bestimmung und Schätzung des „Apostolischen". Unter den Schutz dieses Titels stellte man die Ausgestaltung des urchristlichen Synkretismus und aller der religiösen Motive, die man in der Gegenwart brauchte. M. hat ganz richtig den Unwert dieser Tradition erkannt; sein Heilmittel aber, obgleich aus dem Grundgedanken des Paulus geboren, war geschichtlich betrachtet noch falscher. — Die Apostelgeschichte, eine für die Paulinische Zeit wesentlich zuverlässige Quelle, war allerdings vorhanden und M. hat sie gekannt; aber er hat sie, die übrigens noch nirgendwo als ein heiliges Buch galt, als eine durchaus falsche Quelle beurteilt und verworfen, weil sie nach seiner Auffassung den Paulusbriefen widersprach und dazu jenem Lukas zugeschrieben wurde, dessen Namen die Judaisten dem echten Evangelium vorgesetzt haben, als sie es verfälschten.

zu unterscheiden und diese Unterscheidung auf das Evangelium auszudehnen. Die Parallelen zur Arbeit der Tübinger Schule sind hier überall so frappant, daß sie einer Hervorhebung nicht bedürfen. Allerdings besteht der Unterschied, daß diese Schule nicht soweit gegangen ist, dem Paulus die Anerkennung des AT und des ATlichen Gottes abzusprechen, und daß sie andere Mittel als M. besaß, um das echt Paulinische vom „Deuteropaulinismus" zu trennen; aber dieser Unterschied ist schließlich nicht sehr groß; denn in der „Idee" hat Paulus auch nach Baur den ATlichen Gott preisgegeben und in gewissem Sinn hat er mit dieser Behauptung recht (s. o.) [1].

Wenn M. aber den angeblichen Befund in den echten Briefen des Paulus mit dem gegenwärtigen Zustand der großen Christen-

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1 Die Übereinstimmung zwischen M. und den Tübingern ist sehr groß. Beide haben darin recht, daß man die bewegende Seele des Paulinismus, die Größe des Lebenswerks des Apostels und das Verständnis des apostolischen Zeitalters vor allem aus dem Kampf gegen die Judaisten zu erkennen habe — eine geschichtliche Einsicht ersten Ranges, die in der langen Periode zwischen M. und den Tübingern verloren ging und auch von Luther nicht als geschichtliche Erkenntnis für das Verständnis des Urchristentums geltend gemacht worden ist. Aber beide haben darin unrecht, daß sie den ganzen Paulus mit seinen Gedanken und Interessen, sowie alle urchristlichen Entwicklungen aus jenem Kampfe glaubten verstehen zu können. Bei M. hatte diese Überzeugung den Erfolg, daß er (wie die Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen, aber auch seine Exegesen lehren) in den Partien der Briefe, die er für echt erkannte, in der gewaltsamsten Weise alles auf den judaistischen Gegensatz zurückführte; aber auch bei den Tübingern ist es nicht wesentlich anders, wenn ihr Verfahren auch nicht ganz so grotesk ist. Da sie aber beide wirkliche Kritiker waren und nicht Sophisten, so sahen sie sich beide genötigt, aus ein und demselben Gesichtspunkt große Streichungen in den Paulusbriefen vorzunehmen. Dabei verfuhren die Tübinger radikaler als M., da sie nicht weniger als sechs von den zehn Paulusbriefen für unecht erklärten, M. aber verwegener, da er sich zutraute, die angeblichen höchst zahlreichen großen und kleinen Interpolationen erkennen und ausscheiden zu können, welche die Briefe durch die Judaisten erlitten hätten. Übrigens haben es auch die Tübinger versucht, eine Reihe von Schwierigkeiten durch die Annahme von tendenziösen Interpolationen zu beseitigen, namentlich die Jüngeren unter ihnen, nachdem sie den Radikalismus der Schule gemildert hatten (vgl. die Arbeiten von Hilgenfeld und Holtzmann); sie sind also als Kritiker Marcioniten geworden.

heit verglich, mußte er einsehen, daß der Apostel umsonst gearbeitet hatte, und daß trotz seiner unsäglichen Bemühungen alles beim alten geblieben war; alles hatte sich wieder infolge der Anerkennung des AT in gesetzliche Formen niedergeschlagen, und mit Schmerz sah M., daß die Christenheit wieder eine Spielart des Judentums geworden war. Die Energie und die Kraft der Organisation, die er nun einsetzte, um das Werk des Paulus wieder aufzunehmen, eine reformierte und geschlossene Christenheit zu schaffen und alle abgefallenen Brüder zurückzurufen, ist neben seiner religiösen Konzeption das Bewundernswerteste an ihm, und erstaunlich waren seine Erfolge. In dem VII. und VIII. Kap. ist dargestellt worden, was er als Organisator gewollt und durchgesetzt hat; hier muß diese Leistung noch im Zusammenhang gesetzt werden mit der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Urchristentums zum Katholizismus:

Die große Christenheit war „katholisch" durch die Fülle der religiösen Motive (den Synkretismus), die sie umspannte, und sie war „katholisch" durch die Universalität ihrer Mission; aber da sie lediglich dasselbe Buch wie die Synagoge besaß, mußte ihre Verkündigung „zweier" Bünde", auf die sie sich, dem Apostel folgend, stützte (s. Justins Dialog), unvollkommen und fragwürdig bleiben; sie hatte für den zweiten und wichtigeren Bund keine Urkunde! Aber sie hatte auch keine zentralisierte, katholische Lehre; denn so wichtig es war, daß wenigstens ein kurzes und gehaltvolles Taufbekenntnis in Rom, vielleicht auch in Kleinasien, existierte, so besaß dasselbe doch noch keine „katholische" Verbreitung und Dignität, und neben ihm erbaute, lehrte und spekulierte jeder christliche Lehrer auf eigene Faust. Endlich entsprach dieser concordia discors der Lehre, die nur ganz unsicher durch die Berufung auf die unformulierte „apostolische Überlieferung" zusammengehalten wurde, die lockere Verbindung der Gemeinden untereinander. Den fehlenden inneren Zusammenhang suchten Bischöfe und Lehrer durch persönliche Mahnschreiben und Beschwörungen zu ersetzen; der Erfolg konnte nur ein ganz unvollkommener sein. Nur die römische Gemeinde sprach und handelte auch damals schon als Gemeinde in der Richtung auf den Aufbau einer Gesamtkirche.

Über diesen diffusen und für den Bestand der Christenheit gefährlichen Zustand der Dinge brach die Reformation Marcions herein. Die erste Notwendigkeit, die ihm aufgegangen war, da er die alte Urkunde verwarf und nur einen Bund anerkannte, war die Herstellung einer litera scripta ebendieses einzigen Bundes. Er und kein anderer hat sie geschaffen! Die zweite Notwendigkeit, die sich ihm aufgedrängt hatte, weil sie auf seinem Standpunkt selbstverständlich war, war die Verbindung des Evangeliums mit den Paulusbriefen und damit die segensreiche, zugleich aber verhängnisvolle Zweiteiligkeit des neuen Kanons. Er und kein anderer hat sie konzipiert! Die dritte Notwendigkeit, die er eingesehen, war, dem herrschenden Synkretismus der religiösen Erkenntnisse und Motive, dazu dem Prophetismus, der Allegoristik, der eindringenden philosophischen Spekulation, dem Rationalismus und Gnostizismus, kurz allen subjektiven Elementen ein Ende zu machen und an ihre Stelle nicht eine menschlich erklügelte „Lehre", wohl aber eine klare und eindeutige biblische Theologie zu setzen. Er hat dies durch seine „Antithesen" d. h. den in seiner Einförmigkeit höchst kräftigen Bibelkommentar getan! Endlich hat er die Notwendigkeit eingesehen, mit diesen neugeschaffenen Mitteln eine tatsächliche Einheit der Christenheit in Form einer großen Kirche herzustellen und dadurch ebendieser Christenheit Kraft und Dauer zu geben. Er selbst ist sein eigener Missionar gewesen und hat nach dem Zeugnis seines Zeitgenossen Justin seine Schöpfung „im ganzen Menschengeschlecht", d. h. im ganzen Reiche, ausgebreitet [1].

Die Einwendungen, daß er in allen diesen Stücken nicht der erste gewesen sei, sondern schon Vorhandenes nachgeahmt habe, sind sämtlich hinfällig. Vergebens hat man sich bemüht nachzuweisen, daß die Konzeption und Schöpfung einer zweiten heiligen Urkunde, des NT, schon vor M. in der großen Christen-

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1 Es ist wohl möglich, daß nicht nur eine ursprüngliche Anlage M. zum Kirchenorganisator großen Stils gemacht hat, sondern auch sein Aufenthalt in Rom und seine zeitweilige Zugehörigkeit zur römischen Gemeinde. An ihrer universalkirchlichen Sorge mag er erkannt und gelernt haben, was für die Christenheit als ganze zu tun sei, und übertraf dann im Anlauf seine Lehrmeisterin an Energie und Tatkraft. Wenn dem so ist, so steckt in seinem „Katholizismus" ein römisch-katholisches Element.

heit erfolgt sei. Der Dialog Justins mit Trypho, von anderen negativen Zeugnissen zu schweigen, protestiert gegen diese Behauptung [1]. Wohl wußte man in der großen Christenheit seit Paulus von zwei Testamenten, aber in Form der Schrift besaß man nur eines, das alte, und dachte an keine Verdoppelung. Woher hätte man auch die Autorität für die Schöpfung eines neuen Testaments aufbringen sollen? [2] Ferner, wohl besaßen einige führende Gemeinden zur Zeit M.s schon die vier Evangelien und lasen sie im Gottesdienst neben dem AT, aber weder war diese Sammlung schon allgemein verbreitet, noch galt sie als die dem AT entsprechende, formell gleichwertige Urkunde [3]. Weiter, die Konzeption, die Briefe des Paulus dem Evangelium mit gleicher Dignität zuzuordnen, konnte dort nicht entstehen, wo der Apostel im Schatten der Urapostel stand; in diesem Schatten stand er aber in der großen Christenheit, entsprechend dem eigentümlichen Inhalt der „apostolischen Tradition", die auf Augenzeugenschaft alles Gewicht legte. Wenn daher die große Christenheit aus sich heraus das Evangelium und die Paulusbriefe verbinden wollte, hätte das immer nur durch ein urapostolisches Medium geschehen können; die Zeugnisse für einen so gestalteten Kanon sind aber sämtlich nachmarcionitisch [4]. Dazu, die Notwendigkeit, den Lehrinhalt des Christentums gegenüber allem groben und feinen Synkretismus und Subjektivismus, woher er auch komme, in sichere Grenzen zu fassen und ihn als biblische Theologie lediglich aus der heiligen Urkunde zu schöpfen, diese Theologie aber nicht kosmologisch, sondern soteriologisch aufzubauen, hat M. zuerst erkannt und ihr die konsequenteste

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1 In der Christenheit sind also, bevor es zwei verbundene schriftliche Testamente gab, zwei feindliche vorhanden gewesen; das geschriebene NT ist als Gegner des AT von M. geschaffen worden, um dann erst, im Gegensatz zu ihm, in friedlicher Verbindung mit dem AT als die Oberstufe in der katholischen Kirche zu erscheinen; s. meine Schrift „Die Entstehung des NTs" S. 21 ff. (Beiträge zur Einl. in das NT, 6. Heft, 1914).

2 Diese Autorität war erst dann vorhanden, als die Konzeption gefaßt war, die gesamte echte schriftliche Hinterlassenschaft der Apostel sei ipso facto die heilige Grundlage und Richtschnur der Christenheit.

3 S. „Entstehung des NT.s" S. 46 ff.

4 S. a. a. O. S. 39 ff.

Folge gegeben. Endlich, die verstreuten Gemeinden durch dieses Verständnis des Christentums zu einer geschlossenen Einheit, zu einer tatsächlichen Kirche zusammenzuschließen und dadurch vor Zerfließen in die Zeitströmungen und in den Judaismus zu bewahren, hat ebenfalls M. als einzelner mit bewunderungswürdiger Energie zuerst unternommen.

Was taten die Bischöfe und Lehrer der großen Christenheit, als dieser „Wolf", wie sie sagten, in die Herde einbrach, als dieses „*στόμα ἀθεότητος*" zu reden anhob und dieser „Gigant" wider den Schöpfergott den Kampf begann. Was taten sie, als wie aus dem Boden gestampft sich inmitten der verstreuten Einzelgemeinden im Reich der geschlossene Bau der Marcionitischen katholischen Kirche erhob. Wir haben schon erzählt, daß sie den höchsten Eifer einsetzten und daß wir die Verbreitung der neuen Kirche in allen Provinzen des Reichs aus der Fülle der Gegenschriften kennen, die zwischen 150 und 200 überall geschrieben wurden. Daß diese Kirche zu verdammen sei, darüber gab es keinen Zweifel; aber um sich ihrer zu erwehren, hat die große Christenheit alles von Marcion rezipieren müssen und rezipiert, was er geschaffen hat, mit Ausnahme des religiösen Grundgedankens. Sie selbst hat nun erst auch ein schriftliches NT hervorgebracht; sie hat in diesem NT „Evangelium" und „Apostolus" wie M. auf einer Fläche verbunden (den „Apostolus" nach ihrer Tradition erweiternd); sie hat alsbald von M. gelernt, daß man die Lehre gegen ihr Zerfließen und gegen Einflüsse von außen sicherstellen müsse, indem man sie als Theologie des NTs zu fassen habe, und sie hat ebenfalls von ihm zu lernen begonnen, daß die Soteriologie der Kosmologie überzuordnen sei [1].

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1 Bei der großen Gegenbewegung gegen M., die sich entwickelte, hatte die römische Gemeinde, von der er mit seiner Kirchenstiftung ausgegangen war, unzweifelhaft die Führung. Sie hat zuerst von M. gelernt, was von ihm zu lernen war, und es die anderen Gemeinden gelehrt. Sie hat dann noch Kräftigeres über M. hinaus zum Bau und zur Sicherstellung der neuen katholischen Kirche hervorgebracht. Die Konzeption des Gedankens der bischöflichen Sukzession und ihre Verbindung mit dem

Nicht nur durch die Tatsache, daß alle diese Stücke bei M. früher auftauchen als in der großen Kirche, wird die kausierende Priorität dieses einzigen Mannes bewiesen[1], sondern noch sicherer durch die Beobachtungen (s. Beilage III u. IV), wie stark die Marcionitische Bibel als solche auf die katholische eingewirkt hat. Vor allem spricht hier das mächtige Eindringen der Marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen in die lateinische Bibel der Kirche die beredteste Sprache[2]. Wie oft muß anfangs die Marcionitische Briefsammlung in die Hände der Katholiken gekommen und zunächst unerkannt geblieben sein!

Gedanken der Garantie für die traditio veritatis sind nicht von M., wenn wir auch in späterer Zeit von *διαδοχαὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων* in den Marcionitischen Kirchen hören.

1 Daß auch ohne die Marcionitische Bewegung die innere kirchliche Entwicklung zur Schöpfung des NTs, zu seiner Zweiteiligkeit, zur christlichen Theologie als Theologie des neuen Buchs und zur (relativen) Zurückdrängung der Kosmologie geführt hätte, ist eine These, über die sich schwer diskutieren läßt; mir scheint sie keineswegs sicher. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, daß die Kirche ohne jene Bewegung sich mit den vier Evangelien (in kanonisch unsicherer Dignität) neben dem AT begnügt hätte, daß sie daher auch schwerlich zur Überwindung des Diffusen in ihrer Lehre und zur Theologie des Buchs gekommen wäre (auch so ist sie durch die zwei Testamente, die sie nun anerkannte, und aus anderen Gründen nur sehr bedingt zu ihr gekommen) und daß die Kosmologie ihre Überordnung über der Soteriologie behauptet hätte. Wendet man aber ein, daß doch nicht M. allein hier in Betracht komme, sondern auch der Gnostizismus, so verkennt man die numerische und sachliche Inferiorität des Gnostizismus als kirchengeschichtlichen Faktors neben der Marcionitischen Kirche. Wohl nennt Tert. die Valentinianer — sie können allein hier in Betracht kommen — „frequentissimum collegium", aber eben „collegium". Gewiß haben Irenäus und er sie eingehend bekämpft, aber die exotischen valentinianischen geheimen Spekulationen reizten durch ihre Kuriositäten zur Aufdeckung und Widerlegung und da sie in die christliche Oberschicht eindrangen, verlangten sie eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit.

2 Es sei hier nochmals (s. S. 132* f.) daran erinnert, daß so konservative Kritiker wie die Herausgeber des „Novum Testamentum domini nostri J. Chr., Latine sec. edit. S. Hieronymi (Wordsworth und White) geschrieben haben (T. II, 1, 1913, p. 41): „Marcionis ‚Apostolicon' Latine etiam circumlatum est et communi usu tritum... et alias abunde testatum est, ecclesiam nonnihil etiam in Novi Testamenti corpore conformando haereticis debere".

Es fehlten eben Jahrzehnte lang in den katholischen Kirchen Exemplare der Paulusbriefe (s. o.). Aber auch die offenbare Tatsache, daß Irenäus, der Begründer der soteriologischen Kirchenlehre, sowie Tertullian und Origenes ihre biblischen Lehren über Güte und Gerechtigkeit, über Evangelium und Gesetz, über den Schöpfergott und den Erlösergott usw. im Kampf gegen M. entwickelt und dabei von ihm gelernt haben, ist von höchstem Belang[1]. Endlich — durch M. ist auch für die große Kirche Paulus wiedererweckt worden, den z. B. ein Lehrer wie Justin bereits ganz zur Seite geschoben und der römische Christ Hermas völlig ignoriert hatte. Vor allem aber die Stellung der großen Christenheit zum AT ist infolge der Auseinandersetzung mit M. eine wesentlich andere geworden als früher. Vorher war die Gefahr brennend, daß man das AT als die christliche Urkunde, teils wörtlich, teils allegorisch erklärt, anerkannte und sich mit ihr begnügte; jetzt wurde zwar diese Gefahr noch immer nicht endgültig beseitigt und eine befriedigende Klarheit nicht hergestellt, aber die Beurteilung, daß im AT „das Erz noch in den Gruben liegt" und daß es die legisdatio in servitutem sei gegenüber der NTlichen legisdatio in libertatem, schaffte sich doch Raum und Ansehen. Ja wir hören jetzt von hervorragenden Kirchenlehrern Äußerungen über das AT, die noch über Paulus hinausgehen. Das verdankt die Kirche Marcion.

Nimmt man hinzu, daß erst nach M. in der großen Christenheit die zielstrebige Arbeit begonnen hat, die h. Kirche, die Braut Christi, die geistliche Eva, den jenseitigen Äon vom Himmel herabzuführen und auf Erden die Gemeinden zu einer tatsächlichen Gemeinschaft und Einheit auf dem Grunde einer festen, im NT wurzelnden Lehre zusammenzuschließen, wie er es getan hat, so ist erwiesen, daß M. durch seine organisatorischen und theologischen Kon-

1 Die beiden Hauptsätze des Irenäus: „Der Schöpfergott ist auch der Erlösergott" und „der Sohn Gottes ist zum Menschensohn geworden", auf denen die ganze weitere Entwicklung der Kirchenlehre ruht, sind streng antimarcionitisch, und doch steckt M. hinter ihnen, weil Irenäus sie soteriologisch verstanden und entwickelt hat im Unterschied von der rationalistischen Dürftigkeit der meisten Apologeten vor ihm.

zeptionen und durch sein Wirken den entscheidenden Anstoß zur Schöpfung der altkatholischen Kirche gegeben und das Vorbild geliefert hat. Ihm gebührt ferner das Verdienst, die Idee einer kanonischen Sammlung christlicher Schriften, des Neuen Testaments, zuerst erfaßt und zuerst verwirklicht zu haben. Endlich hat er als erster in der Kirche nach Paulus die Soteriologie zum Mittelpunkt der Lehre gemacht, während die kirchlichen Apologeten neben ihm die christliche Lehre auf die Kosmologie gründeten[1].

X. Marcions Christentum kirchengeschichtlich und religionsphilosophisch beleuchtet.

1. Der Antinomismus und die Verwerfung des Alten Testaments.

Zur Verwerfung des AT ist M. sowohl durch die Zurückweisung des Schöpfergottes als auch durch die Ablehnung des Gesetzes geführt worden; doch schon die letztere allein hätte

1 Ich habe diese Thesen, allerdings noch nicht mit der nötigen Bestimmtheit, sowohl in meinem Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte als auch in der Schrift über die Entstehung des NT seit Jahren dargelegt und erhärtet; aber in den kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlichen Lehrbüchern und Monographien, die seitdem erschienen sind, sind sie noch immer nicht gebührend anerkannt worden. Die Geschichte der Entwicklung des Urchristentums zur katholischen Kirche muß einen anderen Aufbau erhalten als bisher; M. und seiner Kirche muß für das 2. Jahrhundert mutatis mutandis eine so hervorragende Stelle (und eine ähnliche, in mancher Hinsicht noch weiter greifende Bedeutung) gegeben werden wie der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert. Der Gnostizismus neben M. muß kirchengeschichtlich (anders ideengeschichtlich) einen bescheidenen Platz erhalten, und die altkatholische Kirche muß als ein (antithetisches und synthetisches) Produkt der Einwirkung Marcions auf das nachapostolische Christentum erscheinen. Die Christenheit (die Kirche) vor Marcion und nach Marcion — das ist ein noch viel größerer Unterschied als die abendländische Kirche vor der Reformation und nach der Reformation!

ihn dazu bestimmt; denn Gesetzliches in der Religion erschien ihm als ihre Verkehrung, und Apelles beurteilte, gewiß im Sinne des Meisters, das Gesetz der Schöpfung gegenüber als das noch Schlimmere. Denkt man mit Paulus und M. den Gegensatz zwischen „der Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben" und „der Gerechtigkeit aus den Werken" scharf durch und überzeugt sich zugleich von dem Unzureichenden der Mittel, mit denen Paulus das kanonische Ansehen des AT festhalten zu können geglaubt hat, so vermag kein konsequentes Denken die Geltung des AT als kanonischer Urkunde in der christlichen Kirche zu ertragen. Man darf es auch als sichere Erkenntnis aussprechen, daß die Kirche das AT weniger aus sachlichen Gründen festgehalten hat, als aus geschichtlichen. Zu den geschichtlichen muß auch die für die Kirche der alten Zeit maßgebende Erkenntnis gerechnet werden, daß Jesus selbst und Paulus auf dem Boden des AT gestanden haben. Über dieses Argument hätte auch M. als Kind seiner Zeit nicht hinwegkommen können; ebendarum beseitigte er es durch einen Gewaltstrich, indem er die Tradition über diese Stellung Jesu und seines Apostels für gefälscht erklärte.

Aber was wollen überhaupt in jener Zeit in bezug auf religiöse Erkenntnisse „Beweise" besagen? Sie waren unzureichend, verfehlt, sophistisch, ja oft nichts anderes als schillernde Seifenblasen. Und was will zu allen Zeiten in der Religion die gemeine Logik der Konsequenzen besagen, da sie doch ihre eigene Logik hat? Nur die Sachen selbst haben ein Interesse und verdienen eine ernsthafte Würdigung; denn in ihnen steckt das Unveränderliche und Unverlierbare.

Marcion hat die Christenheit vom AT befreien wollen, die Kirche aber hat es beibehalten; er hat nicht verboten, das Buch in die Hand zu nehmen, ja er hat sogar anerkannt, daß in ihm Nützliches zu lesen sei; aber er sah in ihm einen anderen Geist als im Evangelium, und er wollte in der Religion von zwei Geistern nichts wissen. Hat er recht oder hat die Kirche recht, die sich von dem Buche nicht getrennt hat? Die Frage muß aufgeworfen werden; denn vor uns steht nicht ein beliebiger Theologe ohne Wirksamkeit und Anhang, sondern der Mann, der das Neue Testament begründet und eine große Kirche geschaffen hat, die Jahrhunderte lang blühte. Er darf mit Recht auf die Ehre Anspruch machen, daß man ihn noch heute ernsthaft nimmt. Auch

ist jene Geschichtsphilosophie noch nicht allgemein gültig, die unter allen Umständen dem Gewordenen recht gibt.

Die These, die im folgenden begründet werden soll, lautet: das AT im 2. Jahrhundert zu verwerfen, war ein Fehler, den die große Kirche mit Recht abgelehnt hat; es im 16. Jahrhundert beizubehalten, war ein Schicksal, dem sich die Reformation noch nicht zu entziehen vermochte; es aber seit dem 19. Jahrhundert als kanonische Urkunde im Protestantismus noch zu konservieren, ist die Folge einer religiösen und kirchlichen Lähmung.

Die Begründung der Erkenntnis, daß die Verwerfung des AT im 2. Jahrhundert (und im kirchlichen Altertum und Mittelalter überhaupt) ein Fehler war, ist leicht zu geben: damals war es, weil das Werden in der Geschichte den Augen verborgen war, schlechthin unmöglich, das AT zu verwerfen, wenn man nicht jede Verbindung der christlichen Religion mit ihm abschnitt und es für das Buch eines falschen Gottes erklärte [1]. So ist M. verfahren. Diese Behauptung ist aber so ungeschichtlich und grundstürzend, zugleich aber auch religiös so verwirrend, daß die Kirche ihr gegenüber alle Schwierigkeiten, alle verhängnisvollen Folgen und alle Sophismen, die die Beibehaltung des AT mit sich brachte, instinktiv und mit Recht in den Kauf genommen hat. Gewiß wird man dem Manne die Anerkennung nicht versagen, der, weil er das Evangelium und das Gesetz für unvereinbar hielt, sich mutig der mächtigsten Tradition entgegenwarf und das AT opferte; aber — von dem geschichtlichen Vacuum, das hinter der christlichen Religion nun entstand, und von der Vergewaltigung der Verkündigung Jesu und des Paulus abgesehen — welche unsägliche Verwirrung mußte entstehen, wenn man die Frömmigkeit der Psalmisten

1 Oder für ein Fabel- und Lügenbuch, was auf dasselbe herauskommt. Die wissenschaftlich sehr beachtenswerte vermittelnde Betrachtung, welche verschiedene Bestandteile in dem Buch unterschied (Ptolemäus, Pseudoklementinen u. a.), läuft auch auf eine Verwerfung als Ganzes hinaus; sie konnte übrigens nur Sache der Gelehrten und theologischen Schulen sein.

und die tiefen Prophetenworte als die Wirkungen einer verwerflichen Gottheit zu verurteilen gezwungen war! Unheiliges als Heiliges nehmen zu müssen, das kann jede Religion bis zu einem gewissen Grade ertragen; aber Gutes für schlecht, Heiliges für verwerflich zu halten, das muß sich rächen. Das AT hat die Christenheit in einen tragischen Konflikt gebracht: er war im 2. Jahrhundert und bis auf weiteres nicht so zu lösen, wie ihn M. gelöst hat, sondern wie die Kirche ihn löste. Das NT half ihr seit dem Ausgang des 2. Jahrhunderts dabei und beseitigte wenigstens einen Teil der drückenden Schwierigkeiten und der Sophismen, mit denen man sich die Augen verblendete; nun durfte man Stufen unterscheiden und das AT auf die niedere stellen; freilich blieb diese Unterscheidung immer bedroht, denn es kann — das erschien selbstverständlich — nur eine Inspiration und nur eine durch sie gesetzte lex veritatis geben.

Durch Luther[1] wurde die Paulinisch-Marcionitische Erkenntnis des Unterschieds von Gesetz und Evangelium wieder in den Mittelpunkt gestellt; sie wurde der Hebel der Reformation als geistlicher Bewegung. Seine allen anderen Glaubensbetrachtungen übergeordnete These lautete im Negativen: „Lex non potest nobis monstrare verum deum"; das Gesetz ist „der Juden Sachsenspiegel", ist ein „leibliches Gesetz", das die Christen nicht mehr bedürfen, sie haben dafür das kaiserliche Recht; die Gerechtigkeit, die aus dem Gesetz kommt, auch aus seiner Summe, ist ficta et servilis. Die ganze Gesetzessphäre als irdische untersteht dem Christen[2], nicht er ihr; als religiöse aber gehört sie einer

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1 Ich gehe sofort zu ihm über, obgleich die Geschichte der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche hier auch noch Beachtenswertes bietet; doch ist es nicht von solcher Wichtigkeit, daß es erwähnt werden müßte. Vor allem kommt Augustin in Betracht und die Augustinisch-Paulinischen, sowie die antinomistischen Reaktionen in der Kirche; sie bieten alle eine Seite, nach der sie mit dem Marcionitismus verwandt sind. Eine Untersuchung: „Marcion und Augustin", wäre von besonderem Interesse; vgl. auch meine Abhandlung: „Geschichte der Lehre von der Seligkeit allein durch den Glauben in der alten Kirche" („Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche" I, 1891, S. 82—178) und den zweiten Abschnitt dieses Kapitels.

2 „De legibus quibuscumque tandem nemo potest iudicare nisi ille, qui evangelium habet et intelligit" (Wrampelmeyer, Tagebuch über Luther des Cordatus, 1885, S. 55).

überwundenen Stufe an; wer das nicht erkennt, muß Jude bleiben. Da aber das Gesetz durch das gesamte AT, einschließlich der Propheten, hindurchgeht, so liegt das ganze einheitliche Buch unterhalb der Christenheit.

Noch deutlicher sah Agricola: er beurteilte das Gesetz als einen verfehlten Versuch Gottes, durch Drohung die Menschen zu leiten. Kann Gott aber etwas verfehlen?[1] Von hier aus war kaum mehr als ein Schritt zu der besonnenen Erklärung, die Luther in bezug auf die alexandrinischen Bestandteile des AT ja auch wirklich abgegeben hat, die ATlichen Bücher seien „gut und nützlich zu lesen", gehörten aber nicht neben das NT, weil sie keine kanonische Richtschnur seien. Welch eine Entlastung der Christenheit und ihrer Lehre wäre es gewesen, wenn Luther diesen Schritt getan hätte! Gehörte mehr christlicher Freimut und Kühnheit zu ihm als zu dem Schritt, den er in der Schrift De captivitate Babylonica gegenüber den Sakramenten unternommen hat, und war nicht die kritische Geschichtserkenntnis schon erwacht? Hatte Luther nicht selbst seit der Leipziger Disputation und bis zu der Schrift über die Konzilien und Kirchen ein einschneidendes Urteil nach dem anderen an der kirchengeschichtlichen Überlieferung vollzogen? Waren nicht auch in bezug auf das AT alle Prämissen gegeben, um ihm endlich sein kanonisches Ansehen in der Christenheit zu nehmen und ihm die hohe geschichtliche Stelle anzuweisen, die ihm gebührt?

Die Prämissen waren vorhanden, aber ihre Konsequenzen konnten noch nicht gezogen werden; denn an diesem Punkt waren Tradition und Gewohnheit doch noch stärker als die erst aufdämmernde geschichtliche Kritik — die Bibel stand fester als die Kirchenlehre, die allegorische Erklärung herrschte noch, und Luther waren die Psalmen so teuer wie die Paulusbriefe — und wenn ihm auch der Mut und die Kraft zuzutrauen sind, daß er einer bloßen Tradition entgegengetreten wäre, so war er an diesem Punkt noch religiös gebunden. Dies war das Entscheidende. Während Agricola wie Marcion

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1 Auf die Verwandtschaft zwischen Agricola und Marcion hat Frank aufmerksam gemacht (Theologie der Konkordienformel II, S. 255).

verkündigte, daß Gottes Güte allein die Buße bewirkt, und damit die Überflüssigkeit des Gesetzes für den ordo salutis proclamierte, glaubte Luther, das Gesetz zur Erweckung der Gewissen nicht entbehren zu können und fand auch sonst Gesichtspunkte, nach welchen die Verkündigung des Gesetzes als des deutlichen Ausdrucks des h. Willens Gottes nicht aufhören dürfe. Er trat damit zwar in Widerspruch zu anderen, ihm teuren Glaubensgedanken, und das hat ihn selbst innerlich angefochten; aber seine konservative Stellung zum AT war entschieden. Daher blieb dem evangelischen Christentum die kanonische Autorität des AT als Schicksal; die widerstrebenden Mächte waren zu schwach, und die Erkenntnis: „Lex non potest nobis monstrare verum deum", fiel, auf das ganze AT angewendet, kraftlos zu Boden. Man muß noch mehr sagen: durch die Reformation erhielt der Biblizismus, der schon vor ihr im Wachsen gewesen war, eine außerordentliche Verstärkung, und das kam auch dem AT zu gut. Im Gebiete des Luthertums machten sich seine bedenklichen Wirkungen zwar weniger geltend, um so stärker aber in den täuferischen und den aus Täufertum und Reformation gemischten Kirchen, zu welchen die Calvinischen gehören. Hier hat das dem NT völlig gleichgestellte AT unheilvoll auf die Dogmatik, die Frömmigkeit und die christliche Lebenspraxis eingewirkt, in einigen Gruppen sogar einen islamitischen Eifer erzeugt, in anderen eine neue Art von Judaismus hervorgerufen und durchweg ein gesetzliches Wesen befördert. Durch das allmähliche Zurücktreten der allegorischen Methode der Exegese wurden diese Wirkungen verschlimmert; denn diese hatte die inferiorsten und bedenklichen Züge des AT zu einem großen Teil außer Kraft gesetzt. Wäre Marcion zur Zeit der Hugenotten und Cromwells wiedererschienen, so wäre er dem kriegerischen Gott Israels, den er verabscheute, mitten in der Christenheit wieder begegnet. Die Reaktion konnte nicht ausbleiben, und sie entstand in demselben Gebiete der Christenheit, dem Calvinischen, in welchem man so unbedenklich dem ATlichen Geiste Raum gelassen hatte.

Beim Übergang des 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert tauchte, zunächst in der englischen Aufklärung, die Frage nach dem Recht des AT in der Kirche wieder auf, jetzt aber als allgemeine Religions- und Geschichtsfrage. Auch wo sie in Anlehnung an

Paulus beantwortet wurde, blieb doch sein tief begründeter Antinomismus außer Spiel. Am weitesten ist, Tindal folgend, Thomas Morgan gegangen und zeigt dabei in den Ergebnissen seiner geschichtlich-philosophischen Spekulation die frappantesten Parallelen zu Marcion, ohne ihm wirklich innerlich nahe zu stehen. Schon der Titel seines berühmten Dialogs zwischen einem christlichen Deisten und einem christlichen Juden (1737) mutet Marcionitisch an. Der Gott des AT wird ungefähr so gezeichnet wie von M. als ein beschränkter, kleinlicher und widerspruchsvoller Nationalgott, der auch Unmoralisches tut; die Mosaische Gesetzgebung ist ein ganz unbefriedigendes, partikular beschränktes und anstößiges Werk, eine Entstellung der lex naturae, die sich von den heidnischen Religionen wenig unterscheidet. Das Volk Israel, von Haus aus von schlechtem Charakter, geht an diesem Gesetze zugrunde. Jesus bringt die durch Offenbarung geklärte lex naturae; er hat zum wahren Schüler nur Paulus gehabt; die anderen Apostel alle haben Jesus mißverstanden und sind in das jüdische Wesen zurückgefallen, mit ihnen die Kirche, die also, wenn auch Verbesserungen durch die Einwirkungen des Paulus nicht gefehlt haben [1], bis heute noch zur Hälfte im Judentum steckt. Daß diese Darlegung, obgleich sie sehr viel Richtiges und Wertvolles enthielt, in ihren kecken Übertreibungen keinen Eindruck auf die offiziellen Kirchen machen konnte, versteht man. Für die Entstehung einer universalen und positiv-kritischen Geschichtsphilosophie ist sie von unermeßlicher Bedeutung geworden.

Diese hat sich im Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts auf dem Grunde, aber unter scharfer Korrektur, der religionsgeschichtlichen Erkenntnisse der englischen Aufklärung entwickelt und dabei von Schleiermacher, Hegel, sowie von der Gesamtheit der aus dem Pietismus stammenden Denker den Sinn für die Eigenart und Würde der christlichen Religion erhalten. Im Formalen war (neben der Schulung für die Beobachtung des Tatsächlichen in allen seinen Erscheinungen) die Erkenntnis der Immanenz der Ideen im Wirklichen und der Entwicklung der Wahrheit im Gange

1 Die Idee, die katholische Kirche sei nach Kämpfen ein Ausgleich zwischen Petrinern und Paulinern, findet sich auch bei Morgan.

der Geschichte das Hauptergebnis. Im Materialen darf man, die christliche Religion anlangend, die Erkenntnis von der Eigenart ihres Gottesbegriffs sub specie Christi als das Hauptergebnis betrachten. Aus geschichtskritischen und religiösen Gründen folgte von hier aus mit zwingender Notwendigkeit und Evidenz, zumal da der Begriff der Inspiration im alten Sinne aufgelöst war, daß jede Art der Gleichstellung des AT mit dem NT und jede Autorität desselben im Christentum unstatthaft ist. Klar hat das Schleiermacher erkannt und andere neben ihm; Marcion hat recht bekommen, wenn auch teilweise mit anderer Begründung. Seit einem Jahrhundert wissen das die evangelischen Kirchen und haben nach ihren Prinzipien die Pflicht, dem Folge zu geben, d. h. das AT zwar an die Spitze der Bücher zu stellen, „die gut und nützlich zu lesen sind" und die Kenntnis der wirklich erbaulichen Abschnitte in Kraft zu erhalten, aber den Gemeinden keinen Zweifel darüber zu lassen, daß das AT kein kanonisches Buch ist. Aber diese Kirchen sind gelähmt, haben sich kein Organ schaffen können, durch welches sie sich von veralteten Traditionen zu befreien vermögen, und finden auch nicht die Kraft und den Mut, der Wahrheit die Ehre zu geben; sie fürchten sich vor den Folgen eines Bruchs mit der Tradition, während sie die viel verhängnisvolleren Folgen nicht sehen oder mißachten, die fort und fort aus der Aufrechterhaltung des ATs als heiliger und daher untrüglicher Schrift entstehen. Stammt doch die größte Zahl der Einwendungen, welche „das Volk" gegen das Christentum und gegen die Wahrhaftigkeit der Kirche erhebt, aus dem Ansehen, welches die Kirche noch immer dem AT gibt. Hier reinen Tisch zu machen und der Wahrheit in Bekenntnis und Unterricht die Ehre zu geben, das ist die Großtat, die heute — fast schon zu spät — vom Protestantismus verlangt wird. Die Einwendung der Überklugen und Verschlagenen aber, die Autorität des NT im alten Sinn (Buchstaben-Autorität) sei durch Zerstörung des Inspirationsdogmas ja auch aufgelöst, also könne man die beiden Testamente wie bisher ruhig beieinander lassen, ist nur eine Ausflucht. Gewiß ist auch die Autorität des NT eine andere geworden, und das soll unzweideutig bekannt werden; aber es bleibt doch der Kanon für die Kirche, nicht aus formalen Gründen und nicht mit der formalen Autorität

des Buchstabens — wie es als Sammlung zustande gekommen ist, wissen wir jetzt; Marcion hat den Grund gelegt —, sondern weil sich eine bessere Urkundensammlung für die Bestimmung dessen, was christlich ist, nicht schaffen läßt. Zu diesem Kanon darf das AT nicht gestellt werden; denn was christlich ist, kann man aus ihm nicht ersehen. Die beiden anderen Einwendungen aber, man müsse dem AT die alte Stellung und Schätzung belassen, weil Jesus es als heilige Schrift anerkannt habe und weil es die große Urkunde für die Vorgeschichte des Christentums sei, dürfen auch nicht ins Gewicht fallen; denn Jesus selbst hat in seinem feierlichsten Wort seinen Jüngern gesagt, daß fortab alle Gotteserkenntnis durch ihn gehe, und der wissenschaftliche Gesichtspunkt, die Urkunden der Vorgeschichte des Christentums mit seinen eigenen auf einer Fläche zu verbinden, ist kein religiöser, sondern ein profaner.

So steht die Frage des AT, die M. einst gestellt und entschieden hat, heute noch fordernd vor der evangelischen Christenheit. Die übrige Christenheit muß sie überhören; denn sie ist außerstande, die richtige Antwort zu geben, der Protestantismus aber kann es und kann es um so mehr, als das schreckliche Dilemma, unter welchem M. einst gestanden, längst weggeräumt ist. Er mußte das AT als ein falsches, widergöttliches Buch verwerfen, um das Evangelium rein behalten zu können; von „verwerfen" ist aber heute nicht die Rede, vielmehr wird dieses Buch erst dann in seiner Eigenart und Bedeutung (die Propheten) allüberall gewürdigt und geschätzt werden, wenn ihm die kanonische Autorität, die ihm nicht gebührt, entzogen ist [1].

2. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott und der Panchristismus.

Die Schriften sind ihrem Wortsinn nach zu verstehen; alle Allegoristik ist zu verbannen — das Evangelium steht auf sich

1 Ich protestiere hiermit dagegen, daß meine Ausführungen mit denen von Friedrich Delitzsch („Die große Täuschung") zusammengestellt werden, wie dies mehrfach geschehen ist; diese sind vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus ebenso rückständig wie vom religiösen verwerflich.

selbst; es bedarf keiner Beglaubigung durch äußere Autoritäten und Weissagungsbeweise [1], keines Unterbaus durch die Philosophie, keiner Verklärung durch die ästhetische Anschauung und keiner Belebung durch den Synkretismus oder durch Enthusiasmus, Mystik und Pneumatik — das AT ist das Buch des minderwertigen jüdischen Gottes — für das geschichtliche Verständnis des kirchlichen Christentums mit seinen Gesetzlichkeiten muß man auf den Kampf zwischen Paulus und den judaistischen Christen zurückgreifen — um das Wesen des Christentums für die Zukunft sicher zu stellen, bedarf es gegenüber dem AT und modernen Schriften einer kanonischen Sammlung seiner echten Urkunden — diese Sammlung muß zweiteilig sein, d. h. Christus und Paulus umfassen; denn dieser, und nur er, ist der authentische Interpret jenes — die Kirche ist nicht nur im Glauben, sondern auch tatsächlich einheitlich zusammenzuschließen und zu begründen, aber nicht auf irgendeine philosophische Dogmatik, sondern auf die Glaubens- und Lebensprinzipien des Evangeliums –: wenn Marcion nur diese Sätze geltend gemacht und, wie er es getan, kraftvoll vertreten hätte, so hätte er schon genug getan, um sich eine einzigartige und eminente Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte als ein ebenso scharfer, wie profunder, und als ein ebenso realistischer wie religiöser Geist zu sichern.

Ist doch in dem, was er ablehnt und was er fordert, ein ganz bestimmter und charaktervoller christlicher Religionstypus gegeben, nämlich der, nach welchem die christliche Religion schlechthin nichts anderes ist als Glaube (im Sinne der fides historica und fiducia) an die Offenbarung Gottes

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1 Es seien hier um ihrer Bedeutung willen die Marcionitischen Worte deutsch wiedergegeben, die uns durch Origenes (in Joh. II, § 199; s. o. S. 108) erhalten sind: „Der Sohn Gottes braucht keine ‚Zeugen' (d. h. keine Propheten, die auf ihn geweissagt haben); denn in seinen machtvollen Heilandsworten und in seinen Wundertaten liegt die überzeugende und tieferschütternde Kraft". Und nun ganz wörtlich: „Wenn Moses Glauben gefunden hat um seines Wortes und seiner Krafttaten willen und nicht nötig hatte, daß ihm weissagende Zeugen vorangingen, und wenn ebenso jeder Prophet vom Volk als von Gott gesandt angenommen wurde, um wieviel mehr hat nicht der, der viel mehr war als Moses und die Propheten, die Kraft, ohne vorherbezeugende Propheten das auszuführen, was er will, und der Menschheit zu helfen".

in Christus. Da dabei der Rekurs auf jede religiöse Anlage (im Sinne des Prologs der Konfessionen Augustins) wegfällt, der Mensch also der (fremden) Heilsbotschaft gegenüber „truncus et lapis" ist, so ist wirklich der Glaubensbegriff Luthers derjenige, der dem Marcionitischen am nächsten steht, wie schon Neander (s. S. 198) gesehen hat.

Aber weit über Luther hinaus hat M. den Kontrast zwischen Gott dem Heiland und der Welt, zwischen dem Wunder der Erlösung und dem Menschlichen — sei es auch dem höchsten — auf die Spitze getrieben, und hierin besteht seine singuläre Eigenart. Er hat das Evangelium, d. h. Christus, so erlebt, daß er schlechthin jede religiöse Offenbarung und Erweckung außer ihm als falsch und feindlich beurteilt hat.

Hieraus mußte er die erschütternde, aber in ihrer Einfachheit zugleich befreiende Folgerung ziehen, die ihn auf dem Boden des Christentums zum Religionsstifter gemacht hat: der bekannte Gott dieser Welt ist ein verwerfliches Wesen; das Evangelium aber ist die Botschaft vom fremden Gott; er ruft uns nicht aus der Fremde, in die wir uns verirrt, in die Heimat, sondern aus der grauenvollen Heimat, zu der wir gehören, in eine selige Fremde.

Nur sofern sie soteriologisch orientiert ist, trägt diese Religionsstiftung den Stempel ihrer Zeit [1]; sonst ist sie vollkommen unjüdisch und ebenso unhellenisch. Kann es etwas Unhellenischeres geben, als diesen völligen Verzicht auf die Kosmologie, die Metaphysik und das Ästhetische? [2] Und wenn hier jedes Paktieren mit dem höheren Menschentum, mit dem Genialischen, dem Prophetischen und dem Spekulativen, ebenso streng ausgeschlossen ist wie mit dem Moralismus, dem Legalen und dem bloß Autoritativen — welch' eine Umwertung der Werte und welch' eine Auflösung der Kultur mußte die Folge sein! Im neuen Lichte des Evangeliums verkündigte Marcion der ganzen

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1 Niemand konnte damals ein Gott sein, der nicht auch ein Heiland war; nur die wenigen genuinen Stoiker dachten darüber anders.

2 „Haec cellula creatoris" — hätte je ein Hellene so abschätzig von Himmel und Erde sprechen können? Diese Welt des physischen und moralischen Ungeziefers!

alten Welt und ihren gleißenden Idealen die Götterdämmerung: „Die falschen Götzen macht zu Spott; ein neuer Herr ist Gott“ [1].

Man muß, um M. vollkommen zu verstehen, den Versuch machen, die zeitgeschichtlichen Gerüste abzubrechen. Man kann das, ohne ihn auch nur in einem Zuge zu modernisieren; im folgenden ist der Versuch gemacht:

In dieser bösen Welt, der wir angehören, und in uns selbst verschlingen sich zwei Reiche: das eine ist das der Materie und des Fleisches, das andere das des „Geistes“, der Moral und der Gerechtigkeit. Vereint und in sich verschlungen sind sie, obschon sie im Gegensatz zueinander stehen; das weist auf die jammervolle Schwäche dessen zurück, der für diese Schöpfung verantwortlich ist; er, obgleich „Geist“ und moralische Kraft, war nicht imstande, etwas Besseres als diese entsetzliche Welt zu schaffen, zu der er den „Stoff“ aus der von ihm als schlecht gehaßten Materie nehmen mußte. In dieser Welt steht der Mensch; aus fleischlicher Lust und der unsäglich gemeinen Begattung entstehend, mit dem Leibe behaftet und an ihn gekettet, zieht es ihn hinunter in das Treiben der Natur, und die große Menge der Menschen ergeht sich in allen Schanden und Lastern und lebt in brutalem Egoismus schlimm, schamlos und „heidnisch“. So will sie der Gott nicht, der sie geschaffen hat; er will sie „gerecht“, hat ihnen einen Sinn für das Gerecht-Gute eingepflanzt und sucht sie zu diesem zu leiten. Aber was ist dieses „Gerecht-Gute“, was ist das höchste Ideal? Und wie leitet er sie? Die Antwort auf diese Fragen kann man aus der „Welt“ und der Geschichte, aus dem „Gesetz“ und der Moral selbst ablesen; denn die „Welt“ und das „Gesetz“ sind ja nichts anderes als der Gott dieser Welt und als der Gott des Gesetzes [2].

Der objektive Befund zeigt also ein widerspruchsvolles Durcheinander, das jeder Rechtfertigung spottet. Einerseits gewahrt man eine strenge und peinliche Gerechtigkeit, die sich im Physischen und Moralischen durchzusetzen strebt, mit Verboten, Prämien und Strafen arbeitet und so das Naturhafte und Gemeine zu überwinden trachtet; man gewahrt den Geist der zehn Gebote, der Autorität, der Gehorsamsforderung, des Knechtisch-

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1 Auf die Verwandtschaft mit Tolstoi sei schon hier hingewiesen.

2 Marcion hat diese Gleichungen ausdrücklich vollzogen, s. S. 103.

Guten und einer mühsam sich durchsetzenden, angeblich sittlichen Weltordnung. Aber mit diesem „Gerechten" ist Sinnloses, Härte und Grausamkeit und wiederum Schwanken, Schwäche und Kleinliches so untrennbar verbunden, daß alles zu einem jämmerlichen Schauspiel wird. Und selbst damit ist noch nicht das Schlimmste gesagt: diese Gerechtigkeit selbst, und zwar gerade dort, wo sie am reinsten erscheint und das Naturhafte mehr oder weniger gebändigt hat, ist im tiefsten unsittlich; denn sie ist ohne Liebe, stellt alles unter Zwang, reizt ebendadurch erst zur Sünde und führt nicht aus der Welt heraus.

Dieser „Gott", d. h. also diese Welt, ist das Schicksal des Menschen; ihm bleibt nur eine bange Wahl: entweder er entzieht seinem Schöpfer durch Libertinismus, Schande und Laster den Gehorsam und verfällt damit als entsprungener Sklave seinem Zorn und Gericht — das ist das Los der großen Mehrzahl —, oder er folgt ihm und seinem launenhaften Willen mit knechtischem Gehorsam und wird ein Gerechtigkeits-, Gesetzes- und Kulturmensch; dann überwindet er zwar das Gemeine, aber es wird schlimmer mit ihm; denn im Grunde ist nicht das Böse der Feind des Guten — sie sind inkommensurabel und das Böse ist heilbar —, sondern jene erzwungene, angelernte und selbstzufriedene „Gerechtigkeit", die von Liebe ebensowenig weiß wie von einer Erhebung ins Überweltliche, und die zwischen Furcht und tugendstolzem Behagen abwechselnd, niemals zur Freiheit kommt.

Die furchtbare Tragik des Menschenschicksals ist damit gegeben. Nicht gleißende Laster sind die Tugenden des Menschen, wohl aber stumpfen sie hoffnungslos gegen Höheres ab. Wieviel tiefer schaute Marcion in das Menschliche hinein als die Durchschnittschristenheit seiner Tage [1]: das angepriesene Heilmittel, das heteronome Gesetz, ist in seinem Effekt, so lehrte er, schlimmer als das Grundübel! Es befreit wohl von diesem Übel, aber es führt ein schlimmeres herauf, die Verhärtung in einer

1 Sie konnte unter Umständen die Welt wohl noch härter beurteilen als Marcion, indem sie erklärte, dieser Äon sei ganz des Teufels; aber — der mundus ist doch gut, nur das saeculum ist schlecht, und als vernünftiges Wesen kann der Mensch jederzeit zum „Guten" sich erheben.

selbstgerechten Lieblosigkeit und Mediocrité, die unheilbar ist. Daher — fort mit jeder Theodizee und fort mit jeder teleologischen Kosmologie; an dieser Welt samt ihren Idealen und ihrem Gott ist nichts zu rechtfertigen, und ihre „Gerechten" sind Sklaven! Hier gilt nicht nur: „Valet will ich dir geben, du arge, falsche Welt" sondern noch vielmehr ein heiliger Trotz gegenüber den „himmlischen Mächten", die in dieses Leben hineinführen, den Menschen schuldig werden lassen und ihn mit ihrer empörenden „Gerechtigkeit" beherrschen —: bis zum physischen Ekel vor allem, was die Menge „Gott" nennt und was doch „Welt" ist, soll man den Widerwillen empfinden [1].

Aber so zu empfinden vermag nur, wem das „Ganz Andere", das „Fremde" aufgegangen ist — aufgegangen als die Macht der Liebe, und nicht nur als ein subjektiv, sondern auch als ein objektiv Neues. Hier bleiben selbst die weit hinter Marcion zurück, die, wie Paulus und seine Schüler, von der „neuen Kreatur" und dem „neuen Zustand der Seele" in ergreifenden Bekenntnissen gesprochen haben [2]; denn sie dachten immer nur an eine neue Art der Offenbarung Gottes; solch ein Halbgedanke aber in bezug auf Gott war M. ein Greuel. Er verkündete deshalb den fremden Gott mit einer ganz neuen „dispositio". An Christus hatte er ihn erlebt und nur an ihm; daher erhob er den geschichtlichen Realismus des christlichen Erlebnisses zum transzendenten und erblickte über der dunklen und dumpfen Sphäre der Welt und ihres Schöpfers die Sphäre einer neuen Wirklichkeit, d. h. einer neuen Gottheit [3].

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1 Man erinnere sich wiederum Tolstois.

2 Pascal, Pensées p. 340: „La première chose que Dieu inspire à l'âme qu'il daigne toucher véritablement, est une connaissance et une vue tout extraordinaire, par laquelle l'âme considère les choses et elle même d'une façon toute nouvelle. Cette nouvelle lumière lui donne de la crainte".

3 Wenn heute die Religionsphilosophie wieder das Objekt der Religion (das „Heilige") grundlegend als das „ganz Andere", als das „Fremde" oder ähnlich definiert und zu dieser Grunddefinition Forscher vom Pietismus, von der reformatorischen Orthodoxie, vom Katholizismus und vom Kritizismus her gelangen, und wenn sie ferner von allen „Beweisen" abzusehen lehren und allein das Phänomen für sich sprechen lassen wollen,

Sie ist Liebe, nichts als Liebe; schlechterdings kein anderer Zug ist ihr beigemischt. Und sie ist unbegreifliche Liebe; denn sie nimmt sich in purem Erbarmen eines ihr ganz fremden Gebildes an und bringt ihm, indem sie alle Furcht austreibt, das neue, ewige Leben. Nunmehr gibt es etwas in der Welt, was nicht von dieser Welt ist und über sie erhebt! Als unfaßliches Geschenk wird es durch das Evangelium verkündet und ausgeteilt: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe zu denken, noch es mit irgendetwas vergleichen kann!" In demütigem Glauben allein wird es empfangen von den Armen und denen, die da hungern und dürsten.

In der Konzeption, daß Gott nichts ist als Liebe, ist der Gottesbegriff zugleich auf die höchste und auf die eindeutigste Formel gebracht. Wohl muß man fragen, ob da noch das Heilige als mysterium fascinosum et tremendum bestehen kann, wo der „Zorn" Gottes" abgelehnt wird, wo es keine „Furcht" mehr geben soll, wo der Lobpreis „die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes" verstummt, und wo sich die Liebe an kein Gesetz gebunden weiß. Aber es bedarf nur eines Blicks auf die eben zitierten Worte Marcions: „O Wunder über Wunder" usw., um zu erkennen, daß für diesen Mann das Erhabene und Geheimnisvolle, das Große und Heilige der Religion wirklich in der Liebe beschlossen war; denn diese Liebe war ihm doch die unfaßbare, allmächtige Liebe. Zwar kann zur Zeit der fremde Gott, der tief das Innerste erregt, „nach außen nichts bewegen"; als Elende und Gehaßte müssen daher seine Gläubigen diese entsetzliche Welt noch ertragen; aber in Christus ist sie schon überwunden, und am Ende des Weltlaufs wird es sich zeigen, daß der, der jetzt in uns ist, größer ist als der, der in der Welt ist. Die Welt mitsamt ihrer Gerechtigkeit, ihrer Kultur und ihrem Gott wird vergehen; aber das neue Reich der Liebe wird bleiben. Und in der Gewißheit, daß nichts von der Liebe Gottes scheiden

so haben sie allen Grund, sich des einzigen Vorgängers in der alten Kirchengeschichte zu erinnern, der diesen fremden Gott kannte, bei Namen rief und alle Beweise und „Bezeugungen", damit man an ihn glauben könne, abgelehnt hat.

kann, die in Christus erschienen ist, sind die Elenden und Gehaßten doch auch jetzt schon die Triumphierenden. Vom Geiste der Liebe regiert und zu einem Bruderbund in der heiligen Kirche zusammengeschlossen, sind sie schon jetzt über die Leiden dieser Zeit erhaben. Sie haben Geduld und können warten.

Dies alles ist aber keine blasse und erklügelte, aus dem Trotz der Verzweiflung über die Welt ersonnene Spekulation, sondern christliches Erlebnis; denn an der Person Christi ist dieses Neue eine leibhaftige Wirklichkeit; an ihm ist sie empfunden. Die Liebe ist Er, und Er ist die Liebe; die Erbarmung ist Er, und Er ist die Erscheinung des überweltlichen Gottes und des überweltlichen Lebens. Das Reich des Guten und der Liebe ist Panchristismus. Durch Christus und nur durch Ihn vollzieht sich auch die Umwertung der Werte: gewiß, auch Er lehnt das naturhaft Gemeine, den Fleischessinn ebenso ab wie der Weltschöpfer — diese moralische Ablehnung versteht sich immer von selbst —, aber nur die Sünder vermag er zu erlösen; denn die, welche sich aus der Sünde in die „Gerechtigkeit" dieser Welt geflüchtet haben, in ihr Gesetz und ihre Kultur, sind als verhärtete „Gerechte" der Erlösung nicht mehr fähig. Ist das eine verstiegene Behauptung?

Hat M. nicht wirklich recht gegenüber der großen Christenheit, damals und heute noch? Bringt er nicht das konsequente Schlußglied für die Kette, die durch die Propheten, Jesus und Paulus bezeichnet ist, trotz des gewaltigen Unterschieds? Ist denn der paradoxe Unterschied zwischen den Propheten und Jesus etwa geringer, wenn Jesus die Propheten zwar bestätigt, aber verkündigt: „Niemand kennt den Vater denn nur der Sohn"? Und wiederum, ist der paradoxe Unterschied zwischen Jesus und Paulus kleiner, wenn Paulus sich zwar in allem an das Wort des Herrn halten will, aber ihn gegen dieses Wort als das Ende des Gesetzes bezeichnet und einen antinomistischen Glaubensbegriff entwickelt, der durch kein Wort Jesu wirklich gedeckt ist? Ferner, gibt es eine rationale Theodizee, die nicht ihrer selbst spottet, und ist es nicht ein immer wieder gescheitertes Unternehmen, Wesen und Art, Grund und Hoffnung des Glaubens irgendwie mit der „Welt" in Einklang zu setzen, d. h. von der Ver-

nunft und dem Weltlauf aus zu begreifen? Wird der Geist nicht wirklich erst zum Geist, die Seele zur Seele und die Freiheit zur Freiheit, wenn ihnen jene unbegreifliche Liebe geschenkt wird, die nicht von dieser Welt ist? Und sind „Gerechtigkeit", Moral und Kultur wirkliche Heilmittel für den ans Sinnliche gebundenen Menschen, sind sie nicht Palliative, die schließlich das Übel noch ärger machen, wenn der selbstlose höhere Liebeswille fehlt? Erzeugt der gestirnte Himmel über mir und das Sittengesetz in mir wirklich den Aufschwung zur aeterna veritas und vera aeternitas, die in der Liebe zu Gott und den Brüdern gegeben ist, oder sind sie nicht Kräfte, die bei jeder großen Probe versagen? Gibt es nicht wirklich drei Reiche, von denen zwei trotz ihres Gegensatzes untrennbar in sich verflochten sind, und nur das dritte eine neue Sphäre bezeichnet? Und ist nicht Christus — tatsächlich, was geht einen lebendigen Menschen die Frage nach dem Absoluten an? — der Anfänger und Vollender der neuen, freimachenden Gotteskraft?

In allen diesen Fragen, die hier nicht willkürlich an M. herangebracht sind, sondern in denen sein Glaube lebte, ist seine Entscheidung klar. Der Christ und der Religionsphilosoph mag aber noch folgendes bedenken:

M. hat mit einer herrlichen Sicherheit verkündet, daß der Liebeswille Jesu, also Gottes, nicht richtet, sondern hilft, und er will, daß schlechthin nichts anderes von ihm ausgesagt werde. Er hat ferner diesem Evangelium so vertraut, daß er das Furchtmotiv in jedem Sinne ausgeschaltet hat und daher auch in bezug auf die Sünde nur das eine Motiv gelten läßt: „Absit, absit"; d. h. nur die Abkehr von der Sünde ist wirklich Abkehr, die aus dem Abscheu von ihr entspringt. Es ist auch kein Sophismus, wenn er erklärt, daß Gott am Ende der Dinge nicht richten werde, und doch einräumt, daß die große Menge der Menschen nicht erlöst werden wird; denn sie werden, wie er sich ausdrückt, von den Augen Gottes entfernt, weil sie sich selbst schon definitiv von ihm entfernt haben. Im übrigen kommt er hier, wie an anderen Punkten seiner Orientierung über Welt und Religion dem gesunden Agnostizismus sehr nahe. Im Grunde hat er ja auch keine Prinzipienlehre — er muß diese (wie die verschiedenen Schulen, die er zugelassen hat, beweisen, s. o.) freigelassen haben —; vielmehr zeigt die

völlig verschiedene Art, in welcher er den guten Gott, den Weltschöpfer und die Materie faßt, daß ihre Nebeneinanderstellung nicht den Sinn haben kann und soll, als seien sie formell gleichartige Größen. Er ist, so muß man seine Gedanken deuten, bei seinen Betrachtungen auf die Sinnlichkeit, auf die Welt (als Kosmos und Gesetz) und auf die reine Liebe als auf die letzten, nicht weiter zu reduzierenden und unvereinbaren Größen gestoßen, hat folgerecht bei ihnen haltgemacht und ihre Gebiete durch die Integrale Materie, Weltschöpfer (Gesetzgeber) und „fremder Gott" bezeichnet [1].

Das alles ist so rein gedacht und — eben weil weitere Spekulationen ausgeschlossen werden (anders Apelles), — so widerspruchslos, daß man auch intellektuelle Freude an seinen Gedanken hat, die Dutzende von Einwürfen, denen die Kirchenlehre ausgesetzt ist, entwaffnen. Auch kommt, das sei nur nebenbei bemerkt, seine Art das Evangelium zu verkündigen, den Bedürfnissen der Gegenwart merkwürdig entgegen, vielleicht auch deshalb, weil die Zustände seiner Zeit den unsrigen verwandt waren. Die tiefsten Kenner der Volksseele, wie sie in den Verächtern des kirchlichen Christentums heute lebt, versichern uns, daß nur die Verkündigung der Liebe, die nicht richtet, sondern hilft, noch Aussicht hat gehört zu werden. Hier tritt M. auch Tolstoi zur Seite und hier Gorki. Jener ist durch und durch ein marcionitischer Christ. Was wir an direkten religiösen Aussagen von M. besitzen, könnte auch er geschrieben haben, und umgekehrt würde M. in Tolstois „Elenden und Gehaßten", in seiner Auslegung der Bergpredigt (die ja auch für M. „die Gedanken Jesu waren, in denen er die Eigenheit seiner Lehre ausgedrückt hat") und in seinem Eifer gegen die gemeine Christenheit sich selbst wiedererkannt haben. Gorkis ergreifendes Stück „Das Nachtasyl" aber kann einfach als ein Marcionitisches Schauspiel bezeichnet werden; denn „der Fremde", der hier auftritt, ist der Marcionitische Christus, und sein „Nachtasyl" ist die Welt.

Soviel ist gewiß — daß in der Kirchengeschichte und in

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1 Daß „Sinnlichkeit" und „Kosmos" sehr wohl vereinbar sind und daß M. vielleicht durch gnostische Einflüsse zu ihrer Trennung gekommen ist, daran sei erinnert.

der Religionsphilosophie das Marcionitische Evangelium kaum jemals wieder verkündigt worden ist, ist mindestens in der Regel nicht die Folge einer tieferen und reicheren Erfahrung gewesen, sondern ein Zeichen religiöser Stumpfheit und träger Abhängigkeit von der Tradition. Zwar geht ein Marcionitisches Wetterleuchten durch die ganze Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte von Augustins Gnaden- und Freiheitsempfindung an, deren theoretischer Deutung die Marcionitische Lehre ohne große Schwierigkeiten unterlegt werden kann; aber eben nur ein Wetterleuchten ist zu konstatieren. Nur ein religionsphilosophisches Werk gibt es, welches streng Marcionitisch ist, wenn auch M.s Name in ihm nicht genannt wird: „Das Evangelium der armen Seele" (mit einem Vorwort von H. Lotze, 1871 [1]). Der anonyme Verfasser (Julius Baumann) hat jedoch seine Aufgabe nicht streng wissenschaftlich aufgefaßt und schrieb breit und zerflossen. So ist das sehr beachtenswerte Buch wirkungslos zu Boden gefallen; heute aber müßte es wieder aufgenommen werden; denn der Marcionitismus, den es vertritt, hat Tieferes zu sagen als die Erscheinungen der Philosophie des „Als ob" und des Agnostizismus.

Ernstlich erhebt sich sowohl für die christliche Dogmatik wie für die Religionsphilosophie die Frage, ob der Marcionitismus, wie er heute gefaßt werden muß — wie leicht lassen sich seine zeitgeschichtlichen Gerüste abbrechen! —, nicht wirklich die gesuchte Lösung des größten Problems ist, d. h. ob die Kurve „die Propheten, Jesus, Paulus" sich nicht zutreffend nur in Marcion fortsetzt, und ob die Religionsphilosophie sich nicht genötigt sehen muß, die Antithese „Gnade (neuer Geist und Freiheit) > Welt (einschließlich der Moral)" als das letzte Wort anzuerkennen. Was läßt sich gegen M. einwenden? Hier eine erschöpfende Antwort zu geben, die letztlich nur eine ablehnende sein kann, aber die Hauptmotive M.s in Kraft erhält, hieße die

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1 Neben dieses Werk kann auch die Lehre der beiden Mill (vgl. J. St. Mills Aufsatz über die Natur u. s. Jodl, Gesch. d. Ethik [2] II (1912) S. 474 f., 713 f.) gestellt werden, woran mich K. Thieme mit Recht erinnert hat.

ganze religionsphilosophische Frage aufrollen: ich beschränke mich daher auf einige Andeutungen:

Erstlich, es liegt etwas Expressionistisches in der Marcionitischen Orientierung über Gott und Welt, man kann auch sagen, eine gewisse Flucht vor dem Denken; einem scharfen Denker muß es, wie im Altertum so auch heute noch, schwer fallen, sich bei ihr zu beruhigen. Dazu kommt, daß seine Deutung des Wirklichen zur Mythologie zu führen droht; denn nach der Anlage unseres Geistes können wir als Denker wohl Monisten und Pluralisten, nicht aber Dualisten sein, ohne Mythologen zu werden, d. h. uns in Phantasien zu verlieren. Sodann empfindet man das dezidierte Urteil über die Welt bei aller berechtigten Empörung über den Weltlauf doch als Vermessenheit; kommt es dem Menschen zu, über die Gesamtheit des Wirklichen in Natur und Geschichte, soweit es nicht Gnade und Freiheit ist, den Stab zu brechen? Und sind „Moral" und Freiheit im geschenkten Guten wirklich nur Gegensätze und nicht auch Stufen? Weiter, man darf zwar M. den Vorwurf nicht machen, daß er keine Vorsehung kennt — er leugnet sie nur in bezug auf den Weltlauf, ist jedoch gewiß, daß den Erlösten nichts von der Liebe Gottes zu scheiden vermag, und fordert daher eine unerschütterliche Geduld —; aber er beschneidet doch das Leben der Frömmigkeit aufs empfindlichste, wenn sie Kreuz und Leiden nicht mehr als Schikkungen desselben Gottes betrachten darf, der das Heil schenkt. Ferner, ist es nicht falsche Innerlichkeit, ja Lieblosigkeit, wenn man gebietet, die ganze Welt als unheilbar preiszugeben, sich nur auf die Predigt des Evangeliums zu beschränken und sonst nichts in Wirken und Tat zu versuchen?[1] Setzt aber nicht alles Wirken die Reformabilität des Wirklichen und damit ein ursprünglich Gutes in ihm voraus? Damit hängt endlich das letzte eng zusammen: eine Gottes- und Weltanschauung, die, wenn sie die Bilanz zieht, die Askese so weit treiben muß, daß sie die Fortpflanzung des Menschengeschlechts für alle unter-

1 Max Scheler („Von zwei deutschen Krankheiten", in dem Werk „Der Leuchter", 1919, S. 161 ff.) hält dem Lutherischen Protestantismus die Gefahr der falschen Innerlichkeit vor — mit welchem Rechte, mag hier dahingestellt bleiben; aber auf M. scheint der Vorwurf zutreffend zu sein.

bindet, kann nicht die richtige sein; denn sie hebt die Grundvoraussetzung alles positiven Denkens auf, nämlich, daß das Leben irgendwie etwas Wertvolles sein muß. Und wenn die Liebe nicht nur alles duldet, sondern auch alles hofft, darf man da die Hoffnung aufgeben, daß ihr Geheimnis und ihre Kraft, sei es auch wider allen Augenschein, doch auch die Welt und die Geschichte mit ihrem Elend und ihrer Sünde a fundamentis umspannen, um sie in melius zu reformieren?

Dies mögen die wichtigsten Einwürfe sein, die man M. entgegenzuhalten hat; er hätte wohl auf jeden etwas zu sagen, aber ich zweifle, ob etwas Durchschlagendes. Die Kirchenlehre samt ihrem Alten Testament ist freilich damit noch lange nicht gerettet, wohl aber der erste, allen Marcionitismus abstoßende Artikel ihres Glaubens: „Ich glaube an Gott, den allmächtigen Vater". Dennoch kann man nur wünschen, daß sich in dem wirren Chor der Gottsuchenden heute wieder auch Marcioniten fänden; denn „leichter erhebt sich die Wahrheit aus der Verirrung als aus der Verwirrung!"

Beilagen.

Beilage I: Untersuchungen über die Person und die Lebensgeschichte Marcions nach den ältesten Zeugnissen und späteren Angaben.

Für eine Biographie Marcions fehlen die Unterlagen. Ob aus dem, was uns von seinem Wirken erhalten ist, Schlüsse auf seine Entwicklung gezogen werden können, muß die Untersuchung zeigen. Doch lassen sich wenigstens einige sichere Daten, die Zeit seiner Wirksamkeit und Persönliches betreffend, aus äußeren Zeugnissen feststellen. Diese habe ich (Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur I, 1897, S. 297—311) eingehend untersucht. Indem ich hierauf verweise, nehme ich die Aufgabe noch einmal auf, die Untersuchung teils verkürzend, teils erweiternd.

1. Das älteste Zeugnis, das des Polykarp, Bischofs von Smyrna[1].

Unter den großen Häretikern des 2. Jahrhunderts ist Marcion der Einzige, der sich nachweisbar mit einem hervorragenden

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1 Baur, der die Pastoralbriefe gegen die Marcioniten geschrieben sein ließ, wollte in den „*ἀντιθέσεις*" I Tim. 6, 20 f. das Hauptwerk M.s erkennen (*τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον, ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας* [*καινοφωνίας* nach Cod. G und wenigen griechischen Zeugen; aber „vocum novitates" ist die nahezu einstimmige altlateinische Lesart] *καὶ ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἥν τινες ἐπαγγελόμενοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἠστόχησαν*). Daß die Pastoralbriefe antimarcionitisch sind, ist längst widerlegt; aber I Tim. 6, 17—21 ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein Zusatz; er könnte antimarcionitisch sein und auf die „Antithesen" anspielen. Allein wenn *ἀντιθέσεις* auf den Buchtitel anspielen sollte, wäre es schwerlich mit *κενοφωνίαι* zu einem Ausdruck verbunden, und auch die unzutreffende Bezeichnung *ἡ ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις* für M.s Lehre wäre in so früher Zeit befremdlich, da noch Irenäus und Tertullian scharf zwischen Gnostikern und Marcioniten unterscheiden. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß das Zusammentreffen mit dem Titel des marcionitischen Hauptwerks zufällig ist; ein Rest von Unsicherheit bleibt nach, weil sich m. W.

Apostelschüler noch persönlich berührt hat; das ist für seine geschichtliche Stellung von Bedeutung [1]. Irenäus (III, 3, 4) berichtet: „Polykarp nahm unter Anicet einen Aufenthalt in Rom und führte (daselbst) viele von den vorhergenannten Häretikern (d. h. von den Valentinianern und Marcioniten) wieder in die Kirche Gottes zurück“[2]. Hierauf erzählt er eine Anekdote von dem Zusammentreffen des Johannes mit Cerinth und fährt dann fort: „Polykarp erwiderte dem Marcion, als er ihm einmal unter die Augen kam und sagte: „Erkenne uns an“: „Ja, ich erkenne dich an — als den Erstgeborenen des Satan“ [3].

Da Polykarp am 23. Febr. 155 den Märtyrertod erlitten hat [4], so steht nach diesem Zeugnis fest, daß es, als er kurz vorher in Rom war, damals schon eine zahlreiche marcionitische Gemeinde dort gegeben hat. Daß er aber in Rom persönlich mit M. zusammengetroffen ist, sagt Irenäus nicht, ja er scheint es auszuschließen, weil er den Bericht nicht mit Polykarps Marcioniten-Bekehrung

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ἀντιθέσεις im emphatischen Sinn weder in der philosophischen noch in der häretisch-christlichen Literatur außer bei M. findet. — Tert. nennt adv. Marc. III, 8 die im Johannesbrief bekämpften Häretiker „praecoci et abortivi Marcionitae“.

1 Die Basilidianer rühmten sich, daß ihr Stifter den Glaukias, „den Hermeneuten des Petrus“, zum Lehrer gehabt habe, die Valentinianer, daß Valentin ein Hörer des Theodas, „des Schülers des Paulus“, gewesen sei (Clemens, Strom. VII, 17, 106 f.); allein selbst wenn man die Zuverlässigkeit dieser Überlieferungen annimmt, sind sie für uns nahezu wertlos, da wir weder von Glaukias noch von Theodas etwas wissen.

2 *Ὃς* (scil. *Πολύκαρπος*) *καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

3 *Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνί ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι· Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, ἀπεκρίθη· Ἐπιγινώσκω ἐπιγινώσκω σε τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.* Der Originaltext ist von Euseb. (IV, 14, 7, Nicephorus und dem Chron. pasch.) und dem Martyr. Polyc. (Recens. Mosq.) bezeugt. *Ἐπιγίνωσκε* Codd. Euseb. BDM, Euseb. Syr., Rufin, Mart. Pol., Hieron. (de vir. ill. 17) > *ἐπιγινώσκεις* Codd. Euseb. ATER, Iren. Lat., Chron. pasch. — *σε* Iren. Lat., Euseb. Syr., Chron. pasch. — Die Einleitung im Mart. Pol. Mosq. lautet: *Συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίωνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος κτλ.*

4 S. Chronologie I S. 341—356; Zahn, Forschungen VI S. 94 f. — Anicet war wahrscheinlich der erste monarchische römische Bischof in strengem Sinn; er hat 11 Jahre regiert, 154 (155)—165 (166); s. Chronologie I

in Rom verbindet [1]. Die Begegnung wird also schon früher und in Asien stattgefunden haben. Wie die Worte lauten [2], setzen sie voraus, daß schon früher Beziehungen zwischen beiden Männern stattgefunden haben und daß M. noch hoffte, die Anerkennung des maßgebenden kleinasiatischen Bischofs erlangen zu können [3].

Die Nachricht über Polykarps antimarcionitisches Wirken in Rom kann Irenäus nur aus der Überlieferung der römischen Gemeinde bezogen haben, von der er auch sonst die wertvollsten Mitteilungen erhalten hat. Woher er den Bericht über die persönliche Begegnung M.s mit Polykarp geschöpft hat, wissen wir nicht. Sie gehört vermutlich zu den kleinasiatischen Presbyter-Überlieferungen; vielleicht stammt sie von Papias [4].

S. 158. 200 f. Daß Polykarp i. J. 154 nach Rom gereist ist, ist nicht gewiß; denn die Berechnung der Dauer des Episkopats Anicets ist zwar sehr alt, aber wohl nachträglich gemacht.

1 Auch Hieronymus sagt nicht, daß Polykarp mit M. in Rom zusammengetroffen sei (gegen H a r v e y u. a.); sein Zeugnis wäre übrigens wertlos.

2 Der Wechsel von *ἡμᾶς* und *σέ* ist vielleicht beachtenswert: M. wünscht die Anerkennung seiner Sekte, Polykarp verdammt in seiner Antwort den M. persönlich.

3 Nach ihren ursprünglichen Grundsätzen war es den Kirchen sehr schwer, Bekennern des Herrn Christus die brüderliche Gemeinschaft zu versagen. Es war daher einer der folgenschwersten Schritte in ihrer Entwicklung, als sie sich zu Exkommunikationen Christusgläubiger entschlossen (s. u.). — Die beißende Ironie in der Antwort Polykarps ist der in seiner Verhandlung vor dem Richter ähnlich. Der Richter sagt (Mart. Polyc. 9): „Sprich die Worte *αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους*, Polykarp seufzt, blickt zum Himmel und spricht: *αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους*, aber im entgegengesetzten Sinn.

4 Mit Unrecht hat man in Polykarps Brief an die Gemeinde zu Philippi (c. 6 f.) eine Beziehung auf Marcion gefunden und deshalb den Brief entweder für unecht oder für interpoliert erklärt, da M. kein Häretiker der Zeit Trajans sein kann. Die Worte lauten: . . . . *ἀπεχόμενοι σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους. πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ σατανᾶ. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν.* Die Bezugnahme auf M. ist deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil Polykarp hier Häretiker überhaupt, nicht

2. Das Zeugnis Justins.

In seiner nicht vor d. J. 150, aber sehr bald nachher — also ungefähr um die Zeit des Aufenthalts Polykarps in Rom — ebendort verfaßten Apologie [1] hat Justin an zwei in ihrem Aufbau parallelen Stellen sehr wichtige Mitteilungen über M. gemacht. Nachdem er von dem verderblichen Wirken der bösen Dämonen im Heidentum gesprochen, fährt er fort (Apol. I, 26) [2]:

Μετὰ τὴν ἀνέλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ [3] *εἰς οὐρανὸν προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεούς, οἳ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδιώχθησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν κατηξιώθησαν* [4]. *Σίμωνα μέν τινα Σαμαρέα . . ., Μένανδρον δέ τινα καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα . . ., Μαρκίωνα δέ τινα Ποντικόν, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶ διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεόν· ὃς* [5] *κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε* [6]

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aber eine bestimmte Gruppe im Auge hat, weil ferner der Doketismus und die Leugnung der Realität des Kreuzestodes, des Gerichts und der Auferstehung (des Fleisches) nicht spezifisch marcionitische Lehren sind — es fehlen die Hauptlehren M.s von den beiden Göttern und von der Verwerflichkeit des AT.s — und weil der Ausdruck *πρωτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ* (auf welchem der Beweis hauptsächlich auferbaut wird) hier keine spezifische Bedeutung hat, sondern nur ein Synonymum zu *ἀντίχριστος* und *ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου* ist. Dazu kommt, daß der Ausdruck *μεθοδεύῃ κτλ.* M.s eigentümliche kritische Behandlung des Evangeliums nicht trifft; Polykarp scheint vielmehr solche Häretiker im Auge zu haben, welche aus sittlicher Laxheit die Herrnworte so arglistig auslegen, daß sie die Auferstehung und das Gericht eskamotieren. Man muß daher annehmen, daß Polykarp den Ausdruck *πρωτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ* öfters, aber nicht ausschließlich von M. gebraucht hat.

1 Vgl. Chronologie I S. 274 ff.; Zahn, Forschungen VI S. 8 ff. 364. Die Festlegung der ägyptischen Amtszeit des Präfekten L. Munatius Felix auf Grund zweier Papyri (Apol. I, 29; s. Papyr. Mus. Brit. nr. 358, dazu Kenyon, Academy 1896 p. 98, ferner The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II nr. 237 p. 141 ff.) hat die Feststellung des Datums der Apologie bestätigt, bez. in noch engeren Grenzen bestimmt.

2 Auch bei Euseb., h. e. II, 13, 3 und IV, 11, 9, 10. Eusebius hat (l. c. c. 8) den Schein nicht vermieden, als schöpfte er aus einer Schrift Justins gegen M., von der er durch Irenäus wußte: *ὁ Ἰουστῖνος γράψας κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα μνημονεύει ὡς καθ' ὃν συνέταττε καιρὸν γνωριζομένου τῷ βίῳ τἀνδρός, φησὶν δὲ οὕτως.*

3 *ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου* Euseb.

4 *ἠξιώθησαν* Euseb.

5 *ὃς καί* Euseb. 6 *πέπεικε* Euseb.

βλασφημίας[1] *λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός*[2], *ἄλλον δέ τινα, ὡς ὄντα μείζονα, τὰ μείζονα*[3] *παρὰ τοῦτον ὁμολογεῖν πεποιηκέναι*[4]. *καὶ*[5] *πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁρμώμενοι Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οὐ κοινῶν ὄντων δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον*[6] *ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινόν ἐστιν*[7] . . . *ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων συντεταγμένον*[8], *ᾧ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν.*

Dasselbe wiederholt er Apol. I, 58. Nachdem auch hier Simon Magus und Menander vorher erwähnt und charakterisiert waren, fährt er fort:

Καὶ Μαρκίωνα δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Πόντου, ὡς προέφημεν, προεβάλλοντο οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ὃς ἀρνεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ γηΐων ἁπάντων θεὸν καὶ τὸν προκηρυχθέντα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν Χριστὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν διδάσκει, ἄλλον δέ τινα καταγγέλλει παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν[9] *πάντων θεὸν καὶ ὁμοίως ἕτερον υἱόν· ᾧ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, ὡς μόνῳ τἀληθῆ ἐπισταμένῳ, ἡμῶν καταγελῶσιν, ἀπόδειξιν μηδεμίαν περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ἀλόγως ὡς ὑπὸ λύκου ἄρνες συνηρπασμένοι βορὰ τῶν ἀθέων δογμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων γίνονται.*

Die Zusammenstellung M.s mit den Sektenstiftern, die sich für Götter ausgegeben haben, ist ganz unzutreffend und besonders gehässig; sie zeigt aber, wie gefährlich M. dem Justin erschienen ist, wie fremd ihm sein Christentum war und wie hoch das Ansehen M.s in seiner Kirche gewesen ist. Wir erfahren hier weiter, daß der aus dem Pontus stammende Häretiker noch jetzt lebt und tätig ist, aber schon eine längere Wirksamkeit hinter sich hat, die sich über weite Gebiete beider Reichshälften erstreckt (*διὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων*) und durch die er bereits viele gewonnen hat. Seine Häresie ist die blasphemia creatoris und

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1 *βλάσφημα* Euseb.

2 Nach *παντός* bietet der Justin-Kodex *θεόν*, Euseb. *πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, beides wohl Glossen (s. Schwartz' Ausgabe).

3 *τ μείζονα* fehlt bei Euseb. und Schwartz.

4 fehlt bei Euseb. Syr. und Lat.

5 fehlt im Justin-Kodex.

6 *καὶ οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν δογμάτων . . . ἐπικατηγορούμενον* Justin-Kodex.

7 *ἐστιν* Euseb., *ἔχουσιν* Justin-Kodex.

8 *συντεταγμένον* Justin-Kod., Euseb. Lat., fehlt bei Euseb. Graec. u. Syr.

9 *τὸν πάντων* Cod.

daher die Substituierung eines „anderen" Gottes und eines „anderen" Sohnes an Stelle des Weltschöpfers und seines Christus sowie die Verwerfung des A. T.s. Als wahrscheinlich darf man annehmen, daß diese Charakterisierung aus den „Antithesen" M.s geflossen ist, daß diese also samt dem „Instrumentum" M.s (Evangelium und zehn Paulusbriefe) damals schon vorhanden waren [1]. Die Wirksamkeit M.s muß schon eine längere Reihe von Jahren gedauert und die aller anderen Sektenstifter übertroffen haben. Letzteres geht daraus hervor, daß Justin den Kaisern neben den alten angeblichen Begründern der Häresie, Simon und Menander, nur M. mit Namen nennt, alle übrigen Sekten aber nur summarisch, ohne ihre Namen zu nennen, zusammenfaßt. So erscheint neben der allgemeinen Christenheit, für die Justin als Anwalt vor den Kaisern und dem Senat auftritt, als die Afterchristenheit der Gegenwart nur die marcionitische. Nicht übersehen darf man, daß in Justins kurzer Charakteristik indirekt sowohl das exklusive Vertrauen der Marcioniten zu ihrem Stifter hervortritt — „er allein kennt die religiöse Wahrheit" —, als auch ihr Verzicht darauf, diese Wahrheit in der Weise der großen Kirche zu begründen (Verzicht auf die „apostolische" Tradition, Verzicht auf den Altersbeweis; daher „*ἀπόδειξιν μηδεμίαν περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν ἔχοντες*" und „*ἀλόγως*"), ferner auch ihre Verachtung dessen, was die große Christenheit für Christentum hält („*καταγελῶσιν*").

In seiner apologetischen Naivetät glaubt Justin, seine Adressaten würden sich für seine Mitteilungen über die bösen Häresien interessieren. In diesem Sinne sucht er den philosophischen Kaiser gegen die alogische und beweislose Lehre M.s von vornherein einzunehmen und verweist zugleich auf ein früheres Werk („Syntagma"), in welchem er alle Häresien bereits charakterisiert und widerlegt habe.

Dieses Werk, welches gewiß auch der doppelten Charakteristik M.s in der Apologie zu Grunde liegt, ist fast spurlos verloren gegangen, vermutlich weil es die späteren Ketzerbestreitungen verdrängt haben [2]. Nur mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit läßt sich einiges über Anlage und Inhalt des Werkes

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1 Eine universale Wirksamkeit M.s ohne die Unterlage dieser Werke ist nicht leicht denkbar.

2 Tertullian hat es gekannt, s. adv. Valent. 5.

ermitteln[1]. Da es spätestens ins 5. Jahrzehnt des 2. Jahrhunderts fällt, ist schon sein bloßes Erscheinen ein Beweis dafür, wie mächtig die häretische Bewegung bereits in der ersten Hälfte der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius war. Wenn Justin in dem nicht lange nach der Apologie verfaßten Dialog mit Trypho (c. 35) die Reihenfolge „Marcianer, Valentinianer, Basilidianer, Satornilianer" bietet und Hegesipp, sein jüngerer Zeitgenosse und vermutlich Landsmann (bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 22, 4 ff), die Reihenfolge Simon ... Menandrianer, Marcianisten, Karpokratianer, Valentinianer, Basilidianer, Sartornilianer"[2], so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß diese, sehr bald durch eine andere Suk-

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1 S. Harnack, Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnostizismus 1873 und die Fortsetzung dieser Abhandlung in der Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol. 1874.

2 Dial. 35: *Ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον βλασφημεῖν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προφητευόμενον ἐλεύσεσθαι Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραάμ . . . διδάσκουσιν· ὧν οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνόμους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντας καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν σέβειν ὀνόματι μόνον ὁμολογοῦντας (*Cod. *ὁμολογεῖν). καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν ὃν τρόπον οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγράφουσι τοῖς χειροποιήτοις καὶ ἀνόμοις καὶ ἀθέοις τελεταῖς κοινωνοῦσι. καί εἰσιν αὐτῶν οἱ μέν τινες καλούμενοι Μαρκιανοί, οἱ δὲ Οὐαλεντιανοί, οἱ δὲ Βασιλιδιανοί, οἱ δὲ Σατορνιλιανοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς γνώμης ἕκαστος ὀνομαζόμενος.* Die *Μαρκιανοί* sind höchstwahrscheinlich Marcioniten; denn bei Hegesipp, der von Justin nicht unabhängig sein wird, liest man l. c. *Μαρκιανισταί.* Daß aber diese (die Codd. TcERB, Euseb. Lat., Euseb. Syr. *Μαρκιωνισταί)* Marcioniten sind, ergibt sich aus Euseb. V, 16, 21: *οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως Μαρκιανισταί* (so Schwartz mit AT[1]D). Korrekt ist *Μαρκιανισταί* für die Messalianer (Euchiten), genannt nach dem Wechsler Marcianus; s. Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos I S. 425; II S. 340 f. Die Marcianisten im Theodos. Codex XVI, 5, 65 (Gesetz v. 30. Mai 428 = Justinian. I, 5, 5) zwischen Phrygern und Borborianern sind wohl Anhänger des Gnostikers Marcus. Aber auch Marcions Anhänger konnten „Marcianisten" und „Marcianer" heißen, da „Marcion" lediglich eine Nebenform zu „Marcus" ist; diese Nebenform ist nicht häufig; doch s. den christkatholischen Bruder „Marcion" im Mart. Polyc. 20 und die Inschrift auf der Basis Capitolina (s. unten). — Justin, Dial. 80 bezieht sich mindestens auch auf die Marcioniten: *ἄθεοι καὶ ἀσεβεῖς αἱρεσιῶται,* die da den Gott Abrahams verlästern, *κατὰ πάντα βλάσφημα καὶ ἄθεα καὶ ἀνόητα διδάσκουσιν καὶ λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.*

zession verdrängte Reihenfolge (s. Irenäus und Hippolyt) die des Justinischen Syntagmas gewesen ist. Man darf aus ihr schließen, daß die marcionitische Bewegung älter war als die der nach ihr angeführten Sektenstifter (s. dazu unten bei Clemens Alex.).

Von dem Justinischen Syntagma hören wir noch zweimal etwas, nämlich bei Irenäus. Zwar zitiert er Justin mit den Worten: „*ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι*; allein da Justin in der Apologie nur Marcion neben Simon und Menander mit Namen nennt und die übrigen Häresien in Bausch und Bogen folgen läßt, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß auch das Syntagma gegen alle Häresien hauptsächlich gegen M. gerichtet war und daher auch so bezeichnet werden konnte; jedoch muß die Möglichkeit offen bleiben, daß es sich um zwei Werke handelt. An der ersten von Irenäus zitierten Stelle (IV, 6, 2; griechisch bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 18, 9) erklärt Justin, daß er dem Herrn selbst nicht Glauben schenken würde, wenn er einen anderen Gott als den Weltschöpfer verkündigt hätte [1], und an der zweiten (V, 26, 2, griechisch bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 18, 9; s. auch Cramer, Cat. in epp. cath. p. 81) — die Fundstelle bei Justin ist hier nicht angegeben, ergibt sich aber aus dem vorigen Zitat — spricht er über das Verhalten des Satan vor und nach der Erscheinung des Herrn [2].

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1 *Καὶ καλῶς Ἰουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φησίν· ὅτι αὐτῷ* (*καὶ αὐτῷ* Iren. Lat.) *τῷ κυρίῳ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπείσθην, ἄλλον θεὸν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν.* Die Identität mit dem Syntagma gegen alle Häresien ist auch deshalb wahrscheinlich, weil Irenäus fortfährt: „Hic autem est fabricator coeliet terrae, quemadmodum ex sermonibus eius ostenditur, et non is, qui a Marcione vel a Valentino, aut a Basilide aut a Carpocrate aut Simone aut reliquis falso cognominatis Gnosticis adinventus est falsus pater". Hier sind die Häresien nahezu in derselben Reihenfolge genannt, deren Bekämpfung durch Justin im Syntagma nach Dial. 35 u. Hegesipp. (l. c.) feststeht.

2 *Καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἔφη, ὅτι πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδέποτε ἐτόλμησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν θεόν, ἅτε μηδέπω εἰδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν* (hier bricht Euseb. ab) *διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς καὶ ἀλληγορίαις κεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου ἐκ τῶν λόγων Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ μαθὼν ἀναφανδὸν ὅτι πῦρ αἰώνιον αὐτῷ ἡτοίμασται . . . βλασφημεῖ τὸν τὴν κρίσιν ἐπάγοντα κύριον ὡς ἤδη κατακεκριμένος καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀποστασίας τῷ ἐκτικότι αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ κτλ.* Der Mund, durch den der Satan seine Blasphemien ausstößt, ist Marcion.

3. Das Zeugnis des Papias.

Justin bezeugt, daß M. aus dem Pontus stammte, und von ihm und Polykarp erfahren wir, daß er schon um das J. 150 auf der Höhe seiner universalen Wirksamkeit gestanden hat. Eine versteckte weitere Nachricht bringt uns noch ihr Zeitgenosse, der Bischof Papias von Hierapolis.

Prologus in Ev. Ioh. ex Codice Toletano(T), Reginae Suetiae (S) et Stuttgartiensi (Stutt.); s. Wordsworth-White, Novum Testamentum domini nostri Iesu Christi Latine, Part. I Fasc. IV p. 490 f [1]:

T: „Hoc igitur evangelium post apocalipsin scribtum manifestum et datum est ecclesiis in Asia a Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Iheropolitanus episcopus discipulus Iohannis et carus in exotericis suis, id est in extremis quinque libris, retulit, qui hoc evangelium Iohanne subdictante conscribsit. Verum Archinon [sic] hereticus, quum ab eo fuisset reprobatus eo quod contraria sentiset [sic], prelectus [sic] est a Iohanne; hic vero scribtum vel epistulas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus missus qui in Ponto erant fideles in domino nostro."

S: „Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum [Stutt. om. „et datum"] est ecclesis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in exotericis, id est in extremis quinque libris, retulit; descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte. verum Martion [Stutt. „Marcion"] haereticus, cum ab eo fuisset [Stutt. „esset"] improbatus eo quod contraria sentiebat, abiectus est a Iohanne. is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt."

Über die erste Hälfte dieses aus dem Griechischen übersetzten und durch mehrere Hände gegangenen Stücks ist seit Overbecks verfehltem Erklärungsversuch viel verhandelt worden von Lightfoot, Zahn, Harnack, Corssen usw. und jüngst noch von Clemen (Entstehung des Joh. Ev.,

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1 S. De Bruyne (Rev. Bénéd. 1921 Okt. p. 14 f.) bemerkt, daß dieser sehr alte Prolog von dem Autor des Markus-(„Marcus adseruit qui colobodactylus") und Lukas-Prologs („Est quidem Lucas Antiochensis") stammt. Man findet öfters alle drei oder zwei in denselben Mss.; z. B. alle drei im Tolet., den Markus- und Joh.-Prolog im Cod. Barberin. 637 (saec. VIII), Monac. 6212 u. Stuttgart.

1912, S. 375) und Bacon (Journ. of Bibl. Lit. XXXII, 1913, Part. III p. 194 ff.) Entgegen der aus Joh. 21, 23.24 gefolgerten Meinung, das Ev. sei nach dem Tode des Johannes von anderen herausgegeben worden, sagt Papias an einer Stelle seiner fünf Bücher „Exegetica" (so ist natürlich für „Exoterica" zu lesen) oder im 5. Buch derselben [1], daß Johannes selbst [2] sein Evangelium den Kirchen in Asien, nach der Apokalypse, gegeben habe. Daß Papias wirklich so geschrieben hat, braucht nicht bezweifelt zu werden [3]. Der folgende Satz darf nicht korrigiert werden, da er durch die Corder sche Katene (Cat. Graec. PP. in St. Joh., Antwerp. 1630) geschützt ist: *κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ αἱρέσεων ἀναφυεισῶν δεινῶν ὑπηγόρευσε* (scil. Johannes) *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῇ Παπίᾳ.* Bei Papias kann es nicht gestanden haben; denn das hätte Eusebius nicht verschweigen können. Der Verfasser des Prologs muß ihn aus einer anderen Quelle haben. Daß die folgende Angabe über Marcion auf eine alte Quelle zurückgeht, zeigt ihr unerfindbarer Inhalt. Aber der, welcher Marcion abgewiesen hat, ist nicht Johannes gewesen, sondern höchstwahrscheinlich der vorher genannte Papias („a Johanne" ist zu tilgen; es müßte ja schon vorher statt „ab eo" vielmehr „a Johanne" heißen). Es sind uns hier vier wichtige Nachrichten mitgeteilt: (1) daß M. aus dem Pontus

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1 Nachdem „Exegetica" zu „Exoterica" (vgl. die *λόγοι ἐξωτερικοί* des Aristoteles; zu „Exegetica" s. die *Ἐξηγητικά* des Basilides bei Clem., Strom. IV, 83 und die Aufschrift zum Joh.-Komm. des Origenes im Cod. Reg. *Ὠριγένους τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον Ἐξηγητικῶν τόμοι λβ'*) geworden waren, wurden diese von einem Abschreiben durch „Extrema" erläutert. Es kann aber auch ursprünglich „in extremo quinto libro" geheißen haben. Die Änderungen können schon im Griechischen vor sich gegangen sein.

2 Zum Ausdruck „adhuc in corpore constituto" s. Orig., in Matth. ser. 138 (Comm. V. p. 167): *ἔτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος.*

3 Freilich gibt es noch eine andere Möglichkeit: der Ausdruck „a Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto" ist sehr auffallend. Wie, wenn der griechische Text gelautet hat: *Τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου εὐαγγέλιον . . . ἐδόθη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου (τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου) ἔτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος, ὡς ὁ Παπίας ὀνόματι Ἱεραπολίτης, ὁ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μαθητὴς ἀγαπητός, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἐξηγητικῶν αὐτοῦ πέντε βίβλοις ἀπήγγειλεν?* Ich habe früher diese Hypothese bevorzugt und halte sie auch jetzt noch für möglich, aber natürlich für unbeweisbar.

nach Kleinasien kam, (2) daß er Schriftstücke („vel epistolas" ist wohl interpoliert) im Auftrag pontischer Christen an eine maßgebende Instanz in Asien, wahrscheinlich an Papias, gebracht hat, (3) daß er, nach dem Urteil dieser Instanz, „contraria sentiebat", (4) daß seine Lehre keine Billigung fand, er vielmehr als Irrlehrer verworfen wurde.

Die Vertauschung von Papias und Johannes in dem Prolog findet sich auch bei Filastrius. Er schreibt (haer. 45): „(Marcion) devictus atque fugatus a beato Iohanne evangelista et a presbyteris de civitate Efesi Romae hanc haeresim seminabat" [1]. Der Glaubwürdigkeit der Nachrichten, die wohl die ältesten sind, die wir über M. besitzen, steht m. E. nichts im Wege. Dann aber ergibt sich, daß M., schon seine Sonderlehre hegend, den Pontus verlassen [2] und sich, Anerkennung suchend, nach Asien gewendet hat. Über „die Brüder", die ihn gesandt haben und die ihm ein Schriftstück mitgegeben haben, läßt sich nur vermuten, daß es Gesinnungsgenossen waren, die ihn empfahlen [3]. An eine Exkommunikation im späteren Sinn des Worts in seiner heimatlichen Kirche darf überhaupt nicht gedacht werden, sondern an eine Ausweisung aus der Gemeinde: für sie war er tot [4].

M. ist aus dem Pontus nach Asien gegangen; („Ephesus" darf man nicht festhalten, wenn man „Johannes" streicht; aber es ist natürlich so wenig ausgeschlossen wie Smyrna); es war

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1 Manches von dem, was im nachapostolischen Zeitalter in Kleinasien geschehen ist, wurde später einfach dem „Johannes" beigelegt. Man braucht nur an die schlagende Parallele zu erinnern, daß Tert. in de bapt. 17 erzählt, der Verf. der falschen Paulusakten sei in Kleinasien entlarvt worden und Hieronymus diese Nachricht aus Tert. mit der Hinzufügung wiedergibt: „(convictus) a p u d J o h a n n e m" (de vir. ill. 7), sich um die 100 Jahre die dazwischen liegen, nicht kümmernd.

2 Der Pontus als Heimat M.s ist, außer durch Justin, auch durch Irenäus, Rhodon, Tertullian, Clemens und Hippolyt bezeugt.

3 Die Worte im Cod. T „fideles in domino nostro" müssen als ein irriger Zusatz beurteilt werden.

4 Anders liegt der Fall I Clem. 54 (an die Führer der Unruhen in Korinth): *Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὔσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης· εἰπάτω· εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ ἔρις καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι οὗ ἐὰν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνευέτω μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων.*

bereits eine Propaganda-Reise; aber sie endete mit einem zweiten Mißerfolg. Damals wird sich die Begegnung mit Polykarp (s. o.) zugetragen haben. Die Reise muß noch in die Zeit Hadrians fallen; denn ein Jahrzehnt propagandistischer Wirksamkeit reicht schwerlich aus, um den Erfolg zu erklären, der durch Justin für die Zeit um das Jahr 150 feststeht[1].

4. Das Zeugnis des Clemens Alexandrinus.

Strom. VII. 17, 106 f: *Κάτω περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας, καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλείδης, κἂν Γλαυκίαν ἐπιγράφηται δ δάσκαλον, ὡς αὐχοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὸν Πέτρου ἑρμηνέα. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντῖνον Θεοδᾶ διακηκοέναι φέρουσιν· γνώριμος δ' οὗτος γεγόνει Παύλου. Μαρκίων γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος ὡς πρεσβύτης νεωτέροις συνεγένετο.*

Die Stelle steht in dem Zusammenhang des Nachweises, daß, während die Zeit Jesu und der Apostel bis Tiberius, bzw. bis Nero reicht, die großen Häretiker viel später sind. Werden sie von Clemens doch schon auf die Zeit Hadrians datiert, so darf man sicher sein, daß dies nicht unrichtig ist; denn Clemens hatte ein Interesse daran, sie möglichst weit vom apostolischen Zeitalter zu entfernen. Wir haben hier also ein zuverlässiges Zeugnis, daß M. schon unter Hadrian aufgetreten ist. Aber die Stelle sagt noch mehr, nämlich (1) daß Ms. Wirksamkeit (ebensowie die des Basilides und Valentin) sich nicht bis in das Zeitalter M. Aurels erstreckt hat, (2) daß in der Gruppe „Basilides, Valentin, Marcion" der letztere wie ein alter (Lehrer) den jüngeren (Schülern) gegenübersteht[2]. Dies konnte Clemens nur sagen, wenn

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1 Die gleichzeitigen Zeugen sind durch Polykarp, Justin und Papias erschöpft; denn auf den Valentinianer Ptolemäus darf man sich nicht mit Sicherheit berufen. Es ist nur möglich, daß er Marcioniten gemeint hat, wenn er (Ep. ad. Floram bei Epiph., haer 31, 3—7) christliche Lehrer bekämpft, die das Gesetz und die Weltschöpfung dem Widersacher, dem verderbenstiftenden Teufel, zuschreiben, den sie auch *πατήρ* und *ποιητής* nennen. Er bezeichnet das als eine *ἀνυπόστατος σοφία τῶν ψευδηγορούντων* (c. 3, 2. 6), bez. *τῶν ἀπρονοήτων ἀνθρώπων* (c. 3, 7), und meint, daß man so etwas nicht einmal aussprechen dürfe (c. 5, 2). S. Harnack, Der Brief des Ptolemäus an die Flora, Sitzungsberichte d. Preuß. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1902, S. 507 ff.

2 So sind die Ausdrücke „*συνγίνεσθαι*" und „*νεώτεροι*" zu verstehen. Man braucht deshalb nicht anzunehmen, daß Basilides und Valentin per-

er etwas Genaueres über M.s Leben wußte, den er übrigens (Strom. III, 4, 25) „ὁ Ποντικός“ nennt. Wir müssen also annehmen, daß M. schon im Zeitalter Hadrians ein gestandener Mann war und gegen Ende der Regierungszeit des Pius gestorben ist. Er wird + 85 geboren sein, während die Geburt des Basilides und Valentin etwa 20 JJ. später zu setzen ist.

5. Das Zeugnis des Irenäus.

In bezug auf die Lehre Ms. ist Irenäus für uns der grundlegende Zeuge; in bezug auf die Person ist er leider ziemlich stumm[1]. Er bezeichnet ihn als „ὁ Ποντικός“ und als Diadoche des Häretikers Cerdo (I, 27, 2; III, 4, 3); über diese Angabe s. die Untersuchung unten: „Cerdo und Marcion“. Das Zeitalter

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sönliche Schüler M.s waren, sondern Clemens sieht wie die Apostel, so die Sektenstifter als eine i d e e l l e Einheit an, und in dieser verhält sich M. zu den anderen wie ein älterer Lehrer zu Jüngeren. Das γάρ nach Μαρκίων verlangt eine ziemlich umständliche Paraphrase, etwa diese: Die Behauptung der Basilidianer und Valentinianer, ihre Stifter reichten durch je ein Mitglied bis zu den Aposteln herauf, ist belanglos, auch wenn sie zutreffend ist; denn Marcion, der selbst nicht vor der Zeit Hadrians aufgetreten ist, hat zu Basilides und Valentin im Verhältnis eines älteren (Lehrers) zu jüngeren (Schülern) gestanden; wie sollen also Basilides und Valentin bis zum apostolischen Zeitalter hinaufreichen? Übrigens scheint man doch folgern zu müssen, daß Clemens angenommen hat, Marcion habe durch seine Lehre den Basilides und Valentin beeinflußt. Eine gewisse Verbindung zwischen Valentin und Marcion scheint auch aus dem dunklen Schluß des Muratorischen Fragments hervorzugehen. Daß der MAliche Häreseologe Paulus (de haeres. libellus. O e h l e r , Corp. Haereseol. I p. 316) Valentin „Marcionis discipulum“ nennt, kommt natürlich nicht in Betracht; möglicherweise aber ist de carne 1 („ Quasi non eadem licentia haeretica et ipse [scil. Marcion] potuisset aut admissa carne nativitatem negare, ut Apelles discipulus et postea desertor ipsius, aut et carnem et nativitatem confessus aliter illas interpretari, ut condiscipulus et condesertor eius Valentinus“) so zu verstehen, daß Valentin Schüler M.s gewesen ist. Die grammatisch nächstliegende Erklärung ist das gewiß („eius“ auf Apelles zu beziehen); aber die Nachricht ist so singulär und wird auch nirgends sonst von Tert. selbst bezeugt, daß es wahrscheinlicher ist, „eius“ auf M. zu beziehen und eine gewisse Verwirrung, bez. Nachlässigkeit bei Tert. anzunehmen; er wollte nur sagen, daß Valentin wie M. ein Abtrünniger gewesen sei, und ließ sich in der Form der Aussage unbedacht durch die Worte leiten, die er für Apelles gebraucht hatte.

1 Doch verdanken wir ihm die Anekdote über Polykarp und Marcion; s. o.

betreffend, bringt er die Angabe (III, 4, 3): „Invaluit sub Aniceto". Da die Zeit dieses Bischofs (s. o.) ziemlich sicher ist (154 [155] — 165 [166]), so ergibt sich, daß M. auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Wirksamkeit gestorben ist; denn die Zeit M. Aurels ist für ihn ausgeschlossen. Man wird also schwerlich fehlgehen, wenn man den Tod M.s auf d. J. + 160 ansetzt (s. o.) [1]. Ohne Schuld hat Irenäus in bezug auf die Zeit M.s dadurch Mißverständnisse hervorgerufen, daß er in III, 4 die Häretiker nach der Zeit ihres Auftretens in Rom geordnet und demgemäß auch im Häretikerkatalog Marcion fast ans Ende gesetzt hat. Bestärkt wurde er in der Herabdrückung M.s durch die Annahme, M. sei der Diadoche Cerdos und dieser stehe parallel zu Valentin. Das ist augenscheinlich römische Überlieferung (s. unter „Cerdo"), die von der früheren Zeit der Wirksamkeit M.s absah [2].

6. Das Zeugnis Rhodons.

Rhodon, Asiat von Herkunft und rechtgläubiger Schüler Tatians in Rom, hat in einem Werke gegen Marcion (s. Euseb., h. e. V. 13), verfaßt in der Endzeit M. Aurels oder unter Commodus und durch genaue Kenntnis der Entwicklung der Schule M.s ausgezeichnet, den Marcion „ὁ ναύτης" genannt. Diese römische Tradition wird durch Tertullian beglaubigt (s. dort).

7. Das Zeugnis Tertullians.

Tertullian bestätigt die pontische Herkunft M.s — öfters kommt er auf sie zu sprechen und sucht M. auch von hier aus (der Pontus galt als barbarisches Land, s. adv. Marc. III, 6: „Lex Rhodia .... lex Pontica") zu diskreditieren, der schlimmer sei als ein Skythe und Massaget —, seine Abhängigkeit von Cerdo

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1 „Der Presbyter des Irenäus" ist der erste Zeuge, der uns Ausführlicheres über die Lehre M.s bringt, aber für seine Person schweigt er.

2 „Valentin kam nach Rom unter Hygin, hatte seinen Höhepunkt unter Pius und blieb bis Anicet; Cerdo aber, der vor Marcion war, kam ebenfalls unter Hygin in die (römische) Kirche .... Marcion aber, sein Nachfolger, hatte seinen Höhepunkt unter Anicet." Die Reihenfolge der Häretiker, wie sie Irenäus nach der Widerlegung des Valentinianers Ptolemäus und der übrigen Valentinianer im 1. Buch gegeben hat, lautet: Simon, Menander, Satornil, Basilides, Karpokrates, Cerinth, Ebioniten, Nikolaiten, Cerdo, Marcion, Enkratiten und Tatian, Gnostiker. Sie ist keine chronologische, bez. die chronologische Betrachtung spielt nur sekundär hinein.

(s. dort) und sein Gewerbe als „nauta" oder „nauclerus". Schon de praescr. 30 bezeichnet er ihn so („Ponticus nauclerus") und spielt in seinem Hauptwerk häufig darauf an. M. war nicht Matrose, sondern Schiffsherr und zwar ein begüterter; als solcher kam er nach Rom [1]. Dies ergibt sich aus der Angabe Tert.s, M. habe der römischen Gemeinde ein Geschenk von 200 000 Sesterzien gemacht, das aber diese ihm nach dem Bruch zurückgegeben habe. Zweimal wird dies erwähnt, de praescr. 30: „Marcion cum ducentis sestertiis, quae ecclesiae intulerat .... in perpetuum discidium relegatus", und adv. Marc. IV, 4: „Adeo antiquius Marcionis (evangelio) est (evangelium), quod est secundum nos, ut et ipse illi Marcion aliquando crediderit, cum et pecuniam in primo calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit, proiectam mox cum ipso, posteaquam in haeresim suam a nostra veritate desciit". Wir haben hier eine römische Lokaltraditon, die uns lehrt, daß der wohlhabende Schiffsherr M. nicht als notorischer, schlechthin zu fliehender Ketzer nach Rom gekommen ist — war er irgendwo schon von einer Gemeinde ausgewiesen, so hatte das bei den damaligen Verhältnissen noch keine allgemeine Folge —, daß aber sein Bruch mit der römischen Kirche bald nach seiner Ankunft erfolgt ist. Daß Tert. den M. bei seiner Ankunft in Rom noch für einen guten katholischen Christen hält und von seinem „primus calor fidei" spricht, zeigt nur, daß er von M.s früherem Leben nichts gewußt hat. Sowohl das Geldgeschenk beim Eintritt in die Gemeinde als auch die Rückgabe beim Bruch sind interessante Tatsachen; wäre das etwas Gewöhnliches gewesen, so hätte sich das Gedächtnis daran nicht zwei Generationen hindurch erhalten [2].

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1 Tert. erlaubt sich die unverschämte Bemerkung (V, 1): „Pontice nauclere, si nusquam furtivas merces vel inlicitas in acatos tuos recipisti, si nusquam omnino onus avertisti vel adulterasti" etc. Die Ausschweifungen der Schiffsleute (adv. Valent. 12: „Quis nauclerus non etiam cum dedecore laetatur? videmus cotidie nauticorum lascivias gaudiorum") hat Tert. niemals dem M. zur Last gelegt.

2 Krüger (Artikel „Marcion" in Hauks REncyklopädie), Hilgenfeld (Ketzergesch.) u. a. nehmen an, Tertullian überliefere, daß M. erst in Rom Christ geworden sei und bei seinem Übertritt das Geldgeschenk gemacht habe, und Krüger verwirft auf Grund dieser Überlieferung die anderen entgegenstehenden Zeugnisse. Nun ist einzuräumen, daß der Ausdruck „in primo calore fidei" so zu verstehen ist. Allein er

Da M. dem Tert. nur seit seiner Ankunft in Rom bekannt ist, so bezeichnet er ihn konsequent als „haereticus Antoninianus"; aber er hat noch Genaueres über die Chronologie gewußt. De praescr. 30 schreibt er: „Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, Stoicae studiosus? (Vgl. c. 7: „Inde Marcionis deus melior de tranquillitate, a Stoicis venerat"; adv. Marc. II, 27: M.s Gott = „philosophorum deus") [1]. Ubi tunc Valentinus, Platonicae sectator? nam constat illos neque adeo olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu, et in catholicae primo doctrinam credidisse apud ecclesiam Romanensem sub episcopatu Telesfori [2]

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muß nicht so verstanden werden; er kann auch eine falsche pragmatische Stilblüte Tert.s sein. Daß man ihn nicht pressen darf, scheint mir aus de praescr. 30 zu folgen; denn wenn es dort von M. und Valentin heißt, daß sie „in catholicae primo doctrinam crediderunt apud ecclesiam Romanensem", so soll das gewiß nicht bedeuten, daß beide in Rom zum Christentum übergetreten sind, sondern daß sie in ihrer vorhäretischen Periode in Rom mit der dortigen Gemeinde in Glaubensgemeinschaft gestanden haben. Sollte aber Tert. wirklich angenommen haben, M. sei erst in Rom zum Christentum übergetreten, so muß diese seine Meinung notwendig falsch sein; denn wenn man auch über das Papias-Zeugnis hinwegkommen kann, so ist es doch unmöglich, das Zeugnis des stadtrömischen Schriftstellers Hippolyt, der gleichzeitig mit Tert. geschrieben hat, zu verwerfen (s. u.). — Ich gestehe, daß meine Rekonstruktion der Geschichte M.s nicht völlig sturmfest ist, aber die entgegenstehende ist es noch weniger, und auch in bezug auf M. muß man sich Rufins Wort erinnern (Expos. Symb.), daß keine Häresie in Rom ihren Anfang genommen habe. Was aber die Tatsache betrifft, daß M. in Rom von der Gemeinde aufgenommen wurde, obgleich er anderswo ausgeschlossen war, so hat man sich zu erinnern, daß dies auch noch in viel späterer Zeit vorkam und „den 12. Kanon der h. Apostel" (Lagarde, Reliq. iur. eccl. antiquiss. p. 22, 6 f.) nötig machte: *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος ἤτοι ἄδεκτος ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθείς.* Vgl. auch c. 16 p. 23, 1 f.; c. 33 p. 26, 3 f.

1 Stoische Studien darf man hieraus nicht folgern. Die Kirchenväter haben M. mit der Stoa, mit Epikur, mit den Cynikern, mit Empedokles, mit Pythagoras und Plato in Zusammenhang gesetzt, um ihn zu diskreditieren. Diese Musterkarte widerlegt sich selbst. Philosophische Studien treten nirgends hervor, aber das kann Absicht sein. Seine Textkritik zeigt den schulmäßig gebildeten Mann.

2 Im Texte steht „Eleutheri"; dieser Anachronismus (Eleutherus war römischer Bischof c. 176—c. 189) ist Tert. nicht zuzutrauen. Auch

benedicti, donec ob inquietam semper curiositatem, qua fratres quoque vitiabant, novissime in perpetuum discidium relegati[1] venena doctrinarum suarum disseminaverunt", u. adv. Marc. 1, 19: „Anno XV. Tiberii Christus Jesus de caelo manare dignatus est, spiritus salutaris Marcionis. salutis † qui ita voluit quoto quidem anno Antonini maioris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis, non curavi investigare. De quo tamen constat, Antoninianus haereticus est, sub Pio impius. a Tiberio autem usque ad An-

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die Verweisung auf Hegesipp (bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 22, 3), der mitteilt, Eleutherus sei der Diakon des Anicet gewesen, reicht nicht aus, auch wenn man annimmt, er habe unter diesem Bischof bereits eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. Da der Zusatz „benedicti" es nahe legt, daß der betreffende Bischof Märtyrer oder Confessor war, da ferner Irenäus von dem römischen Bischof Telesphorus — und in der Reihe der römischen Bischöfe nur von ihm — sagt (III, 3, 3): *ὃς ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησε* (was beides bedeuten kann), da weiter Tert. adv. Valent. 4 bemerkt: „Speraverat (Romae) episcopatum Valentinus . . . ., sed alium ex martyrii praerogativa loci potitum indignatus de ecclesia authenticae regulae abrupit", und da endlich lautlich „episcopatu telesfori" und „episcopatu eleftheri" sich sehr ähnlich sind (zumal wenn, wie wahrscheinlich in beiden Namen, nur einer der beiden Doppelkonsonanten gesprochen wurde), so wird ein sehr früher Schreiber die Namen verwechselt haben. Zwar sagt Irenäus, Valentin und Cerdo seien unter dem Nachfolger des Telesphorus, Hyginus, nach Rom gekommen und Marcion nach Cerdo; allein diese kleine Differenz fällt um so weniger ins Gewicht, als damals der monarchische Episkopat in Rom noch nicht ausgebildet war, Telesphorus und Hyginus als Bischöfe nebeneinander gestanden haben mögen und Valentin sich nicht sowohl um d a s Bischofsamt, als vielmehr nur um ein Bischofsamt in Rom bemüht haben wird. Beachtenswert ist endlich, daß nach dem Carmen Pseudotertulliani adv. Marc. III, 282 ff. Cerdo unter Telesphorus nach Rom gekommen ist. Hier haben wir also die Verbindung e i n e s der drei ziemlich gleichzeitig in Rom auftauchenden Häresiarchen (Cerdo, Valentin, Marcion) mit dem Namen des Bischofs Telesphorus. Der Verf. des Carmen hat als seine Hauptquellen Irenäus und Tertullian benutzt. Er wird also in de praescr. 30 noch den Namen „Telesphorus" gelesen haben; denn wie soll er sonst auf ihn gekommen sein?

1 Da Tert. hier M. und Valentin einfach zusammenfaßt, so darf man die Angaben nicht pressen; sie stimmen z. T. mit dem überein, was Irenäus über Cerdo, jedoch viel konkreter berichtet (III, 4, 3: *Κέρδων πολλάκις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος, οὕτως διετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ὑπό τινων ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας.*)

toninum anni fere CXV et dimidium anni cum dimidio mensis. tantundem temporis ponunt inter Christum et Marcionem".

Ich habe in meiner Chronologie (I S. 297 ff., 306 f) die letztere Stelle ausführlich behandelt. Die 115 Jahre und 6½ Monate bezeichnen nicht den Abstand zwischen zwei Ereignissen aus dem Leben der Kaiser Tiberius und Pius, sondern den zwischen Christus und Marcion [1]. Die römischen Marcioniten haben ihn berechnet und auch in dieser Berechnung ihre hohe Meinung von der Bedeutung ihres Stifters zum Ausdruck gebracht; erst in der Gemeinde Muhameds stößt man wieder auf Ähnliches. Die Zahl führt aber, vom 15. Jahr des Tiberius (29 p. Chr.) gerechnet und zwar von seinem Anfang, auf die zweite Hälfte des Juli des J. 144. Das kann nur das Jahr des vollendeten Bruchs M.s mit der Kirche und der Gründung seiner eigenen Kirche auf dem Fundament des neuen Schriftenkanons sein [2]. Zu diesem Jahr fügt sich auch anderes chronologisches Material; s. u. Da M. nach Tert. „bald" nach seiner Ankunft in Rom, andrerseits aber doch erst nach einer gewissen Zeit gefährlicher Wirksamkeit („inquieta semper curiositas" — geht das auf die Bibelkritik, die Abfassung der Antithesen und die Herstellung des Kanons? — „vitiatio fratrum") definitiv aus der römischen Gemeinde ausgeschlossen worden ist, so wird seine Ankunft in Rom ungefähr mit dem Regierungsantritt des Kaisers Pius zusammenfallen (s. u.) [3].

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1 Auf den ersten Blick sieht es freilich so aus, als beziehe sich die Berechnung auf die Kaiser; allein erstens stimmt die Berechnung hier nicht, wie man auch ihren Anfangs- und ihren Endpunkt ansetzen mag; zweitens sieht man nicht ein, welches Interesse Tert. in diesem Zusammenhang haben sollte, den Abstand zwischen Tiberius und Pius auf den Tag zu berechnen; drittens ist das „tantundem ponunt" nur verständlich, wenn die Rechnung von Marcionitischer Seite herrührt.

2 Ganz deutlich müssen dabei die Marcioniten einem bestimmten Monatstag im Auge gehabt haben als den Stiftungstag ihrer Kirche.

3 Bill (Texte u. Unters. Bd. 38 H. 2 S. 66—72) hat sich auch davon überzeugt, daß die 115 JJ. 6½ Monate aus einer Marcionitischen Rechnung stammen müssen und daher ein Tag in der 2. Hälfte des Juli 144 für M. ein bedeutendes Ereignis bezeichne; er besteht aber gegen Lipsius, Krüger und mich darauf, es müsse der Abreisetag M.s aus dem Pontus sein, weil die Stelle von Tert. mit den Worten eingeführt würde: „Quoto

Die marcionitische Kirche hat also ihren Stiftungstag im Gedächtnis behalten und überliefert; die rechtgläubige römische Gemeinde aber hat die Verhandlungen mit M. nicht vergessen, die zum Bruch geführt haben, samt dem Geldgeschenk. Über diese Verhandlungen werden wir noch von Hippolyt Näheres hören (s. u.). Vielleicht steht mit ihnen auch ein Brief in Zusammenhang, den Tert. dreimal erwähnt[1]. De carne 2 schreibt er: „Cum Christianus fuisses, excidisti rescindendo quod retro credidisti, sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistola et tui non negant et nostri probant"; adv. Marc. I, 1: „Marcion deum, quem invenerat, extincto lumine fidei suae amisit; non negabunt discipuli eius primam illius fidem nobiscum fuisse, ipsius litteris testibus", und IV, 4: „Quid nunc, si negaverint Marcionitae qrimam apud nos fidem eius adversus epistolam puoque ipsius? quid si nec epistolam agnoverint? certe Antitheseis non modo fatentur Marcionis, sed et praeferunt. ex his mihi probatio sufficit". Ob Tert. selbst den Brief eingesehen hat[2] und ob Marcioniten

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anno Antonini maioris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis" etc. Allein das ist ein kleinliches Argument; den römischen Marcioniten war es doch gewiß gleichgültig (selbst wenn es sich hätte feststellen lassen), an welchem Tage M. den Pontus verlassen hat, vielmehr interessierte sie es nur, wann der Wind ihn nach Rom geweht hat. Aber auch hier war nicht der Ankunftstag der entscheidende, sondern der Tag, an dem der einst in Judäa aufgetretene Jesus nach Paulus endlich wieder einen wahrhaftigen Zeugen erhalten hat, der der judaistisch gewordenen Kirche den Kampf ansagte und die wahre Kirche neu begründete. Man bemerkte aber auch, daß Tert. zwar mit der Frage beginnt, wann die Hundstagluft M. aus seinem Pontus ausgehaucht hat, aber diese Frage nicht nur nicht bereinigt, sondern dahingestellt sein läßt, dann aber sagt: „Zwischen Christus und Marcion zählen die Marcioniten 115 Jahre und $6^1/_2$ Monate." Also muß der Marcion-Tag, der hier zugrunde liegt, ebenso bedeutend sein wie der Christus-Tag. Dieser Tag war der Tag der Epiphanie Christi, mit der das Heil anhob, also muß der Marcion-Tag der Kirchengründungstag sein. Die Epiphanie Christi haben diese Marcioniten entweder schon nach einer Überlieferung auf den 6. Januar gesetzt oder einfach das Jahr 29 (Anfang) angenommen. In beiden Fällen wird man auf den Monat geführt, den auch die Hundstage fordern.

1 Ob noch ein Brief M.s zur Kenntnis Tert.s gekommen ist, darüber s. oben in dem Kapitel über die „Antithesen".

2 Daß die Geschichte vom Geldgeschenk im Brief gestanden hat, ist unwahrscheinlich.

in der Verlegenheit wirklich einmal die Echtheit des Briefs beanstandet haben, mag auf sich beruhen [1]. Daß er echt war, braucht man nicht zu bezweifeln; aber wir können den Worten Tert.s nicht mehr entnehmen, als daß M. nach seinem eigenen Zeugnis der großen Kirche einst angehört und sie dann verlassen hat, „rescindendo quod retro credidit“ [2]. Er hat sich also in einer inneren Auseinandersetzung von dem alten Glauben, d. h. dem damaligen christlichen Gemeinglauben, befreit. Daß er noch als überzeugter Anhänger desselben nach Rom gekommen ist, läßt sich aus den Angaben nicht schließen. Wir haben den Brief wohl im Archiv der römischen Gemeinde zu suchen, und M. mag ihn geschrieben haben, um der Gemeinde offen seine innere Entwicklung darzulegen. Der Brief ist dann öfters besprochen, bezw. den Anhängern M.s vorgerückt worden, die natürlich die Beweiskraft des Briefes gegen die Lehre des Meisters (als eine spätere, also jüngere und deshalb schon falsche) ablehnten. Zieht doch Tert. selbst ganz ungerechtfertigte Folgerungen aus dem Brief, wenn er von dem „primus calor fidei“ M.s spricht und in IV, 4 augenscheinlich auch aus dem Brief beweisen will, der kirchliche Vier-Evangelien-Kanon sei älter als M.s Evangelium. Augenscheinlich hat Tert. von dem Leben M.s so gut wie nichts gewußt; wäre es ihm bekannt gewesen, so hätte er sich nicht adv. Marc. I, 1 in abgeschmackten Ausführungen über den Pontus ergangen, während er an dieser Stelle nach schriftstellerischem Herkommen von der Person und den Lebensumständen M.s hätte reden müssen. Sein Wissen beschränkte sich auf wenige Nachrichten: „den Ponticus nauclerus“; den Eintritt in die römische Gemeinde, begleitet von einem namhaften Geldgeschenk; den „Brief“, in welchem er Rechenschaft gegeben hat, warum er die herrschenden christlichen Lehranschauungen nicht teilen könne; die stetige Beunruhigung der Brüder durch dogmatisch-historische Fragen; die Prädizierung als Diadoche des Lehrers Cerdo; die definitive Exkommunikation samt der Rückgabe des Geldes. Die genaue

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1 Mir ist beides wahrscheinlich.

2 Daher schreibt Tert. auch de carne 3: „Angelos creatoris conversos in effigiem humanam aliquando legisti et credidisti.“

Bestimmung der Zeit zwischen Christus und Marcion verdankt Tert. einer Marcionitischen Angabe [1].

In de praescr. 30 steht noch etwas zu lesen, nämlich: „Postmodum Marcion paenitentiam confessus cum conditioni sibi datae occurrit, ita pacem recepturus, si ceteros, quos perditioni erudisset, ecclesiae restituerat, morte praeventus est". Allein diese Nachricht ist höchst wahrscheinlich unglaubwürdig und ein Kirchenklatsch, der sehr rasch wieder verstummt ist; denn 1. kein Zeuge sonst erwähnt ihn, auch nicht der Römer Hippolyt, 2. Tert. selbst hat später der Nachricht keinen Glauben mehr geschenkt; denn in dem großen Werk gegen M. schweigt er über sie, er hätte sie aber mindestens I, 1 erwähnen müssen, wo er davon spricht, daß M. früher den Glauben der Kirche geteilt habe, 3. die dem M. angeblich auferlegte Bedingung war unmöglich zu leisten [2]. Interessant ist aber, daß schon so frühe einem Ketzer gegenüber die pragmatisch-tendenziöse Legende gearbeitet hat: Selbstmord (bezw. vom Teufel geholt) oder Bekehrung auf dem Totenbett sind bekanntlich nach der Legende der fünfte Akt im Leben eines Ketzerhauptes.

8. Das Zeugnis Hippolyts und Epiphanius' [3].

Hippolyt hat in seinem verlorenen Syntagma gegen 32 Häresien, in seiner späteren „Refutatio" der Häretiker (Philosoph.)

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1 Bei Esnik (J. M. Schmid, Esnik von Kolb, 1900, S. 176) besitzen wir noch eine Marcionitische Berechnung, nämlich die sonst unbezeugte Angabe, es seien vom Sündenfall bis zum Erscheinen Christi 2900 Jahre verlaufen. Diese Vertauschung von 3000 JJ. mit 2900 kann doch nur aus der Tendenz entsprungen sein, die überlieferten 3000 JJ. auf das Erscheinen Marcions zu deuten, mit und nach dessen Auftreten das Weltende kommt. Hiernach wäre M. also im J. 129 aufgetreten. Allein die von 3000 JJ. abgezogenen 100 Jahre dürfen doch wohl nur als runde Summe aufgefaßt werden (s. oben: die Marcioniten haben 115 JJ. und $6^1/_2$ Monate zwischen Christus und Marcion gesetzt), und deshalb bestätigt die interessante Stelle (neben der Überzeugung von der Nähe des Weltendes, die hier zum Ausdruck kommt) nur die chronologische, auf Marcion zielende Berechnung, die wir aus Tertullian kennen.

2 Man darf sich nicht auf Cypr., ep. 55, 11 berufen; denn hier lag der Fall ganz anders.

3 Die persönlichen Angaben Esniks über M. stammen sämtlich aus Epiph.

und, nach dem Zeugnis des Eusebius (h. e. VI, 22), außerdem noch in einer besonderen (verlorenen) Schrift den M. bekämpft. Im Syntagma, dessen Abfassungszeit in die Zeit der Abfassung der Tertull. Schrift de praescript. fällt, hat er mehrere persönliche Angaben über M. gemacht [1], dagegen beschränkt er sich in der Refut. auf die Mitteilung, Cerdo sei der Lehrer des Pontikers Marcion. Dies stand auch im Syntagma und zwar genauer: M. wurde in Rom der Schüler Cerdos. Außerdem enthielt das Syntagma mindestens noch folgende Mitteilungen:

(1) M. war der Sohn eines pontischen Bischofs und zwar des von Sinope [2];

(2) er wurde dort exkommuniziert, weil er eine Jungfrau verführt hatte;

(3) er ist dann nach Rom gekommen und hat dort „den Presbytern und Lehrern, den Schülern der Apostelschüler" [3], die

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1 Die Rekonstruktion des Syntagmas, wie sie Lipsius geboten hat, ist deshalb unzuverlässig, weil er übersehen hat, daß von den drei Benutzern des Werks Pseudotertullian, Epiphanius und Filastrius der dritte zugleich auch den zweiten benutzt hat. Mir ist es wahrscheinlich, daß Pseudotertullian und Filastrius nur die Epitome des Syntagmas, welches ein ausführliches Werk war, ausgeschrieben haben, Epiphanius aber das Werk selbst. Unter dieser Voraussetzung bleibt es in einer Reihe von Fällen zweifelhaft, was Epiphanius dem Hippolyt entnommen, was er aus anderen Quellen geschöpft und was er selbst hinzuphantasiert hat.

2 Pseudotert. nennt Sinope nicht; da er aber „episopi filius" und den Pontus bezeugt, wird er wohl auch „Sinope" gelesen haben. Er verkürzt ja auch sonst stark. Daß Tert. Sinope als Vaterstadt M.s gekannt hat, möchte ich trotz I, 1 nicht annehmen, wo er sich des Diogenes, der auch aus Sinope stammte, erinnert; denn er fährt fort: „Ne tu, Euxine, probabiliorem feram philosophis edidisti quam Christianis". Hätte er gewußt, daß M. nicht nur als Pontiker, sondern auch als Bürger von Sinope Landsmann des Diogenes war, so hätte er statt „Euxine" die Stadt Sinope genannt. — Gewiß hat schon Hippolyt geschrieben „des Bischofs von Sinope"; aber daraus folgt nicht, daß damals schon in Sinope ein monarchischer Bischof war. Optatus (IV, 5) macht den M. selbst zum Bischof („ex episcopo apostata factus"); er hat Pseudotertullian, den er gekannt hat, flüchtig gelesen. Eine späte Legende weiß zu berichten, daß unter Trajan der Bischof Phokas in Sinope hingerichtet worden sei.

3 Epiph. schreibt *ἀπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁρμώμενοι* — das geht gewiß auf Hippolyt zurück, der in seinen Schriften so oft die Apostelschüler, bez. ihre Schüler als Instanzen ausspielt. Übrigens saßen

Frage vorgelegt, wie Luk. 6, 43 zu deuten sei [1]. Die Verhandlungen führten schließlich zu seiner Exkommunikation, und er schloß sich nun dem Häretiker Cerdo an [2].

Aus diesen Mitteilungen schimmert deutlich hervor, daß M. schon mit einer eigentümlichen Lehranschauung nach Rom gekommen ist, daß er aber ursprünglich noch nicht als erklärter Häretiker außerhalb der Gemeinde gestanden hat, sondern erst nach einer gewissen Zeit und auf Grund einer förmlichen Verhandlung in der Gemeinde ausgeschlossen worden ist. Daß bei dieser Verhandlung Luk. 6, 43 eine Rolle gespielt hat, läßt sich aus Tert., adv. Marc. I, 2 bestätigen [3]. Auch Tert. muß gehört oder bei M. gelesen haben, daß M. diesem Spruch Jesu eine grundlegende Bedeutung beigelegt hat; denn er beginnt seine Darstellung der Lehre M.s mit diesem Spruch, d. h. mit der Marcionitischen Auslegung desselben, durch welche die Existenz zweier Götter bewiesen sein soll. Beachtenswert ist, daß bei Hippolyt (anders bei Epiphanius) die Anekdote, M. sei bereits in seiner Heimat einer Fleischessünde wegen exkommuniziert worden, in keine deutliche Verbindung mit der Exkommunikation in Rom gesetzt war. Diese Anekdote ist schwerlich glaubwürdig. Zwar das Schweigen Tert.s, ja seine sarkastische Prädizierung M.s als „sanctissimus magister" (de praesc. 30) besagt nichts — „sanctissimus" war M. als Lehrer der vollkommenen Ehelosigkeit —, und warum soll ein späterer Asket nicht früher einmal in Sünde gefallen sein? Aber soll M. wirklich einmal einer Fleischessünde wegen in seiner Vaterstadt und einmal der Irrlehre wegen in Rom aus der Gemeinde entfernt worden sein?

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im J. 144 wirklich noch Schüler von Apostelschülern im römischen Presbyterium.

1 So nach Pseudotert. Epiphanius setzt dafür Luk. 5, 36 f. ein, ein im Sinne M.s noch klarer Spruch, auf den der Meister und seine Kirche auch großes Gewicht gelegt haben, was Epiph. bekannt gewesen sein muß. Filastrius bringt beide Sprüche, da er von Hippolyt und von Epiph. abhängig ist.

2 Die Nachricht des Filastrius (s. o.), M. sei von Johannes in Ephesus abgewiesen worden, kann nicht im Syntagma gestanden haben; denn sonst hätte sie sich Epiphanius nicht entgehen lassen.

3 Vgl. auch Orig., Comm. Ser. 117 in Matth., T. V. p. 23; Comm. III, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 195.

Wie nahe lag es dagegen andrerseits, daß sich das Urteil, er habe schon in seiner Vaterstadt durch seine Irrlehre die Kirche, die reine Jungfrau, verführt, zu der Legende verdichtete, er habe eine Jungfrau dort verführt? Schreibt doch Epiphanius (h. 42, 3): *Οὗτος τὸ γένος Ποντικὸς ὑπῆρχεν, Σινώπης δὲ πόλεως, ὡς πολὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾄδεται λόγος.* Man wußte sich also viel von der Frühzeit M.s zu erzählen, was selbst Epiphanius weiterzugeben Bedenken getragen hat. Und Tert. schreibt de praescr. 44: „Quid ergo dicent qui illam stupraverint adulterio haeretico virginem traditam a Christo", vgl. Hegesipp (bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 22, 1): *Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὔπω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις* [1].

Die Glaubwürdigkeit dieses Berichts, abgesehen von der Verführungsgeschichte, ist unantastbar [2]; fraglich bleibt nur, ob M. seine Vaterstadt schon als dort Exkommunizierter verlassen hat. Unwahrscheinlich ist das nicht, vielmehr sehr glaublich, weil es die Voraussetzung der falschen Anekdote zu sein scheint. Die Exkommunikation aus einer Gemeinde war noch damals nur für diese gültig (s. o.).

Was Epiphanius diesem Bericht noch hinzugefügt hat, muß beiseite gelassen werden; denn es trägt den Stempel der Amplifikation oder der Tendenz an der Stirn. Er berichtet (c. 1), M. sei ursprünglich Asket gewesen (*τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον παρθενίαν δῆθεν ἤσκει· μονάζων γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν*), sein Vater habe sich durch besondere Gewissenhaftigkeit als Bischof ausgezeichnet und deshalb seien alle Bitten des Sohnes, ihn vor der Ausschließung (einer Fleischessünde wegen) zu bewahren, vergeblich

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1 Fort und fort ist in der Kirche so gesprochen worden; s. z. B. die besonders deutliche Stelle Georg v. Eliberis, Comm. in Cantic. l. II (Heine-Volbeding, Biblioth. Anekd., 1848, S. 145): „‚Mulieres' itaque has haereticorum plebes praedicatas esse nulla est dubitatio, quae adulterino doctrinae stupro corruptae et perversae traditionis adulterio violatae iam non ‚virgines', sed ‚mulieres' dici meruerunt," und Ephraem in dem 24. Gedicht gegen die Ketzer c. 5 (deutsch v. Zingerle, 1873, S. 263): „Die Braut des Sohnes schändeten (die Sektenstifter) unter den Griechen, weil auch ihre Jünger sich nach dem Namen ihrer Lehrer nannten."

2 Für die Glaubwürdigkeit spricht auch, daß die Verhandlung nicht vor einem Bischof geführt wird, vielmehr „die Presbyter und Lehrer" die Autoritäten sind (vgl. den Hirten des Hermas).

gewesen. M., so fährt Epiph. fort, ist darauf sofort nach Rom gegangen [1], aber seine Bitte, ihn in die Gemeinde aufzunehmen, wurde von den dortigen Presbytern abgelehnt; wütend darüber und weil er nicht das Bischofsamt in Rom erlangen konnte [2], ist er zur Sekte Cerdos übergetreten.

Epiph. hebt dann aufs neue an (c. 2): M. legte den römischen Presbytern und Lehrern die Frage vom neuen Wein und den alten Schläuchen usw. vor; diese geben ihm sanftmütig eine lange Erklärung der Stelle, M. aber lehnt sie ab und bietet eine andere. Da sie ihn nun nicht aufnehmen wollten und er sie deshalb zur Rede stellte, erklärten sie, sie könnten ihn ohne Erlaubnis seines verehrungswürdigen Vaters nicht aufnehmen. Da schleuderte er ihnen das Wort zu: *σχίσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν καὶ βαλῶ σχίσμα ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* Diese dramatische Szene hat nichts Glaubwürdiges, auch wenn es damals dramatisch in der Versammlung zugegangen ist.

Daß M. einen Bischof zum Vater gehabt hat, ist wichtig. Darf man hiernach annehmen, was nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß er in christlicher Luft aufgewachsen ist, so fügt sich das trefflich zu seinem Bilde. Seine Entwicklung wird verständlicher,

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1 *Μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι Ὑγῖνον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης* — ich habe früher diese genaue Nachricht auf Hippolyt zurückgeführt und für beachtenswert gehalten; es erscheint mir aber jetzt wahrscheinlicher, daß sie dem Epiph. gebührt und aus der Angabe des Irenäus entstanden ist, die Epiph. wiederholt hat, Cerdo sei unter Hygin nach Rom gekommen. Da M. auch nach Irenäus später als Cerdo Rom betreten hat, so war es das Bequemste, seine Ankunft auf die Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Tode des Hyginus anzusetzen. Wahrscheinlich aber hat Epiphanius nicht *ἐπὶ τοῦ Πίου ἐπισκόπου* geschrieben, weil er in seiner Quelle (Hippolyt) fand, daß M. mit den Presbytern und Lehrern verhandelt hat, und das so verstand, als sei damals in Rom der bischöfliche Thron erledigt gewesen; er behauptet ja auch, M. habe nach ihm gestrebt. — In haer. 48, 1 schreibt Epiph.: *Ὁ Μαρκίων δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Τατιανὸν καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενοι Ἐγκρατῖται ἐν χρόνοις Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ μετὰ Ἀδριανόν.* Er muß doch wohl von irgendwoher eine Nachricht besessen haben, daß M. schon in die Zeit Hadrians gehört (s. o. bei Clemens).

2 Der Satz *ζήλῳ λοιπὸν ἐπαρθείς, ὡς οὐκ ἀπείληφε τὴν προεδρίαν τε καὶ τὴν εἴσδυσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας,* ist selbst für Epiph. naiv. Das folgende *ἐπινοεῖ ἑαυτῷ* verstehe ich nicht.

wenn er lange innerhalb der großen Kirche gestanden und es mit ihrem Christentum ernstlich versucht hat [1].

Von drei Ausweisungen, bez. Exkommunikationen M.s berichtet uns die Überlieferung: in Sinope, in Asien und in Rom. Die zweite macht es wahrscheinlich, was an sich wahrscheinlich war, daß M. auch schon in Sinope aus der Gemeinde ausgewiesen worden ist, weil seine Lehre unerträglich erschien [2]. So ergibt sich ein gewisses Bild von der Geschichte M.s vor seinem definitiven Bruch mit der großen Kirche. Schon in Sinope hatte er Grundzüge seiner Lehre ausgebildet und wollte sie in die Gemeinde einführen; aber der Versuch glückte nicht, und er mußte die Gemeinde verlassen. Er begab sich nun nach Asien, um dort den Versuch aufs neue aufzunehmen; aber auch dort wurde er abgewiesen, ja die Säule Asiens, Polykarp, schleuderte ihm das Wort „Erstgeborener des Satans" zu. Allein M. ließ sich in seinem Bestreben, die von ihm gewonnene Erkenntnis des Evangeliums in der Christenheit durchzusetzen, nicht erschüttern, sondern ging nach Rom (um d. J. 140), um die dortige Gemeinde zu gewinnen. Eine Zeitlang hat er sich dort gehalten; aber schließlich kam es i. J. 144 — der Monatstag blieb in der Kirche M.s unvergessen — nach einer großen Verhandlung in der Gemeinde zu einem definitiven Bruch, und er gründete seine eigene Kirche, die in wenigen Jahren sich über das ganze Reich verbreitete.

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1 Vgl. Orig., Comm. II in Cantic., T. XIV p. 10: „Omnes haeretici primo ad credulitatem veniunt et post haec ab itinere fidei et dogmatum veritate dei declinant"; derselbe, Sel. in Prov., T. XIII p. 228: *Οἱ ἀλλότριοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλα μὲν ἐπαγγέλλονται κατ' ἀρχάς, ἄλλα δὲ κατὰ τέλη· ἀφιστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ εἰδωλολατρείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ δημιουργῷ· εἶτα μετατιθέμενοι τὴν παλαιὰν ἀθετοῦσι γραφὴν ἐναντιούμενοι τῇ στοιχειώδει νεότητι.*

2 Doch würde man dem Bericht des Epiph. zuviel Ehre antun, wenn man aus den Worten, mit denen die Presbyter in Rom die Aufnahme M.s ablehnten *(οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ πατρὶ δὲ σῷ)*, schließen wollte, hier schimmere noch durch, daß Irrlehre der Grund der Abweisung gewesen sei und nicht eine Fleischessünde. — Woher H e n k e (Gesch. der christl. Kirche I[5] S. 115) weiß, M.s eigener Vater habe die römische Gemeinde vor seinem Sohne gewarnt, ist mir nicht bekannt.

9. Das Zeugnis einer unbekannten Quelle des Hieronymus (Origenes?).

Hieronymus, der selbständig nichts mehr von M. weiß, bringt in ep. 133, 4 die abgerissene Notiz: „Marcion Romam praemisit mulierem, quae decipiendos sibi animos praepararet". Sie erweist, daß M. schon mindestens die Grundzüge seiner Lehre gefaßt hatte und auf die Propaganda seines Christentums bedacht war, bevor er nach Rom kam. Also werden unsere oben gegebenen Ausführungen bestätigt [1].

10. Das Zeugnis der Edessenischen Chronik und des Fihrist.

In dieser Chronik (s. Hallier i. d. Texten u. Unters. IX, 1 S. 89) findet sich zum Jahr 449 = 137/8 p. Chr. die Bemerkung: „In diesem Jahr schied M. aus der katholischen Kirche aus". Vgl. Lib. Chaliph. (Land, Anecd. I, 18,8): „Im J. 448 = 136/7 p. Chr. wurden die Häretiker Marcion und Montanus bekannt" (dazu Joh. Malalas p. 279 edit. Bonn). Im Fihrist des Muhammed ben Ishak (s. u.), der sich durch beachtenswerte Angaben über die Häretiker auszeichnet, wird berichtet (Flügel, Mani S. 85): „Marcion ist c. 100 Jahre vor Mani, der im 2. Jahr des Kaisers Gallus erschien, aufgetreten unter der Regierung des T. Antoninus und zwar im ersten Jahr seiner Herrschaft (Bardesanes ist c. 30 Jahre nach M. erschienen)". Diese drei Zeugnisse gehen wahrscheinlich auf eine Quelle zurück, die das 1. Jahr des Pius für M. angab (welches die beiden anderen Zeugen falsch berechnet haben). Das fügt sich gut zu der Angabe (s. o. S. 19f.*), daß M. im J. 144 seine Kirche in Rom begründet hat, also wenige Jahre vorher dorthin gekommen ist [2]. Da wir aus Tert. wissen, daß die römischen Marcioniten jenes Datum aus M.s Leben festgelegt haben, so ist es möglich, daß auch die Datierung „Erstes

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1 Ein Skeptischer könnte mit Ittig in der Notiz eine Verwechslung sehen, die aus Iren. I, 25, 1 entstanden sei, wo es von der Karpokratianerin Marcellina heißt: „Marcellina, quae Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset huius (Carpocratis) doctrinae, multos exterminavit" (vgl. Epiph., haer. 27, 6): allein eine solche Annahme liegt doch nicht nahe; auch ist das Akumen „praemisit" nicht gedeckt.

2 Ephraem (24. Lied gegen die Ketzer, e. 10) bemerkt, daß man zur Zeit, als nach der Zerstörung des Tempels in Jerusalem eine Kirche begründet wurde, von M. noch nichts wußte.

Jahr des Antoninus Pius" von ihnen stammt, und sie kann dann schwerlich etwas anderes bedeuten als die Ankunft ihres Meisters in Rom. Allerdings heißt es in der Edessenischen Chronik, daß M. in diesem Jahre aus der katholischen Kirche ausgeschieden sei; aber das ist wohl eine Verwechslung. Will man das nicht annehmen, so muß man das Jahr 138/9 gegenüber dem J. 144 preisgeben.

Über die Bildung M.s läßt sich Näheres nichts ermitteln, als was Kap. 2 bereits dargelegt ist. Tert.s Wort (III, 6): „Haeretica dementia coacta est cum Iudaico errore sociari et ab eo argumentationem sibi struere", ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit so zu verstehen, daß der „Judaicus error" eine bleibende Voraussetzung seiner neuen Erfassung des Christlichen gewesen ist. Mit Recht wundert sich Tert. (l. c.), daß M. so fast zeitlebens bei dem jüdischen Verständnis des A. T. geblieben ist und nennt die Juden „partiarii erroris Marcionis" (III, 16).

Beilage II: Cerdo und Marcion.

Irenaeus I, 27, 1: *Κέρδων δέ τις* (voran stehen die Ebioniten und Nikolaiten) *ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου ὄγδοον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνῶτα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. δεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς ηὔξησεν τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἀπηρυθριασμένως βλασφημῶν.*

Griechisch bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 11 und z. T. auch bei Hippol., Philos. VII, 37 u. a. — 3 *ὄγδοον* ist für Iren. richtig, obgleich Iren. Lat. u. Euseb. *ἕνατον* bieten — 7 *ἐγνῶσθαι . . . ἄγνωστον* Hippol.

Irenaeus III, 4, 3: *Κέρδων δ' ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς* (wie Valentin) *ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ὃς ἦν ὄγδοος ἐπίσκοπος, πολλάκις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος οὕτως διετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ὑπό τινων ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας.* „Marcion autem illi succedens invaluit sub Aniceto."

Griechisch bei Euseb. h. e. IV, 11—2 *ὄγδοος* Iren. Lat., *ἕνατος* Euseb., Cypr. ep. 74, 2 und Pseudotert., Carmen III, 293 — 4 *πάλιν* fehlt bei Iren. Lat. — 5 *ὑπό τινων* fehlt bei Euseb. — 6 *ἀδελφῶν* Euseb., religiosorum hominum (= *θεοσεβῶν*) Iren. Lat., wahrscheinlich richtig.

Tertull., adv. Marc. I, 2: „Marcion habuit et Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandali huius, quo facilius duos deos caeci perspexisse se existimaverunt". Cf. I, 22: „(‚Bonus deus') a Tiberio, immo, quod verius, a Cerdone et Marcione"; III, 21: „Nullo adhuc Cerdone, nedum Marcione"; IV, 17: „Nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit".

Pseudotertull., adv. omnes haereses 6: „Accedit his (scil. Valentino et discipulis eius) Cerdo quidam. hic introducit

initia duo, i. e. duos deos, unum bonum et alterum saevum, bonum superiorem, saevum huius mundi creatorem. hic prophetias et legem repudiat, deo creatori renuntiat, superioris dei filium Christum venisse tractat, hunc in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronuntiat nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum, nec ex virgine natum, sed omnino nec natum. resurrectionem animae tantummodo probat, corporis negat. solum evangelium Lucae nec tamen totum recipit. apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistolas sumit. Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin quasi falsa reicit. post hunc discipulus ipsius emersit, Marcion".

Hippol., Philos. VII, 10: *Τίνα Κέρδωνι ἔδοξε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους εἰπόντι καὶ κακῶς προβιβάσαντι τὸν Μαρκίωνα.* VII, 37: *Κέρδων δέ τις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφορμὰς ὁμοίως παρὰ τούτων λαβὼν καὶ Σίμωνος, λέγει τὸν ὑπὸ Μωσέως καὶ προφητῶν θεὸν κεκηρυγμένον μὴ εἶναι πατέρα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατέρα εἶναι ἄγνωστον, καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν· τούτου δὲ τὸ δόγμα ἐκράτυνε Μαρκίων κτλ.* X, 19: *Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Κέρδων ὅ τούτου διδάσκαλος καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρίζουσιν εἶναι τρεῖς τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχάς, ἀγαθόν, δίκαιον, ὕλην.*

Epiphan., haer. 41, 1: *Κέρδων τις τούτους* (die Archontiker) *καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα διαδέχετει ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὢν σχολῆς, ἀπὸ Σίμωνός τε καὶ Σατορνίλου λαβὼν τὰς προφάσεις. οὗτος μετανάστης γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθών . . . Ὁ Κέρδων ἐν χρόνοις Ὑγίνου γέγονεν ἐπισκόπου, τοῦ ἕνατον κλῆρον ἄγοντος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν περὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς . . . Δύο καὶ οὗτος ἀρχὰς κεκήρυχεν τῷ βίῳ καὶ δύο δῆθεν θεούς, ἕνα ἀγαθὸν καὶ [ἕνα] ἄγνωστον τοῖς ἅπασιν, ὃν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κέκληκεν, καὶ ἕνα τὸν δημιουργόν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ γνωστόν, λαλήσαντα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ[ἐν]τοῖς προφήταις φανέντα καὶ ὁρατὸν πολλάκις γενόμενον· μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννημένον ἐκ Μαρίας μηδὲ ἐν σαρκὶ πεφηνέναι, ἀλλὰ δοκήσει ὄντα καὶ δοκήσει πεφηνότα, δοκήσει δὲ τὰ ὅλα πεποιηκότα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ἀπωθεῖται, παλαιὰν δὲ ἀπαγορεύει διαθήκην τήν [τε] διὰ Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν οὖσαν θεοῦ. ἐληλυθέναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνώστου πατρὸς εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ καὶ δημιουργοῦ ἐνταῦθα, φησίν, ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐξεῖπαν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ οὗτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος μεταδέδωκεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἰὸν Μαρκίωνι· διόπερ τοῦτον ὁ Μαρκίων διεδέξατο.* haer. 41, 3: *λέγει δὲ ὁ ἠλίθιος καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας τῆς*

φαύλης καὶ ἐναντίας εἶναι ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν τῆς ἀγαθῆς . . . Καὶ πολλά μοι ἔστι περὶ μαρτυριῶν λέγειν, καθὼς συναγείρας σχολὴν ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἐπὶ συγκυρήματι πονηρῷ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπιβλαστήσας καὶ πλανήσας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπλανημένους. haer. 42, 1: *Μαρκίων ἐκ τούτου τοῦ προειρημένου Κέρδωνος τὴν πρόφασιν εἰληφώς.* 42, 1: M., von der römischen Gemeinde abgewiesen, *προσφεύγει τ. Κέρδωνος αἱρέσει.* haer. 42, 3: *Ἔλαβε (ὁ Μαρκίων) τὴν πρόφασιν παρὰ τοῦ προειρημένου Κέρδωνος, γόητος καὶ ἀπατηλοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ δύο κηρύττει ἀρχάς, προσθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ἐκείνῳ, φημὶ τῷ Κέρδωνι, ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκεῖνον δείκνυσι, λέγων τρεῖς εἶναι ἀρχάς.* Haer. anaceph. p. 142: *Κερδωνιανοί, οἱ ἀπὸ Κέρδωνος τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος διαδεξαμένου τὴν μετοχὴν τῆς πλάνης, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην μεταναστάντος καὶ κήρυγμα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκθεμένου ἐν χρόνοις Ὑγίνου ἐπισκόπου. δύο δὲ ἀρχὰς κηρύττει οὗτος ἐναντίας, μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν γεννητόν, ὁμοίως τε νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἀθετῶν καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην.*

Filastrius, haer. 44 (nach Herakleon, Markus, Kolarbasus): „Cerdon autem quidam surrexit post hos, peius suis doctoribus praedicans. qui cum venisset Romam de Syria, ausus est dicere duo esse principia, id est unum deum bonum et unum malum, et deum quidem bonum bona facere, et malum mala; Iesum autem salvatorem non natum adserit de virgine nec apparuisse in carne, sed de caelo descendisse et putative visum fuisse hominibus [1], qui non videbatur, inquit, vere, sed erat umbra; unde et putabatur quibusdam pati, non tamen vere patiebatur. haer. 45: Marcion autem discipulus eius" etc.

Was Eusebius (Chron. Arm. S. 221 Karst: Unter des Hyginus römischem Bistum kamen Valentinus, der Sektenstifter, und Cerdo, Vorsteher der Marcionitensekte, nach Rom"; Chron. Hieron. S. 202 Helm: „Sub Hygino Romanae urbis episcopo Valentinus haeresiarches et Cerdo, magister Marcionis, Romam venerunt"), Theodoret (haer. fab. I, 24: *Μαρκίων καὶ Κέρδων, ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος . . . ὁ Κέρδων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρώτου*), Cyprian (ep. 74, 2: „Marcionis magister Cerdon sub Hygino episcopo, qui in urbe nonus fuit, Romam venit, quem Marcion secutus"), Firmilian (Cypr., ep. 75, 5: „Marcion, Cerdonis discipulus, invenitur sero post apostolos"),

1 sed de caelo . . . . . et: ne de celo . . . sed A, nec de caelo . . . . sed B Marx.

Pseudotertullian[1] und Syncellus[2] bringen, ist aus Irenäus geflossen [3].

Justin, Clemens und Origenes berichten nichts über Cerdo; aber auch Tertullian hat augenscheinlich nichts von ihm gewußt; denn das Wenige, was er bringt, muß aus seiner Lektüre des Irenäus abgeleitet werden, da es ganz farblos ist und dadurch verrät, daß es aus einer sekundären Quelle stammt. Dieses Nicht-Wissen Tert.s ist von Wichtigkeit, da er sich doch so viel mit M. beschäftigt hat. Auch in dem „Brief" M.s kann nichts über ihn gestanden haben, und vor allem — die Kirche Marcions hat augenscheinlich vollständig über

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1 Carmen adv. Marc. I, 41: „Haec vobis per Marcionem, Cerdone magistro | Terribilis refuga adtribuit fera munera mortis"; III, 282 ff: „Sextus Alexander Sixto commendat ovile | Post expleta sui qui lustri tempora tradit | Telesforo; excellens hic erat martyrque fidelis | Post illum socius legis certusque magister, | Cum vestri sceleris socius, praecursor et auctor | Advenit Romam Cerdo, nova vulnera gestans, | Detectus, quoniam voces et verba veneni | Spargebat furtim: quapropter ab agmine pulsus | Sacrilegum genus hoc genuit spirante dracone. | Constabat pietate vigens ecclesia Romae | Composita a Petro, cuius succesor et ipse | Iamque loco nono cathedram suscepit Hyginus". Die Verbindung Cerdos mit Telesforus wird aus Tert., de praescr. 30 geflossen sein (s. o.).

2 P. 662, 13: *Κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ὑγίνου καὶ Πίου ἐπισκόπων ἕως Ἀνικήτου Οὐαλεντιανὸς καὶ Κέρδων, ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐγνωρίζοντο.*

3 Die späteren Häreseologen verdienen keine Erwähnung; doch sei als Probe verzeichnet, daß der „Prädestinatus" haer. 21 ff Marcion, Apelles, Cerdo ordnet, dem M. zwei Prinzipien beilegt (gut und böse), aber bemerkt, daß Epiph. ihm drei Prinzipien beilege, doch schreibe Eusebius (s. bei Rhodon) diese nicht dem M. selbst zu, sondern einem gewissen Synerus. (Dies nach Augustin, haer. 22.) Über Cerdo wird dann nach Irenäus und Hippolyt berichtet (doch ist das auch dem Augustin entnommen) und dazu mitgeteilt: „Contra hunc suscepit sanctus Apollonius episcopus Corinthiorum eumque omni cum synodo orientali damnavit." Das ist Fabelei. Merkwürdig ist, daß noch der 4. Kanon der 2. Synode von Braga (i. J. 563) des Cerdo vor Marcion, Manichäus und Priszillian gedenkt. Ein Jahrhundert vorher hat Leo I (ep. 15, 4) den Doketismus der Priszillianer auf Cerdo und Marcion zurückgeführt. Auf Eusebius' Chronik geht die Nachricht des armenischen Chronisten Samuel zurück, Valentin und Cerdo seien vier Jahre vor dem Tode Hadrians nach Rom gekommen.

ihn geschwiegen. Niemand hat jemals, soviel wir wissen, von M. selbst[1] oder von seinen Anhängern ein Wort über Cerdo gehört; Marcion und nur er, gilt ihnen als der gefeierte Stifter der wahren christlichen Kirche, und nicht einmal als Vorläufer haben sie Cerdo gelten lassen. Diese Erkenntnis muß dem entgegengesetzt werden, was Irenäus und Hippolyt, die einzigen Zeugen, die wir für Cerdo besitzen, über das Verhältnis M.s zu Cerdo berichten. Für die Schätzung kommt nur jener in Betracht; denn dieser hat jenen gelesen, und es ist anzunehmen, daß er seine Schätzung Cerdos von ihm übernommen hat.

Das *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, das sich Irenäus hat zu Schulden kommen lassen, liegt darin, daß er M.s Kirche als „Schule" *(διδασκαλεῖον)* behandelt, die Cerdo gestiftet und M. (als sein Diadoche im Lehramt) verstärkt habe. Er überträgt damit in ganz unstatthafter Weise auf M.s Schöpfung die Schulorganisation. Sobald man aber festhält, daß diese Schöpfung eine große, das Reich umspannende Kirche war — und niemand kann das bezweifeln —, so wird die Behauptung des Irenäus, M. sei der Diadoche Cerdos, einfach hinfällig. Es kann sich nur darum handeln, ob und welche sekundäre Einflüsse M.s Lehre von Cerdo erhalten hat, bezw. was Cerdo gelehrt hat.

Gewiß schöpfte Irenäus aus einer guten römischen Quelle — man darf annehmen, daß es sozusagen eine offizielle war —; denn das beweisen die genauen Angaben über die Zeit der Ankunft Cerdos in Rom[2], über sein wechselndes Verhältnis zur römischen Gemeinde, über Verhandlungen, die mit ihm geführt worden sind, und über sein schließliches Ausscheiden. Cerdo muß unzweifelhaft ein Häretiker gewesen sein, der bedeutend genug war, um die römische Gemeinde ein paar Jahre lang zu beunruhigen. Aber stand in dieser Quelle wirklich, daß Cerdo zwei Götter unterschieden hat, den erkennbaren und gerechten Gott des A.T.s und den unerkennbaren und guten Gott, den Vater Jesu Christi? Dies und nicht mehr

1 Auch in den „Antithesen" kann nichts über Cerdo gestanden haben; sonst hätte es Tert. hervorgeholt.

2 Daß er *ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβε*, ist eine unerhebliche Angabe des Irenäus.

sagt Irenäus von der Lehre Cerdos; aber es genügt, um M. nahezu die Originalität zu nehmen. Nach Tertulliam (I, 19) war das „proprium et principale opus Marcionis" die Trennung von Gesetz und Evangelium und damit die Trennung des Gottes des Moses und der Propheten von dem Vater Jesu Christi, des Gerechten von dem Guten. Wenn schon Cerdo so gelehrt hat, was bleibt für M. übrig? Notwendig entsteht hier der Verdacht, daß Irenäus die Hauptlehre M.s einfach auf Cerdo übertragen hat, weil er in seiner Quelle gelesen, daß Cerdo als Lehrer Marcion beeinflußt hat; denn eine Beziehung zwischen beiden Häretikern muß allerdings dort gestanden haben [1].

An sich ist es schon nicht wahrscheinlich, daß in einer chronikartigen Quelle — denn als solche muß man sich die Vorlage des Irenäus denken — ein so präziser Bericht über Cerdos Lehre gestanden hat, wie der oben angeführte Satz ihn enthält. Entweder hat dort nichts gestanden oder mehr; um dies zu entscheiden, ist Hippolyts Zeugnis heranzuziehen.

Hippolyt hat den Irenäus gelesen, das ist sicher [2]. Aber ebenso sicher ist, daß er neben ihm noch eine Quelle benützt hat, wie die bei Irenäus fehlende Angabe beweist, Cerdo sei aus Syrien nach Rom gekommen. Festzustellen, was in dieser Quelle gestanden hat, ist nicht ganz einfach, weil die drei Zeugen des Syntagmas, auf dessen Zeugnis es allein ankommt, stark auseinandergehen, Filastrius auch den Epiphanius eingesehen hat und dieser sowohl vom Syntagma Hippolyts als auch von Irenäus abhängig ist und dazu in seiner Weise durch Ausspinnungen usw. fabuliert [3]. Ganz deutlich ist ferner, daß Pseudotertullian auf eigene Hand den Cerdo noch dreister für Marcion substituiert,

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1 Eventuell hat schon die Quelle selbst das Verhältnis übertrieben.

2 In seiner unwürdigen Buchmacherei hat er sogar in der „Refutatio" wider eigenes besseres Wissen (s. das Syntagma) einfach den Irenäus abgeschrieben.

3 Zu den Fabeleien gehört, daß Cerdo der Diadoche der Archontiker und Herakleons sei, zugleich aber sich an Simon Magus und Satornil angelehnt habe, ferner daß er nur kurze Zeit in Rom gewirkt hatte, als er dem M. die Nachfolgeschaft übergab (aus den chronologischen Angaben für beide herausgesponnen), weiter der Satz (41, 3) *καὶ πολλά μοι ἔστι περὶ μαρτυριῶν λέγειν κτλ.*, sodann die Erzählung, M. habe sich infolge seiner Ablehnung seitens der römischen Presbyter zu Cerdo geflüchtet

wenn er schreibt: „Solum evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit. apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistulas sumit. Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin quasi falsa reicit". Unter solchen Umständen muß man hier bei Bestimmung dessen, was im Syntagma Hippolyts gestanden hat, besonders vorsichtig sein. Die genaue Prüfung ergibt, daß Cerdo nach der Hippolyt vorliegenden Quelle allerdings zwei Götter gelehrt hat, aber einen guten und einen bösen (Filast.: „unum deum bonum et unum malum", Pseudotert.: „unum bonum et alterum saevum", Epiph.: *ἕνα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἕνα τὸν δημιουργὸν πονηρὸν ὄντα);* der Gute hat (nach Filastr.) das Gute geschaffen, der Böse das Böse (nach Epiph. und Pseudotert. ist dieser der Weltschöpfer). Das ist der bekannte gnostische Gegensatz und nicht der Marcions, den Irenäus also zu Unrecht hier eingeführt hat. Daß Cerdo das A.T. verworfen hat, ist ebenfalls gemeingnostisch und eine einfache Konsequenz der Zweigötter-Lehre. Ferner hat er nach der Quelle streng doketisch gelehrt (wie Satornil) und daher Jesus nicht geboren werden, sondern ihn als himmlische Erscheinung in einem Scheinleib auftreten und als bloßes Phantasma leiden lassen. Da M. in bezug auf den Erlöser ebenso lehrte, wird vielleicht hier die Abhängigkeit M.s von Cerdo zu suchen sein [1].

Was aber den Gegensatz des bekannten und unbekannten Gottes betrifft, den Irenäus für Cerdo feststellt, so mag diese Angabe richtig sein; aber sie deckt sich nicht mit den beiden Gottheiten M.s. Das Charakteristische nämlich für M.s neuen Gott ist nicht, daß er der Unbekannte, sondern daß er der Fremde ist. Diese Lehre findet sich aber bei keinem Gnostiker und zerstört die gnostische Grundlehre, daß der unbekannte Gott dem menschlichen Geiste nicht fremd ist, dieser vielmehr zu ihm gehört und lediglich von der Verdunkelung

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(42, 1), und habe den zwei Prinzipien Cerdos ein drittes hinzugefügt. Auch eine besondere Sekte der Cerdonianer, an sich nicht unwahrscheinlich, ist bei Epiphanius nur eine Folgerung.

1 Im Texte (Kap. VI § 2) habe ich vermutungsweise eine Abhängigkeit M.s von Cerdo bei der Lehre von der Materie und vom Fleisch geäußert, aber hinzugefügt, daß sich diese Marcionitischen Lehren auch ohne Rekurs auf Cerdo erklären lassen.

befreit werden muß, in der ihm sein Gott unbekannt geworden ist [1].

Cerdo war also ein syrischer Vulgärgnostiker wie Satornil. Man wird der römischen Quelle Glauben schenken dürfen, daß er auf M. in Rom einen erheblichen Einfluß ausgeübt hat, und man wird untersuchen müssen, an welchen Stellen der Lehre M.s dieser Einfluß etwa nachweisbar ist [2]. Allein das braucht man dem Irenäus nicht zu glauben, daß die bewegende Seele der Auffassung M.s vom Christentum, der Gegensatz von Gerechtigkeit und Güte, schon Cerdos Lehre bestimmt hat und daß M. einfach sein Diadoche gewesen ist. Die kirchlichen Polemiker hatten ein begreifliches Interesse, Marcion und seine große Kirche auf den (syrischen) Gnostizismus zurückzuführen, und damit hat ja schon Justin begonnen, indem er M. als Dritten neben Simon Magus und Menander gestellt hat [3].

Marcion kann von verschiedenen Seiten Einflüsse erfahren haben — doch fordert seine Lehre weniger als die irgendeines anderen Häretikers dazu auf, nach besonderen Quellen zu spüren —; aber als sein Lehrer kommt nur Paulus in Betracht. Von ihm ist er ausgegangen, in ihn hat er sich versenkt, nach ihm hat er das Evangelium ausgewählt, dem er folgte, und er hat ihm den Schlüssel zum Verständnis Christi und seiner Predigt geboten. Wenn die alte Verkündigung und die große Kirche in Johannes dem Täufer den Vorläufer Christi gesehen

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1 Anders urteilt über das Verhältnis von Marcion und Cerdo Hilgenfeld, Ketzergeschichte S. 316 ff, s. auch S. 25 f.

2 Eine nachweisbar falsche Unterscheidung bietet Epiph., wenn er behauptet, M. habe den zwei Prinzipien Cerdos (dem unsichtbaren guten Gott und dem sichtbaren schlechten Weltschöpfer) als drittes Prinzip und zwar als mittleres(!) den Teufel hinzugefügt. Hiernach wäre der Teufel bei M. besser als der Weltschöpfer. — Sophronius in der Epist. Synodica stellt neben Valentin als Zeitgenossen „Cerdo und Sacerdo". Cotelerius (Monum. eccl. Graec. p. 627) vermutet scharfsinnig, er habe *Κέρδων ἀκέρδων* geschrieben; aber schrieb er nicht *Κέρδων καὶ Μαρκίων?*

3 Lediglich als Kuriosum sei erwähnt, daß man auf der Basis Capitolina (CIL VI, 1 p. 179 ff) ann. 136 p. Chr. (p. 181 Col. 3 Z. 1 f) liest: „Regio XIV Vico Larum Ruralium D Junius DL Cerdo", u. l. c. Z. 31 f: „Vico Pacrai . . .] . . . . . L Ligarius LC [Ma]rcion".

hat, ohne den sie sich die Erscheinung Christi gar nicht zu denken vermochte, so strich Marcion diesen Vorläufer, aber er gab Christus einen Nachfolger von ungleich größerer Bedeutung. Die Christenheit vor Irenäus ist dem Heidenapostel nicht gerecht geworden; seine Schätzung bei Marcion kann man auch als Reaktion dagegen auffassen. Daß aber schon Cerdo ein Paulusschüler wie Marcion war, davon hören wir nichts Sicheres.

Beilage III: Das Apostolikon Marcions[1].

(Einschließlich der Marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen und der von Marcioniten gefälschten Briefe an die Laodicener und Alexandriner).

A. Einleitung: Die Zeugen und die Methode der Wiederherstellung.

Mit Recht durfte Zahn (Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons II, S. 449) sagen, daß ein einigermaßen eindringender Versuch, den Text des Marcionitischen Apostolikons herzustellen, vor seiner Arbeit (a. a. O. S. 495—529) noch nicht gemacht worden sei. Als Vorgänger konnte überhaupt nur Hilgenfeld[2] in Betracht

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1 Die Untersuchung über das Apostolikon M.s mußte der über das Evangelium vorangestellt werden, weil die kritischen Fragen, um deren Erledigung es sich handelt, zweckmäßiger zuerst bei jenem erörtert werden. Übrigens ist es wahrscheinlich, daß M. selbst zuerst die paulinischen Briefe „gereinigt" hat, dann das Evangelium, wenn auch beide zusammen von ihm veröffentlicht worden sind; denn die Annahme von Interpolationen mußte sich bei den Briefen mit zwingender Notwendigkeit einstellen, sobald erkannt war, das Paulus den Gott des Gesetzes von dem des Evangeliums scharf unterscheide. Zahlreiche Stellen widersprechen dem strikt; wollte M. nicht zum Sophisten und Allegoristen werden, so mußte er sie ausscheiden, und zugleich war ein festes Prinzip der Ausscheidung gegeben. Beim Evangelium lagen die Dinge schwieriger. Sind alle Evangelien nur verfälscht also zum Teil doch echt? oder sind alle Evangelien ganz unecht? Die mittlere Lösung, die M. fand, bot sich keineswegs von selbst (drei Evv. ganz zu verwerfen, eines zu reinigen) und konnte nur das Ergebnis wiederholter Erwägungen sein. Von den Briefen her war aber nun auch ein festes Prinzip der Ausscheidung gegeben.

2 Hilgenfeld, Das Apostolikon Marcions (Ztschr. f. d. hist. Theol., 25. Bd., 1855, S. 426—484). Semler hat die Untersuchungen andeutend und auf einen Irrweg führend begonnen. Sofort trat die Frage nach dem Evangelium Marcions so stark in den Vordergrund, daß in den Arbeiten von Löffler (1794), Schelling (1795), Arneth (1809),

kommen, der wenigstens gewisse Grundlinien der Wiederherstellung richtig gezogen hat; aber da er die allgemeine Textgeschichte der paulinischen Briefe nicht berücksichtigte und außerdem noch in manchen Vorurteilen befangen blieb — wenn er auch das Verdienst hat, die Baursche Tendenzkritik an diesem Punkte widerlegt zu haben [1] —, so blieb seine Leistung noch sehr unvollkommen. Die van Manensche Untersuchung und Feststellung des Marcionitischen Textes des Galaterbriefes aber bezeichnete einen Rückschritt, der um so schlimmer war, als hier die Tendenzkritik, gepaart mit einer lückenhaften Gelehrsamkeit, zurückkehrte [2].

Zahn hat nicht nur die Forschung durch Ermittelung der richtigen Prinzipien für die Wiederherstellung auf einen festen Boden gestellt, sondern auch die Arbeit selbst mit bekannter Sorgfalt und Umsicht geleistet, so daß jede folgende Untersuchung an vielen Punkten nur eine Revision und Weiterführung seiner Ergebnisse sein kann [3]. Daß aber eine solche noch notwendig ist, werden die nachstehenden Blätter beweisen. Dazu kommt, daß es Zahn durch die unzweckmäßige Form, in der er seine Ergebnisse vorgelegt, dem Leser außerordentlich erschwert hat, den Marcionitischen Text wirklich kennen zu lernen: zwar die Abweichungen von dem Urtext, jedoch auch diese nicht immer vollständig, hat Zahn ausgedruckt, sonst aber nur Ver-

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Neander (1818), Hahn 1823.24), Ritschl (1846), Baur, Volckmar (1850.52) u. a. das Apostolikon nur eine ganz ungenügende Berücksichtigung erfuhr (am meisten noch, aber in der Verkehrtheit am konsequentesten, bei Ritschl, der jedoch später seine Aufstellungen zurückgenommen hat). Lachmann hätte daher in seiner Ausgabe des NT. die Marcionitischen Lesarten, auch wenn er es gewollt hätte, nicht berücksichtigen können; denn sie waren, von einigen Hauptstellen abgesehen, damals unbekannt.

1 Hilgenfeld hat eingesehen, daß M.s Text nicht der ursprüngliche ist, sondern den kanonischen zur Grundlage hat, wenn er auch noch einige Einschränkungen macht.

2 S. van Manen in der Theol. Tijdschr. 1887 S. 382 ff., 451 ff.

3 In den Prolegg. zu seiner Ausgabe des NT.s hat sich v. Soden ohne neue Untersuchungen auf den Boden der Zahnschen Ergebnisse gestellt und sie textkritisch fruchtbar zu machen versucht (I, 2, 1906, S. 1924 ff., I, 3, 1910, S. 2028 ff). Aber was Marcionitische Lesarten sind, darüber hat er keine Klarheit gebracht.

weisungen (mit Versziffern und verschiedenen Klammern) auf den üblichen Text gegeben. Daher muß sich der Leser das, was uns vom Text M.s erhalten ist, mühsam erst selbst im Wortlaut nach einer kritischen Bibelausgabe zusammenstellen. Wer sich diese Mühe nicht macht, erhält überhaupt kein Bild von dem Marcionitischen Apostolikon.

Die Notwendigkeit einer Revision und Weiterführung der Zahnschen grundlegenden Arbeit ergibt sich nicht nur aus der Entdeckung der Marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen, die de Bruyne[1] und Corssen[2], unabhängig voneinander, gemacht haben, sowie aus den textkritischen Arbeiten des letzteren, v. Sodens und Lietzmanns[3], den abendländischen Bibeltext betreffend, sondern auch aus der Einsicht, daß Zahn bei der kritischen Einschätzung der zwei ältesten Hauptzeugen für den Marcionitischen Text das Richtige, bezw. den wahren Sachverhalt an zwei Hauptpunkten nicht erkannt hat. Dazu kommt, daß er trotz allen Fleißes doch noch eine Nachlese in bezug auf das Material übriggelassen hat.

Die drei Hauptzeugen für den Text des Marcionitischen Apostolikons sind Tertullian, Adamantius und Epiphanius. Ein vierter Hauptzeuge wäre Origenes, wenn wir seine Werke sämtlich im Original besäßen; denn er hat nachweisbar ein Exemplar des Marcionitischen Apostolikons in Händen gehabt und dasselbe nicht nur bei der Exegese der Paulusbriefe fleißig benutzt, sondern auch sonst nachgeschlagen. Aber heute müssen wir uns seine Mitteilungen aus den Plagiaten des Hieronymus, nämlich seinen Kommentaren zu einigen Paulusbriefen, und den spärlichen Resten der im Original erhaltenen Origenes-Werke zusammensuchen. Die Ausbeute ist nicht ganz gering und inhaltlich besonders wichtig; sie läßt uns erkennen, was wir verloren haben[4]. Andere Zeugen, wie Ephraem und Chrysostomus, kommen nur durch wenige Beiträge in Betracht.

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1 In der Revue Bénédictine, 1907 Januar.

2 In der Zeitschr. f. d. NTliche Wissensch. Bd. 10, 1909, S. 1 ff. S. 97 ff.

3 Erklärung des Römerbriefs, 2. Aufl. 1919, S. 14 ff u. sonst. Auch Riggenbach und Zahn selbst (in seinen später erschienenen Kommentaren zu Paulusbriefen) haben die textkritischen Probleme gefördert.

4 Auch hier gebührt Zahn das Verdienst, als erster das reiche Origenistische Material für M. aus Hieronymus nachgewiesen und benutzt

1. Tertullian.

Das vielleicht erst geraume Zeit nach d. J. 208/9 und jedenfalls nach De carne, De anima und De resurr. von Tertullian verfaßte 5. Buch gegen Marcion [1] gehört zu seinen reifsten und besten Leistungen. Zwar strahlt und funkelt es in dem Werke nicht mehr so wie in den früheren, aber die christliche und schriftstellerische Energie ist die alte geblieben. Eine anerkennenswerte Sachlichkeit ohne Digressionen und Umschweife zeichnet die Polemik und die Darlegungen aus [2].

Einziger Zweck Tert.s war es, in diesem Buche den Häretiker aus seinem eigenen Apostolikon zu widerlegen, d. h. aus dem, was er stehen gelassen hatte. Man hat daher in bezug auf die zahlreichen Abschnitte, die Tert. übergeht, in der Regel keine Möglichkeit festzustellen, ob sie bei M. gestanden haben oder nicht. Da nun Tert. im Laufe der Polemik, um sich nicht zu wiederholen, immer häufiger Abschnitte übergeht — auch wenn sie ihm guten Stoff boten [3] —, so kennen wir den Text der von Tert. zuerst behandelten Briefe in M.s Fassung besser als den der später geprüften [4]. Die Reihenfolge aber, nach welcher Tert. seine Prüfung angestellt hat, ist die der Marcionitischen Sammlung, nämlich Gal., I und II Kor., Rom., I und II Thess., Laod., Kol., Phil., Philem. Daß M. die Paulusbriefe

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zu haben (s. Kanonsgeschichte II S. 426 ff.,). Vgl. meine Abhandlungen „Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes“ [Texte u. Unters. Bd. 42 H. 3 (1918) u. 4 (1919)]. In dem letzteren vgl. besonders den Anhang: „Origenistisches Gut von kirchengeschichtlicher Bedeutung in den Kommentaren des Hieronymus zu Philem., Gal., Ephes. u. Titus“.

1 S. meine Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur II, 2 S. 283 f. 296.

2 Die Überlieferung der gewiß nicht oft abgeschriebenen 5 Bücher gegen M. läßt manches zu wünschen übrig, ist aber doch nicht so schlecht, wie es nach der neuesten Ausgabe scheint; denn Kroymann hat m. E. sehr viele Konjekturen gemacht, die bei näherer Prüfung unnötig sind. Speziell die Bibelzitate sind, wie die Seitenreferenten erweisen, recht gut erhalten; ihre relative stilistische Einfachheit schützte sie vor Mißverständnissen und absichtlichen Korrekturen.

3 Er bemerkt das wiederholt selbst.

4 Doch bildet Ephes. eine Ausnahme. Tert. ist auf ihn ausführlicher eingegangen. Dieser Brief stand der ältesten Kirche besonders hoch.

„etiam de numero" verstümmelt habe, bemerkt Tert. ausdrücklich (V, 1 fin.), d. h. es fehlten, wie V. 21 konstatiert wird, die Pastoralbriefe. Ebenso bemerkt er die „Verfälschung" auch in bezug auf die Titel, indem er den titulus ad Laodicenos als eine Marcionitische „Interpolation" hinstellt (V, 17 init. und schon V, 11).

Hat er in diesen Fällen auf die Eingriffe M.s aufmerksam gemacht, so fehlen auch sonst Bemerkungen über solche nicht, obgleich sie streng genommen außerhalb des Planes lagen. Sie sind uns im höchsten Maße willkommen; denn ohne sie wäre unsere Kenntnis des Marcionitischen Textes eine noch viel beschränktere. Erstlich bezeichnet Tert. gelegentlich einzelne Worte, die M. ausgestoßen oder eingefügt hat, nämlich V, 3 in Gal. 2, 5 *οὐδέ* (hinzugefügt), V, 10 in I Kor. 15, 47 *κύριος* für *Ἀδάμ*, V, 15 in I Thess. 2, 15 *ἰδίους* zu *προφήτας* (hinzugefügt), V, 16 in II Thess. 1, 8 *ἐν πυρὶ φλογός* (gestrichen), V, 17 in Eph. 2, 15 *αὐτοῦ* nach *σαρκί* (gestrichen), V, 17 in Eph. 2, 20 *καὶ προφητῶν* neben *ἀποστόλων* (gestrichen), V, 18 in Eph. 3, 9 *ἐν* vor *τῷ θεῷ* (gestrichen), V, 18 in Eph. 6, 2 die Worte *ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ* (gestrichen). Sodann macht er an 5 Stellen umfassendere Bemerkungen: zu Gal. 3, 17 ff. teilt er mit (V, 3. 4), daß M. das gestrichen habe, was sich in dem Briefe auf Abraham bezieht mit Ausnahme einer Stelle (4, 22), die er stehen gelassen habe, wie ja auch einem Dieb etwas entfalle („Haeretica industria erasit mentionem Abrahae" ... „erubescat spongia Marcionis! nisi quod ex abundanti retracto quae abstulit" ... „ut furibus solet aliquid excidere de praeda in indicium, ita credo et Marcionem novissimam Abrahae mentionem dereliquisse"); beim Römerbrief (c. 1) bemerkt er (V, 13): „quantas foveas in ista vel maxima epistola Marcion fecerit auferendo quae voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate parebit", (V, 14) geht er von c. 8 sofort zu c. 10 über mit den Worten: „salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisae scripturae", und teilt gleich darauf (l. c.) mit, M. habe alles das ausgelassen, was den Apostel zu dem Ausrufe Röm. 11, 33 veranlaßt habe („haec si Marcion de in-

dustria erasit, quid apostolus eius exclamat? und: „si tanta de scripturis ademisti"). Zu Kol. 1, 15 endlich (V, 19) konstatiert Tert., daß M. 1, 15 b. 16 entfernt habe, weil es ihm mißfallen mußte. Diese bestimmten Angaben über Auslassungen und Änderungen sind von größtem Belang, weil sich ohne weiteres von ihnen ablesen läßt, aus welchen Motiven M. den Text geändert hat.

Daß Tert.s Wiedergabe des Marcionitischen Textes zuverlässig ist, weil er Sorgfalt übte und weil er fast ausschließlich nur diesen Text vor sich hatte — daß er hin und her in den katholischen Text blickte, ist möglich, aber nicht zu erweisen; denn was er aus ihm anführt, kann er sehr wohl seinem Gedächtnis verdanken [1] —, zeigt fast jede Seite; auch lassen sich die Fälle, in denen er wörtlich zitiert und in denen er über die Textfassung nur referiert, fast überall scheiden. Den besten Beweis aber seiner Zuverlässigkeit bilden die Stellen, an denen er uns den eigenartigen Text M.s bietet, ohne selbst zu bemerken oder zu sagen, daß hier eine eigenartige Fassung vorliegt. Diese Stellen wetteifern an Zahl mit denjenigen, deren Fassung durch die Seitenreferenten, Adamantius und Epiphanius, bestätigt werden.

Da sich aus dem, was Tert. und die anderen Zeugen berührt und besprochen haben, die Motive M.s bei seiner Textkonstruktion und sein Verfahren ermitteln lassen, so scheint die Anwendung auf die Abschnitte der paulinischen Briefe, die von den Zeugen unberührt gelassen worden sind, einfach gegeben zu sein. Allein diese Folgerung wäre nur dann statthaft, wenn M. bei seiner einschneidenden Kritik durchaus konsequent verfahren wäre. Allein das ist keineswegs der Fall. Schon daß er an einer Stelle im Galaterbrief „Abraham" hat stehen lassen, ist ein Warnungszeichen; solche aber gibt es noch mehrere. Weder in bezug auf die ATlichen Zitate, noch in bezug auf Begriffe wie *δικαιοσύνη, νόμος* usw. kann man aus der Behandlung einer Stelle bei ihm auf die Behandlung anderer schließen. Es ergibt sich vielmehr, daß das Verhältnis des Paulus zum

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1 Nicht lange vor Abfassung des V. Buches gegen Marcion hatte er sich für die Herstellung seines Werkes De resurrectione carnis sehr eingehend mit den Paulusbriefen beschäftigt.

A.T. und seinem Gott, wie M. es faßte, ein recht kompliziertes gewesen sein muß, welches sich keineswegs mit der eindeutigen Vorstellung deckte, welche die Gegner dem M. zugeschrieben haben. Dazu: augenscheinlich wollte M. möglichst wenig streichen, also den überlieferten Text möglichst halten: es gibt Stellen genug, bei denen man es schwer begreift, wie M. sie bei seiner Lehre unkorrigiert anzuerkennen vermochte. Dazu kommt noch ein anderes: da wir keinen Grund zur Annahme haben, er habe sich bei seiner Textkritik für unfehlbar gehalten, und da er sich bei seinem Reinigungswerke auf eine „Offenbarung" nicht beruft, so mußte er sich selbst sagen, daß es ihm, nach dem angeblichen Untergang aller echten Exemplare der Paulusbriefe, nur annähernd gelingen könne, die Interpolationen und Textverfälschungen „der Pseudoapostel und jüdischen Evangelisten" — denn auf sie führte er die Verunreinigung der Texte zurück (V, 19) — durchweg richtig und vollständig wieder zu beseitigen. Er konnte daher seinen Text nur als einen annähernd richtigen ausgeben, und daß er wirklich nicht mehr behauptet hat, lehrt die Tatsache, daß seine Schüler diesen Text nicht als kanonischen empfangen und betrachtet haben. Sie haben vielmehr ihrerseits die Textkritik, teils reaktionär, teils progressiv fortgesetzt. Das zeigt uns noch heute die Geschichte des Marcionitischen Bibeltextes in der Kirche Marcions [1], und das bezeugen Tert., Celsus und Origenes [2] ausdrücklich. Es ist also vorzu-

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1 S. den Apparat zum Texte des Marcionitischen Apostolikons und auch die später folgenden Ausführungen.

2 Tert. IV, 5: „Cotidie reformant evangelium, prout a nobis cotidie revincuntur". Orig., c. Cels. II, 27: *Μετὰ ταῦτά ,τινας τῶν πιστευόντων', φησίν* (scil. Celsus), *,ὡς ἐκ μέθης ἥκοντας εἰς τὸ ἐφεστάναι αὐτοῖς μεταχαράττειν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τριχῇ καὶ τετραχῇ καὶ πολλαχῇ καὶ μεταπλάττειν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀρνεῖσθαι'. μεταχαράξαντας δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλους οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λουκόνου* (eines Schülers M.s). Auch Adamantius bestätigt die Veränderungen (s. Dial. II, 18, zitiert nach Rufin): „Infelix Marcion, cum adulterasset scripturas, apostoli codicem non est ausus in omnibus vel falsare vel etiam delere; sed isti (Marcionitae) etiam nunc quae eis visa fuerint auferunt, i. e. ea quae assertionibus

behalten, daß M. Stellen übersehen, die Behandlung anderer aufgeschoben und Widersprüche nicht aufgehoben hat, ferner daß wir an einigen Stellen überhaupt nicht mehr den ursprünglichen Text M.s, sondern den seiner Schüler vor uns haben. Das nötigt uns zu großer Vorsicht in bezug auf Analogie-Schlüsse betreffend die Streichungen und Korrekturen M.s, wenn sie uns nicht ausdrücklich bezeugt sind.

Mit diesen Vorbemerkungen könnten wir die Ausführungen über Tert. als Zeugen des Apostolikons M.s schließen, erhöbe sich nicht noch eine Frage, die freilich nach dem bisherigen Stande der Forschung als eine ganz überflüssige erscheint. „Es ergibt sich mit völliger Sicherheit", bemerkt Zahn (Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons I, S. 603 f, S. 51), „daß Tert. alles, was er im IV. und V. Buch an evangelischem oder apostolischem Text und Stoff zum Gegenstand seiner Kritik macht, sofern er nicht ausdrücklich das Gegenteil versichert, aus der griechischen Bibel M.s entweder wörtlich übersetzt oder frei dem Inhalt nach ausgezogen hat" ... „Es ist m. W. noch nicht behauptet worden, daß M.s N.T. jemals in lateinischer Übersetzung vorhanden gewesen sei, und es läßt sich jedenfalls nicht bestreiten, daß es dem Tert. im griechischen Original vorlag". Dies ist in der Tat die herrschende, ja die allein geltende und niemals in Zweifel gezogene Meinung. Aber sie ist, seit jene Worte geschrieben, durch die Entdeckung der lateinischen Marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen (s. o.) sehr stark erschüttert worden, ferner aber auch durch die steigende Erkenntnis der Einwirkung des Marcionitischen Bibeltextes auf den katholischen des Abendlands [1]. Durchschlagend sind indes diese beiden Momente noch nicht; denn es könnten jene Prologe ohne den Bibeltext, zu dem sie gehören, von Katholiken ins Lateinische übersetzt und rezipiert worden sein — freilich eine unwahrscheinliche Annahme —, und der griechische Bibeltext M.s könnte auf den lateinischen katholischen Bibeltext lediglich durch das Medium griechisch-

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suis videntur esse contraria, et ea sola derelinquunt quae adversa sibi non intellexerunt".

1 Zahn lehnte einen solchen Einfluß noch ganz ab; aber vgl. die Untersuchungen von Corssen, v. Soden, Lietzmann und White.

abendländischer Handschriften eingewirkt haben. Entschieden aber wäre die Frage, sobald nachgewiesen wird, daß das Apostolikon M.s dem Tert. bereits in lateinischer Form vorgelegen hat, und nicht nur diese Frage wäre entschieden, sondern es wäre auch eine für die Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel höchst wertvolle Problemstellung gewonnen; denn wenn die Marcionitische Kirche schon um das Jahr 200 ein lateinisches Apostolikon besessen hat, so erhebt sich die Frage, ob nicht etwa die Marcionitische lateinische Übersetzung der Paulusbriefe älter ist als die katholische [1].

Im folgenden erbringe ich den Beweis, daß das Marcionitische Apostolikon dem Tert. in lateinischer Gestalt

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1 Daß es bereits zu Tert.s Zeit eine (oder mehrere?) lateinische Bibelübersetzung gegeben hat, ist heute die Meinung der großen Mehrzahl der Forscher (Corssen, Lietzmann, Monceaux, v. Soden), vgl. meine Nachweisungen in der „Altchristl. Lit.-Gesch." Bd. II, 2 S. 296 ff. Dagegen hält Zahn mit kleinen Einschränkungen noch immer daran fest, daß es um d. J. 200, ja auch noch in den ein bis zwei Jahrzehnten nach 200 eine lateinische Übersetzung nicht gegeben hat, s. Kanongesch. I S. 51 ff; Forschungen Bd. IX, 1916, S. 23 f. 179 ff; „Die Apostelgeschichte" (Kommentar), 1919, I S. 88: „Tert. hat noch keine lateinische Bibel in Händen gehabt". Im stärksten Gegensatz dazu überrascht Lietzmann (Der Römerbrief, 1919, S. 14 f) durch folgende Erwägung: „Das Problem der Übernahme der Marcionitischen lateinischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen in die katholischen lateinischen Bibeln findet seine Lösung vielleicht am einfachsten durch die Annahme, daß in der Mitte oder in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts, als die amtliche römische Kirche noch griechisch sprach, Marcionitische Prediger für ihre Lehre auch in der lateinisch sprechenden Bevölkerung Roms Jünger zu werben suchten und zu diesem ihrem Propagandazweck zuerst den ihnen besonders am Herzen liegenden Paulustext ins Lateinische übersetzten. Diese Übersetzung hat dann die katholische Kirche übernommen und ihrem Text angeglichen, aber doch nicht überall die Spuren des Ursprungs verwischen können". Auf die Frage, ob M.s Apostolikon dem Tert. lateinisch vorgelegen hat, ist aber Lietzmann nicht eingegangen, Auf Grund ihrer eingehenden Studien sind Wordsworth-White (Novum Test. Latine II, 1 p. 41) zu dem Ergebnis gelangt: „Marcionis ‚Apostolicon' Latine etiam circumlatum fuit et communi usu (scil. in ecclesiis catholicis occidentalibus) tritum." Aber auch sie haben das Problem nicht aufgeworfen, in welcher Sprache Tert. das Apostolikon M.s gelesen hat.

vorgelegen[1] und daß er es in dieser Gestalt untersucht und bekämpft hat[2].

1. Die Zitate aus dem Apostolikon M.s in adv. Marc. V heben sich lexikalisch, syntaktisch und stilistisch scharf von der eigenen Sprache Tert.s ab. Daher sind sie nicht von ihm frei nach dem Griechischen geformt, sondern übernommen. Zunächst ist darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß, während Tert. selbst „quod" selten, „quia" fast niemals für den Acc. c. Inf. gebraucht, beide Worte in diesen Bibelzitaten in dieser vulgären Anwendung sehr häufig sind; dazu die folgende Beobachtung: De pudic. 16 gibt er selbst I Kor. 3, 16 also wieder: „Non scitis vos templum dei esse?" aber adv. Marc. V, 6 zitiert er: „Nescitis quod templum dei sitis?"

Gal. 4, 24 gibt Tert. (V, 4) als Marcionitischen Text: „Cum autem evenit impleri tempus"; das ist eine ungelenke, weil an der falschen Stelle wörtliche, Übersetzung von *ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα χρόνου*. Daß Tert. selbst so übersetzt hat, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich und in der Tat — ein paar Kapitel später zitiert er diesen Vers von sich aus (V, 8) und schreibt: „At ubi tempus expletum est." Also war ihm jene Fassung überliefert.

Gal. 6, 2 wird aus M.s Apostolikon zitiert (V, 4): „Onera vestra invicem sustinete" („onus sustinere bei Plautus); aber zwei Zeilen darnach schreibt Tert. selbst: „Invicem onera vestra portate".

Hätte der virtuose Stilist Tert. von sich aus geschrieben I Kor. 3, 19 (V, 6): „Deprehendens sapientes in nequitia illorum" für *ὁ δρασσόμενος τ. σοφοὺς ἐν τ. πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν*? Hätte er von sich aus (V, 7) I Kor. 5, 7 übersetzt: „Ut sitis nova consparsio, sicut estis azymi?" Ist es seine Hilflosigkeit, I. Kor. 9, 9 (V, 7) für *μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ* zu schreiben: „numquid de bobus

1 Schon vor Lietzmanns und Wordsworth-Whites Vermutungen, das Apostolikon M.s habe auch lateinisch existiert, hatte ich mich überzeugt, daß der M.-Text des Apostolikons Tert. in lateinischer Sprache vorgelegen hat.

2 Die Hypothese wird von keinem Punkte aus nahegelegt, daß er das Werk M.s außerdem auch in griechischer Gestalt eingesehen und benutzt hat.

pertinet ad dominum"? oder seine sprachliche Gefühllosigkeit II Kor. 3, 15 (V, 11) durch „ad hodiernum usque velamen id ipsum in corde eorum und II Kor. 3, 18 (l. c.) durch „eadem imagine transfigurari" wiederzugeben?

II Kor. 5, 17 (V, 12) lautet das Apostolikon: „Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo"; aber de ieiun. 14 schreibt Tert. selbst: „Quodsi nova conditio in Christo."

II Thess. 2, 11 (V. 16) nach dem Apostolikon: „Propter hoc erit eis (in) instinctum fallaciae" (für *διὰ τοῦτο ἔσται αὐτοῖς [εἰς] ἐνέργειαν πλάνης).* Allein bei der Erklärung vermeidet Tert. instinctus und schreibt „ad impingendos eos in errorem" bzw. „fallaciae immissio".

Ephes. 1, 12 (V, 17) liest man im Bibeltext „praesperavimus in Christum"; dieses Wort kommt m. W. sonst nicht vor und ist die sklavische Übersetzung von *προηλπικότες* (s. z. d. St. auch unten S. 54*).

Ephes. 1, 20 (V, 17) heißt es im Apostolikon: inoperatus est in Christum valentiam suam" (*ἐνήργησεν ἐν Χρ. τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ)*; Tert. selbst aber vermeidet das Wort „valentia" und das wörtliche und gräzisierende inoperari (s. zu diesem seltenen Wort Rönsch, Itala u. Vulgata S. 194).

Ephes. 2, 10 (V, 17) bietet das Apostolikon „Ipsius sumus factura" (= *ποίημα*); aber Tert. selbst braucht stets „opus", und vorher Ephes. 2, 2 (V, 17) liest man „Illos delictis mortuos, in quibus ingressi erant". Wer kann dem Tert. ein solches Latein zutrauen (für *νεκροὺς ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, ἐν αἷς περιεπατήσατε)*?

Ephes. 5, 18 (V, 18) bot das Apostolikon: „Inebriari vino dedecore"; hier ist ein Adjectivum „dedecoris" anzunehmen, das Tert. sonst nicht braucht.

Ephes. 6, 17 (III, 14): „galeam salutaris" *(τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου)*; also „salutare" als substantiviertes Adjektivum!

Kol. 1, 24 (V, 19): „Adimplere reliqua pressurarum" (*τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων*) und kurz vorher 1, 21: „Nos quondam alienatos et inimicos sensu

in malis operibus redigit in gratiam". Übersetzt Tert. so stümperhaft?

Phil. 1, 18 (V. 20) gibt das Apostolikon also wieder: „Nihil mea, sive causatione sive veritate Christus annuntietur" *(τί γάρ, εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται)* aber schon in der nächsten Zeile schreibt Tert. selbst verständlicher: „sive ex causatione sive ex veritate."

Phil. 2, 6 (V, 20): „Non rapinam existimavit pariari deo"; aber adv. Prax. 6 schreibt Tert. selbst: „esse se aequalem deo"; denn „pariari" ist vulgär und gräzisierend, wenn sich auch „pariare" ein paarmal bei Tert. findet (vgl. Rönsch, a. a. O. S. 168).

Diese Proben werden genügen, um zu beweisen, daß der Bibeltext, dem Tert. in Buch V gefolgt ist, keine Übersetzung Tert.s ist; vielmehr trägt er alle die bekannten Kennzeichen einer sklavischen und bis zum Unverständlichen wörtlichen, vulgären und gräzisierenden, lateinischen Bibelversion. Also lag das Marcionitische Apostolikon dem Tert. in lateinischer Übersetzung vor [1].

2. Aber es gibt noch eine Reihe von besonderen Beobachtungen, die diese Tatsache direkt und unwidersprechlich beweisen:

Gal. 3, 26 muß nach Tert. V, 3, wie alle Kritiker annehmen, der Marcionitische Text gelautet haben: „Omnes enim filii estis fidei" (Grundtext: *πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως*). Eben diesen Text kommentiert auch Tert. Allein es ist ganz ausgeschlossen, daß Marcion den Grundtext hier willkürlich geändert hat [2], denn daß wir Söhne des guten Gottes

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1 Die Annahme wäre noch möglich, daß Tert. das ganze N. T. in einer lateinischen Übersetzung im Gedächtnis hatte und diese an die Stelle des griechischen Textes, den er vor sich hatte, einsetzte, dabei aber die Marcionitischen Lesarten ex tempore lateinisch einschob. Allein erstlich gibt er auch diese Lesarten nicht in seiner Sprache, zweitens ist die ganze Annahme völlig unglaublich, da er ja den M. Text unmittelbar nach der Wiedergabe häufig stilistisch von sich aus korrigiert.

2 Phil. 3, 9 (V, 20) hat M. die Worte *δικαιοσύνην τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ* umgewandelt in „iustitiam quae per Christum ex deo", d. h. er hat *πίστις* weggelassen, weil ihm Christus wichtiger war als

durch den Glauben geworden sind, ist eine seiner Hauptlehren; warum hätte er dafür „Söhne des Glaubens" einsetzen sollen? Dagegen läßt sich die LA als Schreibfehler (Dittographie) im Lateinischen aufs einfachste erklären: „filii fidei" statt „filii dei"; dann ging natürlich „per fidem" verloren. Also lag der Text dem Tert. in lateinischer Übersetzung vor; dieser Schluß ist unvermeidlich [1].

Ferner, mitten im langen Zitat Gal. 4, 22—24 liest man (V, 4): „‚Haec sunt enim duo testamenta' — sive ‚duae ostensiones', sicut invenimus interpretatum — ‚unum a monte Sina'" etc. Tertullian fand also (eine andere Auffassung ist nicht möglich) in dem Marcionitischen Codex, dem er folgte, „ostensiones", erinnerte sich aber, daß der ihm selbst geläufige Text „testamenta" (διαθῆκαι) bot und führte das zunächst ein, um es dann gewissenhaft durch das Wort zu ersetzen, welches im Codex stand. Daß er „ostensiones" für eine Umschreibung von „testamenta', (διαθῆκαι) hielt (und dem M. nicht eine Textfälschung vorwarf [2]) war freilich eine großmütige und unhaltbare Annahme. Marcion hat den Text geändert, weil er hier nicht von zwei Testamenten geredet wissen wollte, als bestände zwischen den Veranstaltungen des Weltschöpfers und des guten Gottes eine formelle Verwandtschaft, (auch in Luk. 22, 20 hat M. das Wort „neu" bei „Testament" gestrichen, weil er nicht zwei Testamente kannte), sondern nur von zwei „Nachweisen". Das griechische Wort, welches er einsetzte, war wohl ἐνδείξεις oder ἐπιδείξεις. In lateinischen Bibelhandschriften steht „ostensio" Röm. 3,

der Glaube. Er hätte also Gal. 3, 26 das Umgekehrte getan, wenn die Lesart von ihm herrührte!

1 Er lag also dem Tert. bereits mit einem schweren Schreibfehler behaftet vor; dieser findet sich auch bei Hilarius. Da Hilarius den Text schwerlich aus Tertullian geschöpft hat, so folgt, daß der Fehler schon in einem uralten lateinischen Manuskript gemacht sein muß.

2 Wie V. 10 zu I Kor. 15, 45: „‚Factus primus homo Adam in animam vivam, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem', licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse; ‚dominum' enim posuit novissimum pro novissimo ‚Adam'". Auch hier hat, ganz wie oben, Tert. zuerst den Marcionitischen Text mit der katholischen Lesart („Adam") eingeführt und dann die Marcionitische LA nachgebracht.

25. 26; II Kor. 8, 24; Phil. 1, 28 für ἔνδειξις, I Kor. 2, 4 für ἀπόδειξις (Luk. 1, 80 für ἀνάδειξις), und Tert. selbst schreibt adv. Marc. V, 11: „Accidentia antecedit ipsius rei ostensio". Wie aber auch das Wort griechisch gelautet haben mag — dem Tert. lag in dem Marcionitischen Apostolikon hier „ostensio" vor; es war also lateinisch[1].

Weiter: V, 8 zitiert Tert. Eph. 4, 8: „Captivam duxit captivitatem, ‚data dedit filiis hominum', i. e. donativa, quae charismata dicimus". Wäre ihm nicht „data" überliefert und übersetzte er selbständig, so brauchte er das Wort nicht als „donativa" zu interpretieren, sondern hätte sofort „donativa" geschrieben[2], also war ihm „data" gegeben.

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1 Für Zahn ist diese Stelle sehr unbequem (Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons I S. 52). Die willkürliche Einsetzung von „sponsiones" für „ostensiones" ändert natürlich nichts. — Übrigens hat Tert. in demselben Zitat kurz vorher die Verse Gal. 4, 22—24 schon einmal unterbrochen, indem er schreibt: „‚Quae sunt allegorica' i. e. aliud portendentia; ‚haec sunt enim duo testamenta'" etc. Auch hier ist es die nächste Annahme, um nicht mehr zu sagen, daß er „allegorica" in seinem Texte fand und es seinen lateinischen Lesern deutlich machte. Hätte er den Text selbst übersetzt, so hätte er „allegorica" ohne weiteres lateinisch wiedergegeben. — Nichts wider die Vorlage als eine lateinische vermag man aus dem Zitat Ephes. 1, 9 f. (V, 17) zu schließen. Tert. schreibt: „‚Secundum boni existimationem, quam proposuerit in sacramento voluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum' — ut ita dixerim, sicut verbum illud in Graeco sonat — ‚recapitulare', i. e. ad initium redigere vel ab initio recensere, ‚omnia in Christum, quae in caelis et quae in terris'". Nur auf den ersten Blick entsteht der Schein, als übersetzte hier Tertullian selbst aus dem Griechischen; aber er stutzt nur vor dem neuen und ganz unverständlichen Wort „recapitulare" — denn es ist früher überhaupt nicht nachzuweisen —, entschuldigt es als einen Gräzismus, indem er sich dabei des ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι des Originaltextes erinnert, und erklärt die Bedeutung des Worts. Hätte er „recapitulare" nicht in seinem Texte gefunden, so hätte er es überhaupt nicht zu erwähnen gebraucht, sondern konnte gleich „ad initium redigere" oder ähnlich schreiben.

2 So bietet er in der Tat in Wiedergabe von Röm. 6, 3 (de resurr. 47): „Stipendia enim delinquentiae mors, dona-

Kol. 1, 17 (*καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων*) gibt Tert. V, 19 also wieder: „Posuit apostolus: ‚Et ipse est ante omnes‘. quomodo enim ante omnes, si non ante omnia?“ Wenn Tert. hier auf „ante omnia“ hinauskommen wollte, konnte er nach dem griechischen Text ohne weiteres so übersetzen; da er das aber nicht getan hat, so ist evident, daß ihm der Text „ante omnes“ und nicht *πρὸ πάντων* vorgelegen hat.

Ferner Ephes. 1, 12 las Tert. nach dem Marcionitischen Codex (V, 17) also: „Ut simus in laudem gloriae nos, qui praesperavimus in Christum“, und bemerkt von sich aus dazu: „Qui ‚praesperasse‘ potuerant i. e. ante sperasse in deum quam venisset, nisi Judaei?“ Hier ist es doch wohl evident, daß er das gebildete Ohren beleidigende Wort „praesperare“ in dem Codex gelesen hat und es durch „sperare antequam“ wiedergibt.

I Kor. 6, 20 gibt Tert. (V, 7) referierend also wieder: „Jam nunc quomodo honorabimus, quomodo tollemus deum in corpore periturо?“ Das „tollemus“ ist eine uralte lateinische Variante (= *ἄρατε* = *ἄρα γε*, s. unten im Apparat z. d. St.), bzw. die uralte lateinische, später vereinzelt in den Orient gekommene Lesart (dagegen der echte Text einfach: *δοξάσατε τὸν θεόν*). Wie kommt Tert. dazu, sie hier einzuführen, wenn ihm der Text griechisch vorlag?

Man weiß aus Adamantius, daß der Marcionitische Text Gal. 6, 17 ganz singulär gelautet hat: *τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰκῇ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέσθω* (> den gewöhnlichen Text: *τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους κτλ.*) *ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα κτλ.* Tert. schreibt: „Persecutores vocat Christi; cum vero adicit stigmata Christi etc.“ Jenes „*τῶν ἄλλων*“ kann nur aus der lateinischen Übersetzung von „*τοῦ λοιποῦ* = „De ceteris“ entstanden sein, die also den griechischen Text beeinflußt hat. Tert. muß entweder den lateinischen Text „de ceteris“ für seine falsche Paraphrase, die hier Feinde Christi findet, vor sich gehabt haben oder den bereits nach dem Lateinischen korri-

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tivum autem dei vita aeterna“; cf. de corona 1: „Donativum Christi in carcere exspectat!“

gierten griechischen Text. Das erstere ist viel wahrscheinlicher. Der Marciontext stimmt, wie sich unten zeigen wird, an sehr vielen Stellen mit der in den Codd. DG. vorliegenden Rezension überein; aber nicht nur mit ihr, sondern auch wörtlich genau mit ihrer lateinischen Übersetzung dg und mit der Itala-Überlieferung überhaupt. Handelte es sich um wenige Stellen, so könnte Tert. zufällig auf dieselbe Übersetzung gekommen sein; aber bei der großen Anzahl der Stellen ist diese Annahme unmöglich; daher ist es unbegreiflich, daß Zahn trotz dieses Tatbestandes sich in seiner Hypothese nicht hat erschüttern lassen, dem Tert. habe der Marciontext griechisch vorgelegen. Wäre das der Fall, so müßte man an vielen Stellen den Tert. im voraus ahnen lassen, wie der spätere lateinische Übersetzer den Text wiedergeben werde! Somit ist erwiesen, daß Tert. das Marcionitische Apostolikon lateinisch vor sich hatte[1]. Über die Konsequenzen dieser Erkenntnis s. die nach dem Abdruck des Textes folgende Untersuchung. Da die lateinische Übersetzung sklavisch wörtlich ist, so macht es kaum irgendwo Schwierigkeit, den griechischen Text, der hinter der Übersetzung liegt, zu ermitteln.

Aber auch das sei zum Schluß hier betont, daß Tert., seine Textangaben betreffend, sorgfältig und daher zuverlässig gearbeitet hat. Das gilt nicht nur von den wörtlichen Zitaten, sondern auch von den Referaten über die Textfassungen M.s. Wo wir ihn durch Seitenreferenten zu kontrollieren vermögen, besteht er in der Regel die Prüfung, ja oft genug bis ins kleinste, so daß der anfängliche Skeptizismus bei genauem Studium verschwinden und sich in dankbare Anerkennung

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1 Zahn (a. a. O. I S. 51) will aus V, 10: „Ubi est, mors, victoria vel contentio tua?“ (I Kor. 15, 55) schließen, Tert. gebe hier Alternativ-Übersetzungen für τὸ νῖκος, also habe ihm der Text griechisch vorgelegen; allein die bessere Überlieferung lautet: „Ubi est, mors, victoria, ubi contentio tua?“, und mit Recht hat Kroymann „victoria ubi“ (besser „ubi contentio“) als Glosse entfernt. Übrigens hätte Tert. schwerlich eine Alternativ-Übersetzung bloß durch „vel“ eingeführt, sondern sich deutlicher ausgedrückt. De resurr. 47. 51. 54 bietet Tert. in diesem Zitat „contentio tua“, und eben aus diesen Stellen sind diese Worte als Alternativlesart in V, 10 eingerückt worden.

verwandeln muß. Natürlich bleiben trotzdem bei den Referaten Stellen genug übrig, wo man keine Sicherheit (namentlich in bezug auf Wortstellungen usw.) gewinnen kann, wie der Text M.s genau gelautet hat.

2. Die Dialoge des Adamantius.

Zahn hat in bezug auf die Verwertung der fünf Dialoge des „Adamantius" für den Apostolikontext Marcions folgende Grundsätze aufgestellt [1].

1. Die Dialoge, gleich nach Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts verfaßt, sind in der von Caspari entdeckten lateinischen Übersetzung Rufins viel besser erhalten als in dem griechischen Original [2], da dieses eine durchgreifende Umarbeitung des ursprünglichen Textes aus den Jahren 330—337 wiedergibt.

2. Sie haben ältere Streitschriften benutzt; denn nicht nur ist die Schrift des Methodius über den freien Willen seitenweise wörtlich abgeschrieben, sondern eine Vergleichung mit Irenäus, Tertullian und Origenes zeigt auch, daß ihnen mindestens noch ein älteres antimarcionitisches Werk zugrunde liegt, dessen Verfasser die Schriften Marcions kannte [3].

3. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist, wenn es sich auch nicht beweisen läßt, daß „Adamantius" daneben auch unmittelbar aus den Schriften Marcions und der Marcioniten, insbesondere aus dem Evangelium und dem Apostolikon, geschöpft hat [4].

4. Der Dialog I mit dem echten Schüler M.s, Megethius, enthält, abgesehen von einem Zitat (Kol. 4, 10 f. 14), das aus

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1 Sie sind von mir abstrahiert aus seiner „Geschichte des NTlichen Kanons" II S. 419 ff. sowie aus der älteren Abhandlung „Die Dialoge des Adamantius mit den Gnostikern" (Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch., Bd. IX (1887) S. 193 ff.).

2 Alle griechischen Handschriften gehen auf einen Codex, den Venetus, zurück, den wir auch besitzen. In van de Sande-Bakhuyzens Ausgabe (1901) ist diese sichere Erkenntnis leider nicht zu ihrem Recht gekommen.

3 Das Werk muß vortertullianisch sein, da es die Berührungen des Adamantius mit Tertullian (den jener nicht gelesen haben kann) erklären soll. Zahn denkt an das antimarcionitische Werk des Theophilus von Antiochia.

4 „Die hierauf bezüglichen Angaben bedürfen noch der Erörterung", fügt Zahn S. 420 hinzu.

dem marcionitischen Kodex der Paulusbriefe vorgelesen wird, kein Zitat aus M.s Apostolikon; denn Megethius erklärt, er werde seine Lehre aus den heiligen Schriften der Katholiken beweisen, und verfährt darnach bis zum Schluß des Dialogs. Somit haben die zahlreichen NTlichen Zitate dieses Buches, mögen sie von „Adamantius" oder von Megethius vorgebracht sein, keinen Anspruch darauf, aus M.s Bibel zu stammen. Jedoch schränkt Zahn selbst diese Behauptung durch eine „Wahrscheinlichkeit" und eine „Möglichkeit" ein: wahrscheinlich sei, daß „Adamantius" dem Marcioniten nicht gerade solche Stellen in den Mund gelegt haben wird, von welchen er wußte, daß sie bei M. fehlten oder wesentlich anders lauteten, und möglich sei, daß Adamantius unter dem Einfluß älterer marcionitischer Schriften, in denen die Lehre M.s auf dem Grunde seiner Bibel bestritten war, unabsichtlich einige Marcionitische Lesarten habe einfließen lassen[1].

5. Der Dialog II mit dem Marcionschüler Markus stellt sich von vornherein auf den Boden der Bibel M.s und behauptet diesen Boden auch bis zum Schluß, so daß hier alle Zitate, mögen sie von Adamantius oder von Markus vorgebracht werden, marcionitische sind. Adamantius besaß also entweder selbst eine genaue Kenntnis der Bibel M.s oder hat eine ältere antimarcionitische Schrift stark ausgebeutet, in der reichliche Mitteilungen aus jener Bibel enthalten waren. Nur die Einschränkung ist zu machen, daß bei kürzeren Zitaten, die nicht aus der Bibel M.s verlesen werden, sich Erinnerungen an den katholischen Text eingeschlichen haben können.

6. Der Dialog III mit dem Bardesaniten Marinus scheidet ganz aus.

7. Die Dialoge IV und V (gegen die Valentinianer und Bardesaniten) kommen teilweise auch für M.s Bibel in Betracht, nämlich dort, wo Adamantius auf die noch immer anwesenden Marcioniten Rücksicht nimmt, ja hier ist der marcionitische Ursprung einer langen Reihe von Zitaten im fünften Dialog besonders

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1 Doch macht Zahn bei seiner Wiederherstellung des Marcionitischen Apostolikon, soviel ich sehe, von diesen Möglichkeiten keinen Gebrauch; er bucht zwar häufig die in den Zitaten des ersten Dialogs sich findenden Varianten, aber nur um hinzuzufügen, daß sie nicht in Betracht gezogen werden dürften.

sicher verbürgt, da sie in der Reihenfolge gegeben werden, in der die Paulusbriefe in der Bibel M.s gestanden haben (Gal., I Kor., II Kor., Röm.).

(Ad. 1). Wie so häufig, ist die Bedeutung des neu entdeckten Zeugen zunächst überschätzt worden; auch Zahn ist dem unterlegen. Im Gegensatz zu ihm hat van de Sande-Bakhuyzen in seiner Ausgabe (p. XLII—XLIX) erwiesen, daß Rufins Übersetzung der Dialoge zwar treuer ist als seine Origenes-Übersetzungen, daß er sich aber auch hier große Freiheiten genommen hat. Das gilt sowohl für die Bibelzitate als auch für die Reden. Es ist also Rufin gegen das griechische Original keineswegs immer im Rechte, zumal da es auch eine schwere Übertreibung ist, von einer förmlichen „Überarbeitung" zu sprechen, in welcher uns der griechische Text vorliegen soll. Dieser Text hat zwar an ein paar Stellen schon frühe Zusätze erfahren, aber ist sonst intakt. Man ist daher genötigt, auch bei den Bibelzitaten von Fall zu Fall zu entscheiden, ob der ursprüngliche Text vom Griechen oder von Rufin erhalten ist.

(Ad. 2 u. 3). Der literarische Charakter und sachliche Wert des Werkes kann schärfer bestimmt werden, als Zahn es getan hat. Zunächst ist festzustellen, daß die Dialoge durchweg fingiert sind. Das gibt auch Zahn zu; aber er zieht nicht fest die Konsequenzen. Hier wird nicht wirklich bald die katholische Bibel, bald die Marcionitische herbeigebracht und aufgeschlagen — so scheint es nach Zahn —, hier ist nichts aus Marcions Bibel verlesen worden, hier findet keine wirkliche Rede und Gegenrede statt usw.[1] Wenn dies alles also Einkleidung ist, so sind die dramatischen Bemerkungen und Situationen sämtlich für die Feststellung der Herkunft und des Wertes der tatsächlichen Angaben vollkommen gleichgültig, und es läßt sich lediglich aus inneren Gründen entscheiden, ob etwas authentisch-marcionitisch ist oder nicht, einerlei ob es von den Häretikern oder von Adamantius vorgetragen wird. Man muß demnach, um den sachlichen Wert des Werks festzustellen, die ganze Kunstform aufheben und es einfach als eine große Ab-

1 Auch die Rolle, welche der Schiedsrichter Eutropius spielt, zeigt die Fiktion; er ist von vornherein parteiisch und in Wahrheit kein Richter, sondern Eideshelfer des katholischen Disputanten.

handlung betrachten. Sofort überzeugt man sich dann, daß wir es mit einem abgeleiteten Werk (einer Kompilation) geringer Ordnung zu tun haben, das freilich für uns von größter Bedeutung ist, da es uns die benutzten verlorenen Vorlagen ersetzt. Schon daß der Verfasser sich hinter den Namen des Origenes versteckt hat — denn nur er kann unter „Adamantius" gemeint sein —, macht es wahrscheinlich, daß er selbst nichts zu sagen hatte, sondern älteres Gut reproduzierte. Das stillschweigende große Plagiat an Methodius, der vielleicht noch am Leben war, jedenfalls aber erst wenige Jahre vorher sein Werk über den freien Willen geschrieben hatte, zeigt eine unter den damaligen Verhältnissen des literarischen Betriebs ungewöhnliche Dreistigkeit. Die zahlreichen Berührungen mit theologischen Ausführungen des Irenäus, Tertullian und Origenes bestätigen, daß der Verfasser von entlehntem Gut lebte. Die Mitteilung vieler Antithesen Marcions, ohne daß doch jemals das Werk der Antithesen selbst genannt wird, macht es gewiß, daß er dieses Werk aus eigener Wissenschaft überhaupt nicht gekannt, ja, wie es scheint, von seiner Existenz gar nichts gewußt hat. Daß endlich der Reihe nach die Marcioniten. Bardesaniten und Valentinianer — und nur diese — bekämpft werden, führt zu der Annahme, daß der Verf. die Häretiker, die seine Provinz beunruhigten, treffen wollte, aber für keine dieser Gruppen besondere eigene Kenntnisse aus ihren eigenen Werken hinzubrachte. In bezug auf die Bardesaniten und Valentinianer liegt das auf der Hand, sollte das bei den Marcioniten anders sein? Zahn hält es zwar für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Verf. auch unmittelbar aus den Schriften M.s und der Marcioniten, insbesondere aus dem Evangelium und dem Apostolikon, geschöpft hat; allein er selbst fügt hinzu, daß es sich nicht beweisen lasse. In der Tat läßt sich auch nicht eine Spur eines Beweises beibringen; dagegen wirft seine Unkenntnis des Werks der Antithesen ein schlimmes Licht auf seine Kenntnis der Marcionitischen Werke überhaupt. Wenn er dennoch gutes Material in Fülle beigebracht hat, so war das für einen Polemiker, der um das Jahr 300 schrieb, nicht schwierig. Lagen doch damals mindestens ein Dutzend Werke gegen Marcion in griechischer Sprache vor (von Justin, Dionysius von Korinth, Philippus von Gorthyna, Melito, Miltiades, Modestus, Theophilus von Antiochien, Irenäus, Rhodon, Pro-

kulus, Hippolyt, Bardesanes), dazu die Polemik des Origenes, die viel eingehender und reichhaltiger war als die uns erhaltenen Reste. Welches dieser Werke oder vielmehr welche er benutzt hat, läßt sich leider heute nicht mehr ermitteln. Was für das Werk des Theophilus spricht, ist beachtenswert, aber nicht ausreichend. Bardesanes hat gegen Marcion Dialoge syrisch geschrieben und seine Schüler haben sie ins Griechische übersetzt (Euseb., h. e. IV, 30, 1); vielleicht sind eben diese Dialoge von „Adamantius" im ersten oder im zweiten Dialog benutzt und haben ihn zu dieser Kunstform angeregt. Daß er selbst im dritten Dialog einen Bardesaniten bekämpft, wäre kein Gegengrund [1].

Unter diesen Umständen, d. h. da dem Verf. eigene Kenntnis der Marcionitischen Bibel nicht zugesprochen werden kann, muß jedes einzelne Bibelzitat, einerlei in welchem Dialog es steht und ob es von „Adamantius" oder von einem Häretiker vorgebracht wird, für sich und im Rahmen seines Kontexts daraufhin geprüft werden, ob es aus der Marcionitischen Bibel geflossen ist oder nicht, und wir werden uns darauf gefaßt machen müssen, ihrem Ursprunge nach sehr verschiedenen Zitaten zu begegnen, wie das bei einer Kompilation dieser Art nicht anders erwartet werden kann.

(Ad. 4—7). Nach dem Ausgeführten lassen sich die Grundsätze nicht halten, die Z a h n hier aufgestellt hat. Es sind daher nur wenige Worte nötig. Was den Dialog I betrifft, so kann auch er sehr wohl mehr Marcionitisches Bibelgut als das einzige Zitat enthalten (Kol. 4, 10 f. 14), welches Z a h n als Marcionitisch gelten läßt; denn wir hätten für die Z a h n sche Behauptung, in diesem Dialog werde auf Grund einer Abmachung durchweg auf dem Boden der katholischen Bibel disputiert, nur dann eine Ge-

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1 Daß dem Dial. I (Polemik gegen einen Marcioniten, der die Dreiprinzipienlehre vertritt) und dem Dial. II (Polemik gegen einen Marcionitischen Vertreter der Zweiprinzipienlehre) verschiedene Vorlagen zugrunde liegen, ist gewiß. Es bestehen charakteristische Unterschiede. Megethius ist freundlicher; er spricht vom Gegner (I, 1) als vom „Bruder Adamantius"; er zitiert Marcionitische Antithesen (freilich ohne anzugeben, woher sie stammen), während der zweite Gegner solche nicht kennt, usw. Im ersten Dialog findet man reichhaltigeres, aber im zweiten zuverlässigeres Material. Widersprüche fehlen nicht, so z. B. in bezug auf die Abfassung des Evangeliums, vgl. I, 8 mit II, 13.

währ, wenn es sich um eine wirkliche Disputation hier handelte und nicht um eine fiktive. Da es aber eine fiktive ist, wissen wir nicht, mit welchem Grad von Sorgfalt der Verfasser die Zitate, die ihm seine Quellen boten, verteilt hat. Übrigens — um zunächst hier nur e i n Beispiel zu nennen — wenn Megethius (Dial. I. 13) die Marcionitische Antithese wiedergibt: *Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως, ἵνα πολεμῶν πλείονας ἀνέλῃ, ἔστησε τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ μὴ δῦσαι μέχρι συντελέσῃ ἀναιρῶν τοὺς πολεμοῦντας πρὸς τὸν λαόν· ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, λέγει· Ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν* — so ist doch offenbar, daß Ephes. 4, 26 hier aus der Marcionitischen Bibel stammt. Umgekehrt steht es nicht so, daß alle Zitate in dem Dialog II aus der Bibel M.s herrühren müssen. Zwar nach der Abmachung zwischen den Disputierenden müßte es der Fall sein — darin hat Z a h n recht —; aber hat der Verf. seine Quelle bei seiner Umgießung durchweg rein erhalten? Nein, es gibt sichere Beispiele, daß er an einigen Stellen nicht den Text Ms. wiedergibt. Ferner, der Dialog III bietet überhaupt nur drei Zitate aus den Paulusbriefen und richtet sich gegen Bardesanes: aber auch hier wäre es möglich, daß der Verf. bei der kompilatorischen Art seiner Arbeit Marcionitisches eingetragen hat und angesichts des Zitats Röm. 6, 19 scheint mir das nicht unwahrscheinlich. Dieses Zitat ist (III, 7) in seiner zweiten Hälfte so gefaßt: *οὕτω παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη τῷ θεῷ δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ* (Rufin: „i t a n u n c e x h i b e t e m e m b r a v e s t r a d e o s e r v i r e i n i u s t i t i a“). Der ursprüngliche Text lautet: *οὕτως νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.* Ich sehe von „n u n c“ „v e s t r a“ und „s e r v i r e“ (so auch FG d e f g vulg Orig Ambrosiaster) ab: Die wertvolle, sonst nirgend bezeugte Variante liegt in dem eingeschobenen „*θεῷ*“. Wer das einschob, der wollte nicht lesen, die Gläubigen sollen ihre Glieder der Gerechtigkeit zu Dienst stellen (obgleich der Parallelismus zu *ἀνομία* das verlangte); er änderte daher so, daß Gott selbst der Dienstherr wird, und ließ es sich dann gefallen, daß die Gläubigen (bei Rufin steht das Richtige) i n Gerechtigkeit Gott dienen. Das ist Marcionitisch; denn M. mußte befürchten, daß *δουλεύειν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ* als *δουλεύειν τῷ δικαίῳ θεῷ* verstanden werde; ein *δουλεύειν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* aber konnte er sich gefallen lassen; denn *δικαιοσύνη* war auch ihm, richtig verstanden, erträglich. — Von den Dialogen IV

und V gilt dasselbe wie von Dialog I; recht aber hat hier Zahn, daß die in Dialog V c. 22—27 nach der Marcionitischen Reihenfolge der Paulusbriefe gegebenen Pauluszitate eine geschlossene Gruppe bilden und daher aus der Marcionitischen Bibel stammen müssen.

Aus dem hier Ausgeführten ergibt sich, daß durchgehende, feste Grundsätze für die Ermittelung der Marcionitischen Pauluszitate in den Dialogen nicht aufgestellt werden können, daß man vielmehr fast überall (mit Ausnahme von V, 22—27) nach inneren Gründen zu entscheiden hat. Um aber zu beweisen, daß auch die von Zahn als Marcion-Zitate grundsätzlich verworfene Paulus-Zitate des Dialogs I und in gewissen Teilen des Dialogs V in Betracht zu ziehen sind und einen Ertrag für M. bieten, sollen hier ein paar Belege gegeben werden:

Gal. 1, 8 hat Zahn in seiner Textherstellung nach Tert. mit Recht geboten: *ἄλλως εὐαγγελίζηται* (Tert. dreimal: „aliter evangelizaverit"). Im katholischen Text fehlt *ἄλλως*, aber bei Adamant., Dial. I, 6 liest man in Rufins Übersetzung (Text gemischt aus v. 8. 9) ebenfalls: „aliter evangelizaverit" (der Grieche bietet hier, wie manchmal, einen entstellten Text). Wer kann zweifeln, daß dies sonst ganz unbezeugte *ἄλλως* bei Adamant. aus M.s Text geflossen ist? Findet sich, worauf Hans v. Soden aufmerksam gemacht hat, *ἄλλως* auch bei Cyprian (zweimal), so liegt entweder Einfluß des Textes M.'s oder eine vormarcionitische LA vor.

I Kor. 15, 1—4 wird in Dial. V, 6 wörtlich zitiert; aber es fehlt an beiden Stellen *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* und dazu *ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον*. Sowohl diese als auch jene Weglassung ist sicher Marcionitisch: denn weder konnte er Tod und Auferstehung von den „Schriften" geweissagt sein lassen, noch zugeben, daß er das Evangelium ebenso empfangen hätte, wie es die Korinther von ihm empfangen haben. Einige Verse später (v. 20) lautet der unverfälschte Text: *Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν*, aber im Dial. V, 6: *Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάναι*. Wir wissen aber (s. zu Gal. 1, 1), daß M. es nicht liebte, von der Auferweckung Christi zu sprechen, sondern dafür „Auferstehung" oder „Selbsterweckung" einfügte. Also liegt auch hier ein Marcionitischer Text vor.

I Thess. 4, 15—17 wird von Tert. (V, 15) und im Dialog

(I, 25) teilweise wörtlich zitiert. Die beiden Zeugen stimmen darin überein, daß sie nicht πρῶτον bezeugen, sondern die altlateinische LA πρῶτοι und daß sie aus v. 15 die Worte εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ in v. 17 herübernehmen (sonst unbezeugt): ἡμεῖς . . . οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν Χριστοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα. Kann dieses Zusammentreffen zufällig sein?

Tert. (adv. Marc. IV, 16) schiebt bei Wiedergabe des Marcionitischen Textes Luk. 6, 29 (Referat) zweimal ein „amplius" ein („alteram amplius maxillam offerri" und „sed et amplius et pallium concedendi"); in Adam., Dial. I, 18 lautet der Text: πρόσθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. Dieses πρόσθες ist weder von Luk. noch von Matth. geboten; aber, wie man sieht, bezeugt es Tertull. Also bietet hier Adamantius den Marcionitischen Text. Ferner Luk. 6, 38 ist nach Tert. (IV, 17) die Marcionitische LA τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ (sonst nur noch durch den Itala-Cod. g^2 bezeugt); aber diese LA bietet auch Adamant., Dial. I, 15 (nach Rufin, dem hier, wie so oft, gefolgt werden muß). Weiter, in den beiden Referaten Tert.s (II, 27 und IV, 17) über M.s Hauptspruch vom schlechten und guten Baum braucht er „proferre" bezw. „producere", was weder dem Matth.- noch dem Luk.text genau entspricht; aber Dial. I, 28 steht in dem Spruch προενεγκεῖν (προενέγκαι), also derselbe Text, und auch darauf sei hingewiesen, daß im Dial. der schlechte Baum dem guten vorausgeht, weil er nach M. das Gesetz bedeutet, das dem Evangelium vorangeht. Endlich noch ein Beispiel: Luk. 24, 25 lautete M.s Text in tendenziöser Umgestaltung nach Tert. und Epiph.: ἐλάλησα (ἐλάλησεν) πρὸς ὑμᾶς > ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται, aber wie bei jenen lautet er auch Dial. V, 12.

Diese Proben werden genügen, um zu erweisen, daß die festen Grundsätze Zahns in bezug auf die Verwertung der Dialoge nicht zutreffend sind [1], so gewiß es ist, daß in den Dialogen zahlreiche Zitate stehen, die nicht aus der Bibel M.s stammen. Adamantius schöpfte eben aus verschiedenen antimarcionitischen Quellen.

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1 Übrigens hat sie auch Holl in seiner Epiphanius-Ausgabe nicht anerkannt; sonst durfte er S. 121 nicht Adamant., Dial. I, 22 zitieren.

3. Epiphanius.

Epiphanius' Beitrag zu unserer Kenntnis des Apostolikon M.s ist nicht umfangreich: geraume Zeit, bevor er das Kapitel (42) seines Panarions gegen M. ausgearbeitet, hatte er einmal (wo? in Cypern? in Palästina?) jenes Apostolikon samt dem zugehörigen Evangelium in die Hände bekommen und aus diesem 78, aus jenem 40 Stellen ausgeschrieben, um den Ketzer aus seinen Werken selbst zu widerlegen [1], was vor ihm schon Irenäus geplant und Tert. ausgeführt hatte. Bei diesen Auszügen hatte er sich aber auf 6 Briefe von den zehn beschränkt (keine Auszüge aus I II Thess., Phil., Philem.) und auch aus Kol. nur ein Zitat verzeichnet. Die Absicht der Widerlegung hatte er damals nicht ausgeführt. Jetzt kehrte er zu diesen Zetteln zurück, verleibte sie seinem Werke ein und setzte, sie noch einmal wörtlich wiederholend, zu jedem Zitat eine mehr oder weniger ausführliche Widerlegung. Eine neue Einsicht in M.s Bibel hat er dabei nicht genommen — entweder hatte er sie nicht mehr zur Hand oder er hielt eine nochmalige Einsicht für unnötig. Die Folge davon waren zahlreiche Mißverständnisse in bezug auf seine alte Aufzeichnung. Was hier zu entwirren war, hat Zahn (a. a. O. II, S. 409—419) so vollständig geleistet, daß einfach auf seine Untersuchung verwiesen werden kann [2]. Das schlimmste Mißverständnis war, daß er selbst nicht mehr wußte, weshalb er jene 4 Briefe ausgelassen, und nun mit unglaublicher Leichtfertigkeit behauptete, es sei deshalb geschehen, weil sie M. hoffnungslos verfälscht habe! Ein zweites grobes Mißverständnis ergab sich aus der Tatsache, daß bei M. der Epheserbrief „Laodiceerbrief" heißt und daß Epiphanius

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1 Haer. 42, 10 S. 106: *Παραθήσομαι δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐποιησάμην κατ' αὐτοῦ πραγματείαν πρὶν τοῦ ταύτην μου τὴν σύνταξιν ἐσπουδακέναι διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν προτροπῆς ποιήσασθαι. ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἱκανῶν, ἀνερευνῶν τὴν τούτου τοῦ Μαρκίωνος ἐπινενοημένην ψευδηγορίαν, καὶ ληρώδη διδασκαλίαν, αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς τοῦ προειρημένου βίβλους ἃς περικέκοπται* (so Jülicher, Ms. *κέκτηται) μετὰ χεῖρας λαβών, τό τε παρ' αὐτῷ λεγόμενον ‚Εὐαγγέλιον' καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ 'Αποστολικὸν καλούμενον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐξανθισάμενος καὶ ἀναλεξάμενος καθ' εἱρμὸν ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων δύο βιβλίων τὰ ἐλέγξαι αὐτόν δυνάμενα κτλ.*

2 Einige zutreffende Korrekturen bei Holl in seiner Epiph.-Ausgabe.

dies bei der früheren Aufzeichnung bemerkt haben mußte; aber jetzt kam er infolge der Unvollkommenheit seiner Aufzeichnung zu der Ansicht, M. habe sowohl den Epheser- als auch einen Laodiceerbrief in seiner Bibel gehabt, gab nun den größeren Teil der Zitate unter jenem Titel, eines aber unter diesem, träumte dann, M. habe nur „Teile" eines Laodiceerbriefs aufgenommen — daß es wirklich einen apokryphen Laodiceerbrief gab, hatte er von irgendwoher gehört —, ja kam schließlich dem Unsinn nahe, M.s Bibel habe überhaupt nur aus Exzerpten zum Beweise seiner Irrlehre bestanden[1]. Eine dritte Konfusion richtete er in bezug auf die Reihenfolge der Paulusbriefe bei M. an; es mag ihr gegenüber aber die Konstatierung genügen, daß er sie in jenem Exemplar, das ihm einst zur Verfügung stand, in derselben Zahl (10) und in derselben Reihenfolge gelesen, in der sie M. geordnet hatte; nur Phil. stellt Epiphanius stets nach Philem. Das muß ihm der Codex geboten haben; spätere Marcioniten werden Philem. unmittelbar nach Kol. gestellt haben, wohin er gehört.

Da Epiph. in seinen Widerlegungen der 40 Zitate nichts Wertvolles für den Text hinzufügen konnte, so haben wir es lediglich mit ihnen zu tun. Daß die beiden Abschriften nicht vollkommen stimmen, war bei Epiphanius von vornherein zu erwarten, auch wenn die Abschreiber tadellos die Texte überliefert hätten. Doch sind die Differenzen gering und in Holls Ausgabe erledigt.

Die Zitate zerfallen in zwei Klassen, in eine wenig umfangreiche, in welcher Epiphanius Textfälschungen M.s angibt, und in die andere, in denen er Stellen ausgezogen hat, um M. durch sie zu widerlegen. Selbstverständlich ist jene Klasse die zuverlässigere; in dieser kam es dem Epiph. nicht auf absolute Genauigkeit an, und er bricht auch an einigen Stellen mit *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* die Anführung ab.

So schmal somit das Material ist, welches Epiphanius zu unserer Kenntnis des Apostolikons M.s beigebracht hat, so wertvoll ist es doch sowohl dort, wo es den von Tert. oder Adamantius mitgeteilten Text bestätigt, als wo es eine sonst nicht bezeugte

1 Möglicherweise liegt hier eine Konfusion mit Nachrichten über die „Antithesen" vor, die Epiph. selbst nicht in Händen gehabt hat.

Bibelstelle in der Fassung M.s bringt. Daß der Text, seitdem Tert. ihn las, einige Veränderungen erlitten hat, war a priori zu erwarten — nicht nur aus Schuld der Abschreiber, sondern wir wissen ja, daß die Marcioniten an dem Texte absichtlich geändert, bezw. das Werk ihres Meisters fortgesetzt haben. Daher mag schon der Marcionitische Bibeltext, wie Tertullian ihn las, Korrekturen besessen haben, die nicht von dem Meister selbst, sondern von den Schülern stammen. Wenn daher Epiphanius an einigen Stellen den kanonischen Text bietet gegenüber dem Text, wie ihn Tertullian bietet, so ist eine doppelte Annahme möglich: Entweder sind Schüler Marcions wieder zum kanonischen Text zurückgekehrt, oder Tert. bietet bereits Schüler-Korrekturen, während Epiphanius an diesen Stellen noch den Text gelesen hat, wie ihn M. stehen gelassen hatte.

An nicht wenigen Stellen stimmen je zwei von den Zeugen bei der Wiedergabe des Marcionitischen Textes aufs beste zusammen, und dann haben wir vollkommene Sicherheit (Stellen, die alle drei bezeugen, sind sehr selten)[1]. Differenzen führen nicht immer auf die Hypothese, daß der Marciontext im Laufe der Zeit und lokal verändert worden ist, sondern auch auf die Annahme der Unzuverlässigkeit der Zeugen; aber auf Tert.s Zuverlässigkeit läßt sich in der Regel bauen.

Die Anlage der nachfolgenden Wiederherstellung des Apostolikons bedarf kaum einer Erläuterung. Der Text Tertullians ist nach der Ausgabe von Kroymann (1906) gegeben, wo ich ihr zu folgen vermochte, der des Adamantius nach van de Sande-Bakhuyzen (1901; die Kapitel sind die der Rufinschen Übersetzung), der des Epiphanius nach Holl, den ich nach den Aushängebogen benutzen durfte. Nach Tert. müßte man eigentlich zunächst das lateinische Apostolikon M.s wiederherstellen; aber das hätte zu großen Wiederholungen geführt und hätte doch nichts von Belang ausgetragen. Was uns nur im lateinischen Apostolikon erhalten ist, ist aus dem Apparat leicht ersichtlich. Beim Galaterbrief habe ich versucht, einen einiger-

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1 S. die Zusammenstellung unten (E. Untersuchungen).

maßen zusammenhängenden Text zu geben; bei den übrigen Briefen war das nicht möglich.

Anhang.

Daß der unbekannte antimarcionitische (armenisch erhaltene) syrische Schriftsteller (s. Beilage VI) den Apostolos M.s gekannt hat, ist gewiß; aber Schäfers (Eine altsyrische, antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn usw., 1917) geht zu weit, wenn er annimmt, daß er seine Pauluszitate, um die Marcioniten mit ihren Waffen zu bekämpfen, aus ihrem Apostolos genommen hat. Das läßt sich nicht beweisen. Nur das ist gewiß, daß er Römer 6, 5 und I Kor. 3, 6 dort gefunden hat (a. a. O.); aber auch in diesem Fall hat man keine Sicherheit, daß er den Text M.s genau zitiert; denn er kann sich auch von der Existenz des Stichworts dieser Verse, auf welches es ihm allein ankam, bei M. überzeugt und dann seinen eigenen Text zitiert haben. Speziell für Ephes. 5, 25 ff. will Schäfers beweisen, daß der Unbekannte hier den Text M.s biete (S. 213 f.); allein dieser Beweis ist völlig mißglückt. Gerade hier ist — unter Vergleichung dessen, was wir sicher über diesen Text wissen oder vermuten können — offenbar, daß der gebotene Text der eigene des Verfassers, d. h. der nicht ganz korrekt wiedergegebene kanonische ist. Er lautet: „Ein jeder Mensch soll sein Weib wie sich selbst lieben, wie auch Christus seine Kirche geliebt hat; denn Glieder sind wir seines Leibes; so auch ihr: ein jeglicher aus euch muß sein Weib wie sich selbst lieben, wie auch Christus seine Kirche geliebt hat. Deswegen wird ein Mensch seinen Vater und seine Mutter verlassen und seinem Weibe folgen, und es werden die beiden ein Leib sein. Das Geheimnis ist groß; aber ich sage es hinsichtlich Christi und der Kirche."

B. *ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ.*

Προς Γαλατας.

I, 1 *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.* Der Gruß

Der Titel *Ἀποστολικον* nach Epiphanius und Adamantius (beide an mehreren Stellen), bei Hieronymus zu Gal. 1, 1 „*Apostolicum.*" Epiph. p. 155: *Ἡ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Μαρκίωνι πρώτη κεῖται,* so auch Tert.

I, 1 „*Ipse se apostolum est professus ‚non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum'* " (Tert. V, 1); „ *‚non ab hominibus neque per hominem'* " (l. c.). Die Weglassung der Worte *καὶ θεοῦ πατρός* nach *Ἰ. Χρ.* bemerkt Origenes (bei Hieronymus im Comment. z. Gal.): „*Sciendum quoque in Marcionis Apostolico non esse scriptum ‚Et per deum*

(v. 2—5) fehlte nicht; denn *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη* (v. 3) sind bezeugt; ob er unverändert war, ist ungewiß.

6 *Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον,* 7 *ὃ ἄλλο (ἕτερον?) πάντως οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ*

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patrem' volentis exponere, Christum non a deo patre, sed per semetipsum suscitatum". Bestätigt wird dieser Text durch den von Marcioniten gefälschten Laodiceerbrief v. 1: „*Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum, fratribus*". Auch hier fehlt Gott. Für M.s Gottes- und Christuslehre charakteristisch.

3 Zu I Kor. 1, 3 bemerkt Tert. (V, 5), daß *gratia et pax* in I Kor. u. Gal. bei M. stehe.

6 „ ‚*Miror vos tam cito transferri ab eo, qui vos vocavit in gratiam, ad aliud evangelium*' " (Tert. V, 2). De praescr. 27 schreibt Tert.: „ ‚*Miror quod sic tam cito transferimini ab eo qui vos* (al. *suos*) *vocavit in gratia, ad aliud evangelium*' " („*tam*" nur noch g, „*sic tam*" Itala u. Vulg.). — Nur nach Rufin, nicht aber nach dem griechischen Text zitiert Megethius (Adamant., Dial. I, 6): „*Miror quod sic tam cito transferimini in aliud evangelium*". Rufin hat dies hinzugesetzt, weil das sich anschließende Zitat Gal. 1, 7 formell abrupt eintritt. *Χριστοῦ* nach *χάριτι* fehlt auch bei Cypr., Lucifer, Victorin, Gg u. Fgr * und bei Tert. selbst.

7 Tert. (V, 2) zitiert nur den Anfang und indirekt: „*Nam et adiciens ‚quod aliud evangelium omnino non esset', creatoris confirmat id, quod esse defendit*", und gleich darauf noch einmal, nachdem er ATliche Stellen für die Verheißung eines Evangeliums angeführt hat: „*Est autem evangelium etiam dei novi, quod vis tunc ab apostolo defensum, iam ergo duo sunt evangelia apud duos deos, et mentitus erit apostolus dicens, ‚quod aliud omnino non est', cum sit et aliud, cum sic suum evangelium defendere potuisset, ut potius demonstraret, non ut unum determinaret*". Hiernach muß Tertullian „*omnino*" gelesen haben (Hans von Soden: er kann es selbst eingefügt haben); an welcher Stelle *ἄλλο (ἕτερον?)* stand, ist nicht auszumachen. Megethius (Dial. I, 6) zitiert: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* (Rufin bietet das eingeschobene *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* nicht — im griechischen Text wird es einige Zeilen später noch einmal erwähnt; Rufin schreibt hier: „*Quod evangelizavimus vobis*"; aber nach dem Kontext hatte er *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* vor sich, wie auch Caspari annimmt — und setzt auch im folgenden den gewöhnlichen Text ein: „*volunt pervertere evangelium Christi*"). Dieser Text ist hart, aber zu originell, um als spätere Korruption beiseite geschoben zu werden, obgleich *πάντως* entfernt ist; doch braucht es nicht im Griechischen gestanden zu haben, sondern nur im Lateinischen. *Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* setzte M. hier ein, um das paulinische Evangelium als die authentische Gestalt

τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ?), εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 8 *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἄλλως εὐαγγελίσηται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* 9 *. . . εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται . . . ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

10 (Suche ich Menschen zu gefallen?) Unbezeugt.

11—17 (die Schilderung, wie Paulus durch seine Bekehrung das Evangelium empfangen habe) ist bei Tert. (V, 2) durch den

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des Evangeliums Christi hervorzuheben, und *μεταστρέψαι* bezog er auf die Verführten, vielleicht weil ihm *ταράσσοντες* noch zu schwach war. Dann aber schwebte *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in der Luft und mußte zu *εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγ. τ. Χριστοῦ* umgebildet werden. Daß *εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* bei Megethius in v. 7 aus v. 6 herübergenommen ist, ist möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich. Tert.s Schweigen kann man nicht gegen *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* geltend machen, da er den Vers nur bis *ὃ πάντως οὐκ ἔστιν* zitiert. Übrigens stecken die vier Worte wahrscheinlich in dem Satze „*Cum sic suum evangelium defendere potuisset, ut potius demonstraret, non ut unum determinaret*". — Auch z. Z. des Chrysostomus (T. X. p. 667) beriefen sich die Marcioniten für ihr Evangelium auf diese Stelle als Grundstelle. Orig. schreibt (Comm. in Joh. V S. 104 Preuschen) — und bringt damit die Vorlage zu Adam., Dial. I, 6 —: *Ῥητὸν ἀποστολικὸν μὴ νενοημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Μαρκίωνος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀθετούντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια· τῷ γὰρ τὸν ἀπόστολον λέγειν· ‚κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου ἐν Χρ. Ἰησοῦ' καὶ μὴ φάσκειν ‚εὐαγγέλια' ἐκεῖνοι ἐφιστάντες φασίν, οὐκ ἂν πλειόνων ὄντων εὐαγγελίων τὸν ἀπόστολον ἑνικῶς ‚τὸ εὐαγγέλιον' εἰρηκέναι.* — *Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* auch in dem Marcionitischen Verse Röm. 16, 25.

8.9 Adamant. (Dial. I, 6): *ἀλλὰ κἂν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα vobis* („*anathema sit*" + Rufin), vorher Megeth.: *εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίσεται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* (Rufin: „*Si vobis quis aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit*") — also eine Mischung aus v. 8 u. 9. Tert. V, 2: „*Sed etsi nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit*", und schon kurz vorher: „*Licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit*". Damit ist erwiesen, daß v. 8 u. 9 bei M. standen und er in v. 8 *ἄλλως* bot; denn auch Rufin bietet es. Sicher ist auch *παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα*, unsicher das folgende *ὑμῖν* (es fehlt auch Tert., de carne 6), da nur der Dialog es bietet. Vom 9. Vers ist nur erhalten, was oben steht. Das *ὑμῖν* nach *εὐαγγελίσηται* wird trotz des Dialoges gefehlt haben (so auch ℵ * G g, Tert. an 2 Stellen, Cypr., Lucifer).

15 Dial. IV, 15: *ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός* (*ὁ θεός* mit der Hälfte der Zeugen), *ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου.* Aber man hat keine Gewähr dafür, daß dies Zitat aus M.s Bibel stammt.

16 Nach Hieron., Comm. in Gal., haben „plerique" und auch Por-

einzigen Satz gedeckt: „Exinde decurrens ordinem conversionis suae de persecutore in apostolum“. Zu ändern brauchte hier M. nichts.

18—24 (Der erste Verkehr mit den Aposteln, die Übersiedelung nach Syrien und Cilicien, die Haltung der Kirchen in Judäa gegenüber Paulus) werden von Tert. ganz übergangen. Wenn dieser Abschnitt nicht ganz fehlte (was wahrscheinlich), muß ihn M. korrigiert haben. Sicher fehlte der erste Besuch in Jerusalem (s. 2, 1).

II, 1. 2 (Der Aufbruch zum Apostelkonzil): Hier standen die Worte *Ἔπειτα διὰ ιδ' ἐτῶν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα* und *μήπως εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον ἢ τρέχω*, aber sonst war der Text deshalb verändert, weil aus dem übergangenen Abschnitt des 1. Kapitels (aus v. 18 u. 19) der Zweck der Reise nachgebracht werden sollte.

3 *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὤν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι·* 4 *διὰ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι*

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phyrius die Worte *(οὐ προσανεθέμην) σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι* auf die Urapostel bezogen. Gewiß darf man bei „plerique“ an die Marcioniten denken.

II, 1: Tert. (V, 3): „*Denique ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum ascendisse Hierosolyma post annos XIV scribit, ut conferret cum illis de evangelii sui regula, ne in vacuum tot annis cucurrisset aut curreret*“. Die Worte „*ad patrocinium Petri cet. app.*“ stammen natürlich von Tert.; wie M. geschrieben hat, läßt sich nicht mehr sagen. Daß Tert. *ἀνεθέμην* durch „*ut conferret*“ wiedergiebt, ist vielleicht nicht zufällig. Die Wortstellung „*cucurrisset aut curreret*“ ist wahrscheinlich gegen alle übrigen Zeugen des Textes festzuhalten, da sie Tert. eine Seite später wiederholt (er befolgt sie übrigens selbst adv. Marc. I, 20); doch kann sie auch nur der lat. Version angehören. Auch der Ausdruck „*de evangelii sui regula*“ kann marcionitisch sein. Barnabas fehlt wohl nicht zufällig, s. zu 2, 9.

3 Tert. (V, 3): „*Cum vero nec Titum dicit circumcisum*“ und gleich darauf: „*Sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi*“.

4 f. Tert. (V, 3): „*Propter falsos*“, *inquit* „*superinducticios fratres, qui subintraverant ad speculandam libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo, ut nos subigerent servituti, nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni*“. Ein *δέ* nach *διά* liest Tert. auch an der 2. Stelle nicht, wo er den Anfang des Verses („*propter superinducticios falsos fratres*“) anführt (gegen dieses *δέ* haben sich auch Hieron. u. die Antiochener ausgesprochen). Das merk-

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν, 5 *οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.*

6—9a (die Einleitung zur Apostelkonvention mit der Unterscheidung des *εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας* und *τῆς περιτομῆς* und dem Satz *γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι*) sind ganz unbezeugt und müssen, wenn sie nicht ganz umgestaltet waren, gefehlt haben.

9b—10 *Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης . . . δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοί, ἵνα ἐγὼ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν. μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν.*

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würdige Wort „*superinducticius*“ findet sich adv. Marc. I, 20 nicht; es gehört vielleicht der marcionitischen Übersetzung an und ist von hier de monog. 14 übernommen. Die Annahme einer großen Lücke nach „servituti“ (Kroymann) und ihre Ausfüllung durch: „*ad horam cessimus subiectioni, non, ut mavult Marcion*“ ist überflüssig. Das von allen Zeugen sonst gebotene *Ἰησοῦ* nach *Χριστῷ* fehlt hier. — *οὐδέ* mit der großen Mehrzahl der Zeugen (Tert. wirft dem M. hier Fälschung vor: „*apparebit vitiatio scripturae*“); es fehlt in D* d, bei Iren., Victorin, Ambrosiaster und Pelagius; *οἷς* vor *οὐδέ* kennt M. nicht. Zahn macht darauf aufmerksam, daß M. v. 3 und 5 *οὔτε* für *οὐδέ* (s. Victorin) geschrieben haben kann. Die Worte *ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθ. κτλ.* werden zwar von Tert. nicht bezeugt, stehen aber auch für M. fest; denn nach den marcionitischen Prologen wissen wir, daß ihm *ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* der Zentralbegriff war (s. auch 2, 14); vielleicht hat er *διαμένῃ* geschrieben wie G.

9 b „*Dexteras ei darent antecessores . . ex c(ons ensu eorum in nationes praedicandi munus subiret*“. *Bene igitur, quod et dexteras Paulo dederunt Petrus et Jacobus et Johannes et de officii distributione pepigerunt, ut Paulus in nationes, illi in circumcisionem, tantum ut meminissent egenorum*“. In dieser Reihenfolge der Namen mit D G d g Hieron., Ambrosiaster, Victorin. *Οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι* nach den Namen ist nicht bezeugt, wird aber nicht gefehlt haben. Da Tert. zweimal *κοινωνίας* fortläßt, fehlte es, und das ist auch an sich wahrscheinlich. Der Text, wie er lautet, ohne Barnabas, mit dem wiederholten „Ich“ (Originaltext *ἡμεῖς*, nämlich Paulus und Barnabas) und dem Pl. „*meminissent*“, kann nur so verstanden werden, daß Barnabas (wie auch 2, 1) fehlte und daß die Pflicht der Armenfürsorge ebenso den Uraposteln gelten sollte wie dem Paulus. Damit war von M. der Schein völlig beseitigt, daß dem Paulus eine einseitige Auflage gemacht worden sei. Die Worte *ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα κτλ.* sind nicht bezeugt, werden aber nicht gefehlt haben.

11—21 (Der Streit mit Petrus in Antiochien und die sich anschließende Darlegung): M. ließ sie bestehen und wohl wesentlich unverändert; bezeugt ist v. 11 *Πέτρος* und *κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην*, v. 12 *φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς*, v. 14 *οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν* (*ὀρθοποδοῖ*?) *πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, v. 16 *οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ* (*ἀλλὰ*?) *διὰ πίστεως*, v. 18 *εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ*, v. 20 *ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγοράσαντός με.*

III, 1—5 (Die schmerzliche Frage an die Galater, wer sie bezaubert habe, und die Frage, ob sie den Geist aus Gesetzeswerken oder aus dem Glauben empfangen hätten) sind unbezeugt, aber werden nicht gefehlt haben.

6—9 (Abrahams Glaube und Segen) fehlten.

10—12 *Μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ὅσοι γὰρ ὑπὸ νόμον, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.*

11—21 Tert. (V, 3): „*Reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii veritatem*". „*Timens eos qui erant ex circumcisione*". „*Et aliis in faciem restitisset*". „*Negans ex operibus legis iustificari hominem, sed ex fide*". „*Merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit*". Vgl. dazu Acta Archelai 45. — V. 20 aus Dial. V, 22 wörtlich (Rufin bietet die sonst unbezeugte LA „*qui redemit me*", der Grieche hat das gewöhnliche *ἀγαπήσαντός με*).

III, 1 Aus Hieron. (d. h. Origenes) z. d. St.: „*Interrogemus ergo hoc loco Marcionem, qui prophetas repudiat, quomodo interpretur id quod sequitur*" (nämlich *προεγράφη*), läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit schließen, daß Hieron. wußte, die Stelle stehe bei M.

6 ff. Orig. bei Hieron. z. d. St.: „*Ab hoc loco usque ad eum, ubi scribitur: ‚Qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fideli Abraham‘* (v. 9), *Marcion de suo apostolo erasit.*" Auch Tert. übergeht diese Verse, hat aber ein Stichwort des Originaltextes aus v. 9 im Gedächtnis, wenn er schreibt: „*Proinde si in lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio*" (aus v. 14 b stammt das schwerlich).

10—12 So Epiphan. p. 120. 156. Die Verse 10 b, 11 a und 12 a haben also nach ihm gefehlt; die Beziehung auf das AT (*γέγραπται*) ist entfernt; auch die Umstellung ist glaublich. Aus Tert.s freier Darlegung (V, 3): „*ut iam ex fidei libertate iustificaretur homo, non ex legis servitute, ‚Quia iustus ex fide vivit‘* (*vivet*?). *quod si prophetes Abacuc pronuntiavit, habes et apostolum prophetas confirmantem, sicut et Christus*", kann man nur mit geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit schließen, daß 11 a (wenn auch in Umformung) doch nicht gefehlt hat; dagegen ist deutlich, daß die Worte „*quod si prophetes*" etc. Tert.s Eigentum sind. — *Μάθετε* ist von M. frei eingeschoben. — *Ὑπὸ νόμον* ist sonst unbezeugt (> *ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσίν*, aber gleich darauf *ὑπὸ κατάραν*), ebenso *ὁ δὲ* (> *ἀλλὰ ὁ*).

13 *Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται· Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου·* 14 *ἐλάβομεν οὖν τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῆς πίστεως.*

15—25 (Die große Ausführung über das Testament, Abraham und das Gesetz) fehlten.

26 *πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστὲ διὰ τῆς πίστεως* (fehlerhaft im lat. Text M.s: „‚omnes enim filii estis fidei‘ “).

27—29 (Der Getaufte hat Christus angezogen, alle sind eins in Christus usw.) sind nicht bezeugt, werden aber schwerlich gefehlt haben; freilich die Worte: *ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ,* mußten fehlen.

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13 Tert. (V, 3): „*Neque enim quia creator pronuntiavit: ‚Maledictus omnis ligno suspensus‘, ideo videbitur alterius dei esse Christus*“. Megeth. (Dial. I, 27): *Παῦλος λέγει ,"Οτι Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασε‘.* Epiph. p. 120, 156: *,Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου‘*, s. auch haer. 42, 8 die Ausführung über *ἐξαγοράζειν* und *ἀγοράζειν*, die wahrscheinlich auf Origenes zurückgeht. Auf diesen geht auch Hieron. z. d. St. zurück: „*Subrepit in hoc loco Marcion de potestate creatoris, quem sanguinarium, crudelem infamat* (M hatte aus der ihm besonders wichtigen Stelle eine Antithese gemacht) *et iudicem, asserens nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni dei filius sit*“; es folgt eine Darlegung des Unterschieds von „*emere*“ und „*redimere*“, wie bei Megethius und Epiphanius. Die direkt nicht bezeugten Worte von *ἐκ τ. κατάρας* bis *κατάρα* können nicht gefehlt haben.

14 Die erste Hälfte *(ἵνα εἰς ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.)* übergeht Tert., und sowohl ihr Inhalt als die Neuformulierung von 14 b bestätigen, daß sie gefehlt hat. Tert. (V, 3): „‚*Accepimus* (oder *accipimus*) *igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem‘, inquit*“. — *Εὐλογίαν* mit D*G d g Ambrosiaster, Vigilant. > *ἐπαγγελίαν.*

15—25 Tert. geht von 3, 14 sofort zu 3, 26 über (V, 3): „*Sed et cum adicit: ‚Omnes enim filii estis fidei‘, ostenditur quid supra haeretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahae*“ *etc.*, und bemerkt dann (V, 4): „*Erubescat spongia Marcionis! nisi quod ex abundanti retracto quae abstulit*“ (er hatte selbst die vv. 3, 15. 16 aus dem unverfälschten Galaterbrief angeführt, wie er auch V, 13 aus dem unverfälschten c. 3, 22 zitiert).

26 Tert. (V, 3): „*Sed cum adicit: ‚Omnes enim filii estis fidei‘*“; diesen Text kommentiert Tert.; aber er kann nicht richtig sein, erklärt sich auch leicht aus Dittographie, die den Wegfall der Worte *per fidem* zur Folge hatte. Warum soll M. den Grundtext geändert haben? (s. oben S. 51*). Übrigens hat das Zitat bei Hilarius (Hom. in Psalm 91 p. 345 der Wiener Ausgabe) denselben Fehler; er ist also älter als die Marcionitische Übersetzung, oder stammt er bei Hilarius aus dieser?

IV, 1. 2 („Solange der Erbe ein Kind ist usw.") sind unbezeugt, aber sie haben sicherlich nicht gefehlt und gaben auch zu Korrekturen keinen Anlaß.

3 *Ἔτι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι,* 4 *ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,* 5 *ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ (καὶ) ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν* (al. *εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ληφθῶμεν*).

6 *ὅτε δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον· Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ.*

IV 1. 2 können nicht gefehlt haben, weil die Marcionitische Fassung von v. 3 sie fordert.

3 Tert. (V, 4): „„*Adhuc*', *inquit*, ‚*secundum hominem dico*: *dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad deserviendum eis*'". Tert. beanstandet das aus c. 3, 15 stammende *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* hier als unpassend; es ist an dieser Stelle sonst unbezeugt (> *οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς*). Das dem M. eigentümliche „*adhuc*" fordert eine Ausführung wie die in v. 1 f. Zahn glaubt den lateinischen Text streng festhalten zu müssen und schreibt: *ἤμεθα τεθειμένοι εἰς τὸ δουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς;* aber es liegt doch wohl nur eine Paraphrase des Übersetzers vor, der *δεδουλωμένοι* nicht kurz zu übersetzen vermochte.

4 Tert. (V, 4): „„*Cum autem evenit impleri tempus misit deus filium suum*"". Zahn gibt das durch *ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο πληροῦσθαι τὸν χρόνον* wieder, aber es liegt nur eine genaue Übersetzung vor, die jedoch *τὸ πλήρωμα* nicht durch ein Subst. wiederzugeben vermochte; Tert. selbst schreibt kurz darauf: „*At ubi tempus expletum est*". — Getilgt sind die Worte *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*. Hieron. verwechselt M. und Valentin, wenn er, Origenes ausschreibend, z. d. St. bemerkt: „*Diligenter adtendite, quod* (*apostolus*) *non dixerit*: ‚*Factum per mulierem*', *quod Marcion et ceterae haereses volunt, qui putativam Christi carnem simulant, sed* ‚*ex muliere*', *ut non per illam, sed ex illa natus esse credatur*". — Zahn schreibt zweifelnd *ἀπέστειλεν*.

5 Tert. (V, 4): „„*Ut eos qui sub lege erant, redimeret et ut adoptionem filiorum acciperemus*' ". Markus (Dial. II, 19) zweimal: *εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ἐλήφθημεν* (Rufin schreibt an der ersten Stelle „*in adoptione vocati sumus*", an der zweiten „*in adoptione nos susciperet*"). Es ist möglich, daß Tert., der kurz vorher (3, 15. 16) aus dem unverfälschten Briefe zitiert hat, noch dessen Wortlaut hier im Kopfe hatte, und daß M. so geschrieben hat, wie die Stelle im Dialog lautet.

6 Tert. (V, 4) augenscheinlich am Anfang frei wiedergebend: „*Itaque ut certum esset* (Mss. „*est et*"), *nos filios dei esse, misit spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem: Abba, pater*". Es ist daher gewagt, vom Original-

7 (So daß du nicht mehr Sklave, sondern Sohn und Erbe bist) unbezeugt, aber wird nicht gefehlt haben.

8 f *Εἰ οὖν (γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ?) τοῖς ἐν τῇ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς δουλεύετε, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε;* (der Anfang unsicher, das Ende nicht ausdrücklich bezeugt).

10 *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς;*

11—20 (Die persönliche Aussprache des Apostels gegenüber den Galatern) unbezeugt, hat schwerlich gefehlt; erhalten ist vielleicht 19 *τέκνα μου, οὓς ὠδίνω πάλιν.*

21—26 Die einleitenden Worte: *Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;* 22 *γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι,* können

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text abzugehen und mit Z a h n (der übrigens selbst zweifelt) zu schreiben: *ὅτι οὖν (καὶ ἡμεῖς?) ἐσμεν υἱοὶ θ οῦ, ἀπέστειλεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ κτλ.*

8. 9 Tert. (V, 4) frei: „*Post has itaque divitias non erat revertendum ad infirma et mendica elementa . . . non ergo per mundialium elementorum derogationem a deo eorum avertere cupiebat, etsi dicendo supra: ‚Si ergo his qui in natura sunt dei servitis‘, physicae, i. e. naturalis, superstitionis elementa pro deo habentis suggillat errorem, nec sic tamen elementorum deum taxans‘.* Es scheint, daß Tert. hier auch eine Marcionitische Auslegung gekannt hat; denn wie auch der nicht mehr sicher wiederherzustellende Text zu gestalten ist — ohne Erklärung sagt er das nicht, was M. ihn sagen läßt. Am wichtigsten ist der von M. eingesetzte Begriff „*qui in natura sunt dei*“ (> *τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς,* bezw. *μὴ φύσει οὖσιν* bezw. *μὴ οὖσι).* Schwierigkeit macht die Unterbringung des Bedingungssatzes; nicht wahrscheinlich ist, daß M. einen ihm so willkommenen Satz wie 9 a *(νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ)* unterdrückt hat (gegen Z a h n).

10 Tert. (V, 4): „„*Dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos*“‘.

19 Mitten in den Darlegungen über I Kor. zitiert Tert. diesen Vers beiläufig (V, 8: „„*Filii mei quos parturio rursus*‘ “; alle Mss. *πάλιν ὠδίνω),* aber ob aus M.s N. T.?

21 f. Tert. (V, 4): „*Sed ut furibus solet aliquid excidere de praeda in indicium, ita credo et Marcionem novissimam Abrahae mentionem dereliquisse* [also haben alle vorhergehenden gefehlt, s. o.], *nullam magis auferendam* [*nulla-auferenda* K r o y m., unnötig], *etsi ex parte convertit. si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem — quae sunt allegorica (i. e. aliud portendentia); haec sunt enim duo testamenta (sive ‚duae ostensiones‘, sicut invenimus interpretatum), unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitutem, alium super omnem principatum generans vim dominationem et*

gestanden oder gefehlt haben (vor einem „*γέγραπται*“ scheute sich M. unter Umständen nicht). *Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας,* 23 *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.* 24. *ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐπιδείξεις (ἐνδείξεις?), μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον γεννῶσα εἰς δουλείαν,* 26 *ἄλλη δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννῶσα καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου — οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι — εἰς ἣν (ἀν-?) ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν.*

27—30 (Das Jesajaszitat über die Unfruchtbare, Isaak und Ismael) sind unbezeugt und müssen gefehlt haben.

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omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aevo sed et in futuro, quae est mater nostra, in quam (Codd. *quem*) *repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam*‘ (K r o y m. stellt die Worte „*quae est mater nostra*“ hierher, was zu billigen ist) — *ideoque adiecit* (31): ‚*Propter quod, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae*‘, *utique manifestavit et Christianismi generositatem in filio Abrahae ex libera nato allegoriae habere sacramentum, sicut et Iudaismi servitutem legalem in filio ancillae*“ etc. Epiph. p. 120. 156 zu 4, 23: ‚*Ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας διὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας*‘. Orig. bei Hieron. zu 4, 24: „*Marcion* (*et Manichaeus*) *hunc locum, in quo dixit apostolus* ‚*Quae sunt allegorica*‘ *et cetera quae secuntur, de codice suo tollere noluerunt, putantes adversus nos relinqui, quod scilicet lex aliter sit intelligenda, quam scripta sit.*“ Der Text bei Tert. ist schwerlich fehlerfrei überliefert; sicher ist, daß in M.s lateinischer Bibel „*ostensio*“ gestanden hat (Z a h n korrigiert es in „sponsio“). „Ostensio“ kann keine Übersetzung von *διαθήκη* sein, sondern führt auf *ἐπίδειξις (ἔνδειξις)* oder ein ähnliches Wort (s. oben S. 52*) zurück. Eine solche Neugestaltung des Textes mit Verpflanzung einer Stelle aus einem Brief in den anderen (Ephes. 1, 21) hat sich sonst M. niemals erlaubt; daher man den Verdacht nicht los werden kann, daß der oben nach Tert. gegebene Text doch nicht dem M. selbst zuzuweisen ist. Man hat die Worte „in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam“ streichen wollen; aber sie sind durch „in synagogam Iudaeorum“ geschützt; streicht man, so muß man den ganzen Text M. absprechen, vermag aber keine Rechenschaft zu geben, wie er bei Tert. entstanden ist. Vielleicht gehört er nur dem lateinischen Marcionitischen Bibeltexte an — man kann den Marcioniten größere Willkürlichkeiten zutrauen als dem Meister —; aber diese Annahme verändert das Problem nicht wesentlich. Z a h n stellt ohne durchschlagenden Grund das zweite *γεννῶσα* erst vor *εἰς ἣν* und faßt v. 26 so: *ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν γεννῶσα εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.* Die Stelle Ephes. 1, 21 ist auch Dial. V, 13 zitiert mit *κυριότητος* und *καὶ δυνάμεως* und *παντός* und ohne Bezeichnung des Briefs.

31. *Διό* (oder *ἄρα*), *ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας·*

V, 1 a *ᾗ ἐλευθερίᾳ (οὖν) Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν,*

1 b *στήκετε καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλίας ἐνέχεσθε.*

2 (Wenn ihr euch beschneidet, ist Christus euch von keinem Nutzen) unbezeugt, wird aber schwerlich gefehlt haben.

3 *Μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος περιτετμημένος ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον πληρῶσαι.*

4. 5 (Ihr seid von Christus entfernt, vom Glauben abgefallen; wir erwarten im Geist die Hoffnung der Gerechtigkeit) unbezeugt, aber schwerlich getilgt.

6 *Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.*

7—26 (Ermahnungen). Aus diesem Abschnitt, in dem vielleicht nichts getilgt war, sind erhalten: 9 *μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα δολοῖ,* 10 *ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς τὸ κρῖμα βαστάσει, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.*

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31 Bezeugt durch Tert. (s. o.). Hat M. hier *διό* gelesen (singulär > *ἄρα)?*

V, 1a Tert. (V, 4): *„Qua libertate Christus nos manumisit"*; *qua* mit G d g vulg. und zahlreichen lat. Vätern > *τῇ*..

1b.2 Tert. (V, 4): *„Merito non decebat manumissos rursus iugo servitutis i. e. legis adstringi"*. Freies Zitat; der Text wird unverändert gewesen sein.

3 So Epiph. p. 120. 156 (hier *περιτεμνόμενος)* > *μαρτ. δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρ. περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλ.* (vielleicht las M. auch so). — *πληρῶσαι* mit wenigen Zeugen > *ποιῆσαι.*

6 Tert. (V, 4): *„Cur etiam praeputiationem negat quicquam valere in Christo sicut et circumcisionem?"* . . . — *„Illius fidei, quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici sic quoque creatoris ostendit."* — *Χριστῷ* mit B Clem. Alex. > *Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.*

9 Epiph. p. 120. 157; *δολοῖ* mit D* g vulg. und den meisten Lateinern > *ζυμοῖ.*

10 Tert. (V, 4): *„Qui autem turbat vos iudicium feret"*, (allein > *βαστάσει τὸ κρῖμα).* Markus (Dial. II, 5): *Ὁ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρῖμα* (Rufin fügt hinzu: *„quicunque est ille"*); Dial. II, 18, wo der Spruch noch einmal zitiert wird, bietet auch der Grieche *ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.* Die, welche hier eine böse Anspielung auf Petrus fanden (s. Hieron. z. d. St.: *„Occulte, inquiunt, Petrum lacerat, cui supra in faciem restitisse se scribit"* etc.), können Marcioniten oder Porphyrius sein; wahrscheinlich waren es beide. Stammt aber die Bemerkung des Hieronymus aus Origenes, so sind jene allein gemeint.

12 ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς. 14 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. 19 φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστι πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, 20 εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρεις, ζῆλοι, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, 21 φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι ⟨καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις⟩, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. 24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

Aus c. VI ist bezeugt: 2 Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη (oder Τὰ βάρη ἀλλ.). βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 6 Κοινωνείτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. 7 Πλανᾶσθε. θεὸς οὐ μυκτερίζεται· ἃ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα

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12 Orig. bei Hieron. z. d. St.: „*Qua ratione Marcion et Valentinus hoc in apostolo boni dei valent excusare?*“

14 Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Tota enim*‘, *inquit*, ‚*lex in vobis adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te.*‘“ Epiph. p. 120. 157: Ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ⟨ἐν⟩ ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. — ἐν ὑμῖν mit D* G d g und den Lateinern sonst, die aber sämtlich nach diesen Worten das allgemein bezeugte ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ auch bieten. Ist in einem alten marcionitischen Exemplar ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ nach ἐν ὑμῖν zufällig ausgefallen und der Irrtum zu Tert. und Epiph. gekommen? Oder schrieb M. ἐν ὑμῖν (und strich ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ) und dachte als Gegensatz: „Nicht bei den Juden?“ Das ist viel wahrscheinlicher. — ἀγαπήσεις mit den obigen lateinischen Zeugen > ἐν τῷ· ἀγαπήσεις (tendenziöse Korrektur).

19—21 Epiph. p. 120. 157 (im 2. Zitat φαρμακεῖαι und φόνοι für φθόνοι. — κ. τ. ὅμοια τούτοις fehlt wohl nur zufällig bei Epiph.

24 Epiph. p. 121. 158. — Χριστοῦ mit DGKLd g vulg > Χρ. Ἰησοῦ.

VI, 2 Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Onera vestra invicem sustinete, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.*‘“ Gleich darauf: „‚*Invicem onera vestra portate*‘“.

6 Orig. bei Hieron. z. d. St.: „*Marcion hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis, illo vel maxime elatus, quod sequetur:* ‚*In omnibus bonis*‘“.

7 Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Erratis: deus non deridetur; quod enim severit homo, hoc et metet.*‘“ Adam. (Dial. II, 5): ἃ γὰρ ἂν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος, ταῦτα καὶ θερίσει (aber Rufin: „*quodcunque seminaverit homo, hoc et metet*“). Das Fehlen von μή vor πλανᾶσθε ist sonst unbezeugt; der Plural ἃ—ταῦτα mit DG d g vulg. Hieron. > ὃ — τοῦτο. Die LAA Tert.s können der lat. Übersetzung angehören.

καὶ θερίσει. 8 z. T. erhalten, s. u. 9 *Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐνκακῶμεν, καιρῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν.* 10 *ὡς ἔχομεν καιρόν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθόν.* 13a *Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν.* 14b *Ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ.* 17 *Τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰκῇ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέσθω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.*

In diesem Briefe waren also von M. getilgt: die Abschnitte 1, 18—24 und 2, 6—9a wahrscheinlich, die Abschnitte 3, 6—9 und Teile von 10—12. 14 a. 15—25; 4, 27—30 sicher. Einzigartig ist die große, mit Zusätzen versehene Umgestaltung von 4, 21—26.

Προς Κορινθιους Α.

Aus c. I ist bezeugt 1—3 *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* (ferner vielleicht 11—13. Vers 11 *ἤκουσταί*

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8 Tert. (V, 4): „*Si retributionem praedicat, ab eodem erit et corruptionis messis et vitae.*"

9 Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Bonum autem facientes non fatigemur, tempore autem suo metemus.*'" — *autem* ohne Zeugen > *γάρ*.

10 Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Dum habemus tempus, operemur bonum*'" > *καιρὸν ἔχομεν κτλ.*

13 a So Epiph. p. 121. 159.

14 b Tert. (V, 4): „‚*Mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.*'"

17 So Dial. V, 22 (aber *Ἰησοῦ* für *Χριστοῦ*. Rufin nach dem gewöhnlichen Text: „*De cetero nemo mihi molestus sit; ego enim stigmata domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto*"). Tert. (V, 4): „*Persecutores vocat Christi; cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in corpore suo gestare se*" etc. Tert. hat wie der Dialog. *τῶν δ' ἄλλων* gelesen und diese *ἄλλοι* als die Feinde Christi verstanden. („Von den anderen, nämlich den Verfolgern Christi, mache mir niemand Mühe"). Zahn und Kroymann haben das nicht durchschaut; dieser tilgt „*Persecutores vocat Christi*", jener glaubt, Tert. müsse ein nicht mehr zu ermittelnder Text in v. 17 vorgelegen haben. — *Τῶν δ' ἄλλων* ohne andere Zeugen > *τοῦ λοιποῦ*: jene Lesart kann nur aus einer lat. Übersetzung von *τοῦ λοιποῦ* = „*de ceteris*" entstanden sein; also las Adamantius einen griechischen Marcion-text, der durch die lateinische Übersetzung bereits beeinflußt war; s. oben S. 54*. — *εἰκῇ* ohne andere Zeugen; der Sinn dieses von Paulus gern gebrauchten vieldeutigen Wortes ist hier nicht klar. — *παρεχέσθω* ohne andere Zeugen > *παρεχέτω*. — *Χριστοῦ* mit P cop arm aeth Theodotus bei Clemens, Ignat. (recens. long.), Gregor Nyss. > *Ἰησοῦ* bezw. *τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* etc.

I, 3 So Tert. (V, 5) und *Ἰησοῦ* mit A > *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

μοι [ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν?] ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἔριδες εἰσὶν ἐν ὑμῖν, 12 *ὃς μὲν γὰρ λέγει· ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ.* 13 *μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;)* 18 *ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ* (oder *ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) *τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις δύναμις καὶ σοφία θεοῦ ἐστίν,* 19 *γέγραπται γάρ ,Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω'·* 20 b *οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου;* 21 *ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν κύριον, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας·* 22 *ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν.* 23 Stücke: *κηρύσ-*

11—13 Dial. I, 8 (Adam. hält sie dem Megethius entgegen, der sie anerkennt; aber sicher dürfen sie nicht für M. in Anspruch genommen werden). — *ἤκουσταί μοι* singulär > *ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν* (Rufin „*Perlatum est enim mihi de vobis*", wie der gewöhnliche Text) — *εἰσὶν ἐν ὑμῖν* (so auch Rufin) mit vulg. syr. utr. cop. Augustin > *ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν* — *ὃς μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν λέγει* (Rufin: *et alius dicit*) > *λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει* — es fehlen die Worte *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ* (so auch Rufin) wie I Clem. 47. Adam. bietet noch die Fortsetzung: *μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;* aber da sie Rufin nicht hat und sie hier überflüssig sind, sind sie wohl Zusatz. Die ganze Stelle wird auch von Ephraem (Opp. syr. II p. 493) dem M. vorgerückt; aber auch dies bietet keine Sicherheit.

18 f Tert. (V, 5): „*Ait crucem Christi stultitiam esse perituris, virtutem autem et sapientiam dei salutem consecuturis, et ut ostenderet, unde hoc eveniret, adicit: ‚Scriptum est enim: Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium irritam faciam'*" „*Virtutem et sapientiam*" wird gleich darauf noch einmal wiederholt; also las Tert. hier *δύναμις καὶ σοφία* (s. v. 24) > *δύναμις* (alle Zeugen sonst). — *σωζομένοις* mit G d g und vielen Lateinern > *σωζομένοις ἡμῖν* — 19 auch bei Epiph., p. 121. 159 wörtlich so.

20 b Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Nonne infatuavit deus sapientiam mundi?*'"

21 Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Quoniam in dei sapientia non intellexit mundus per sapientiam dominum* (falsch K r o y m ə n n „*deum*"), *boni duxit deus per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes*'". Das *γάρ* nach *ἐπειδή* (*quoniam*) wird M. mit G nicht gelesen haben. — *κύριον* allein > *θεόν* (so auch Tert. selbst adv. Marc. II, 2).

22 Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Quoniam Iudaei signa desiderant et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt*'". — *Ἰουδαῖοι* mit G g und vielen Lateinern > *καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι.*

23 Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Stulta crucis praedicatio*'", „*scandalum Iudaeis praedicat* (*apostolus*) *Christum.*'"

σομεν Χριστόν, σταυρός, μωρία, σκάνδαλον Ἰουδαίοις und gewiß 24 25 (*ὅτι*) *τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*ἐστίν*) (*καὶ*) *τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* 27 (*ἀλλὰ*) *τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ σοφά, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά,* 28 *καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ καὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα (ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός), τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ,* 29 *ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σάρξ,* 31 *ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ (θεῷ?) καυχάσθω.*

Aus c. II ist bezeugt 6 a *σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις* und 6b *τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων.* 7 (*λαλοῦμεν*) *θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν*

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24 Wohl nur irrtümlich klammert Z a h n v. 24 als von M. gestrichen ein; er ist zwar unbezeugt, kann aber als Ergänzung zu v. 23 nicht gefehlt haben. Dial. IV, 15 wird 24 b zitiert, aber es ist ungewiß, ob aus M.s Bibel.

25 Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Stultum dei sapientius hominibus, infirmum dei fortius hominibus.*‘“ Adv. Marc. II, 2 zitiert Tert. selbst: „‚*et invalidum dei validius hominibus.*‘“

27 f. Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Stulta mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientia* (Mss. ‚sapientiam‘ und ebenso an der 2. Stelle, wo die Worte zitiert werden), *infirma mundi elegit deus, ut confundat fortia, inhonesta et minima et contemptibilia, quae non sunt, ut confundat quae sunt.*‘“ Vgl. im folgenden „‚*modicum et ignobile et contemptibile*‘“ „*stultitiae et infirmitati et inhonestati et pusillitati et contemptui*“ und de carne 4: „*Sed circumspice, Marcion, si tamen non delesti:* ‚*Stulta mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientia*‘“. 28 *τὰ ἀγενῆ καὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα* allein > *τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα.* Die Einschiebung *τὰ ἐλάχιστα* erklärt sich gut aus I Kor. 15, 9, wo sich Paulus *τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀπόστολον* nennt. Die Ausstoßung *τοῦ κόσμου* in v. 28 kommt vielleicht auf Rechnung Tert.s, ebenso das fehlende *καὶ τὰ* vor *μή.*

29. 31 Tert. (V, 5): „‚*Ne glorietur omnis caro, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui gloriatur, in deo glorietur*‘“. Epiph. p. 121. 159 wörtlich wie oben v. 31. — Dial. I, 22 finden sich 29—31 (*ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ* mit C* vulg., Orig. und wenigen anderen Zeugen > *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.* Rufin bietet *nobis sapientia* mit L Orig. und vielen Vätern > *σοφία ἡμῖν*); aber es ist nicht gewiß, daß die Worte aus M.s Bibel stammen.

II, 6 a Tert. (V, 6): „‚*Dei sapientiam loquatur inter perfectos.*‘“ 6 b Wörtlich Epiphan. p. 121. 160.

7 f. Tert. (V, 6): „*Hanc dicit sapientiam in occulto fuisse, quae latuerit etiam sub figuris, allegoriis et aenigmatibus*“ ... „*sacramenta dei eius, qui nihil agit, latere*“ ... „*sapientia dei proposita in proposito dei ante saecula*“ ... „*ante saecula proposuit gloriam nostram.*“ (Hat M. *εἰς*

αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, 8 *ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν.* 16 *τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο;* (oder: für die letzten 5 Worte: *ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν*).

Aus c. III ist nicht sicher bezeugt 2 ff: v. 2 *γάλα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὔπω γὰρ ἠδύνασθε ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε,* 3 *ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔρεις καὶ διχοστασίαι, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε;* 4 *ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις· ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἕτερος δέ· ἐγὼ Ἀπολλώ, οὐχὶ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε;* dagegen stand v. 6 höchst wahrscheinlich bei M., s. u.

10 *ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα.* 11 *θεμέλιον ἄλλον οὐδεὶς . . . ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός.* 12—15 waren Anspielungen, s. u.

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getilgt?) . . . „*sed quia subicit de gloria nostra, quod eam nemo ex principibus huius aevi scierit, ceterum si scissent, nunquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent*“. (Schrieb M. *οὐδέποτε* für *οὐκ?*).

16 Tert. (V, 6): „*Quid illi cum sententiis prophetarum ubique? ‚Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, et quis illi consiliarius fuit.‘ Esaiae est. quid illi etiam cum exemplis dei nostri?*“ Aber Paulus schreibt: *ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν* (Jes. 40, 13: *καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν*). Entweder hat M. den Jesaiastext hier eingesetzt statt der paulinischen Fassung oder Tertullian. — *Νοῦς κυρίου* im falschen Laod.-Brief v. 14.

III, 2—4 so Dial. V. 22, nicht sicher für M. (I, 9: *γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὔπω γὰρ ἠδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε, ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε*, Rufin *οὔτε* f. *οὔπω* mit L Orig.)—2 *γάρ* ([prim.] fehlt bei Ruf.) singulär — *ἠδύνασθε*, mit DL Iren., Orig. > *ἐδύνασθε* — im Dial. V, 22 durch Homöotel. ausgefallen *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κτλ.* — 3 Ruf.: *contentiones et dissensiones* (Gr. *ἔρις καὶ διχοστασία* fehlerhaft): das Fehlen von *ζῆλος* ist singulär; *καὶ διχοστασίαι* mit DGLdg Iren. (gr. et lat.) Novatian (*dissensiones*) — *καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε* fehlt. 4 Rufin bietet diesen Vers nicht, aber er ist durch Homöotel. ausgefallen; denn er wird im folgenden vorausgesetzt — *οὐχὶ* mit DGLP > *οὐκ* — *ἄνθρωποι* mit der großen Mehrzahl der Zeugen, auch den lat. Codd.; freilich steht in der Handschrift *σαρκικοί*, aber in der Erklärung ist *ἄνθρωποι* vorausgesetzt.

6 Der armenisch erhaltene antimarcionitische Syrer zitiert diesen Vers als in M.s Apostolos stehend, aber in bezug auf den Wortlaut des Textes („Ich habe gepflanzt, Apollo begoß, aber Gott ließ wachsen“) hat man keine Sicherheit, wenn auch eine Korrektur M.s hier unwahrscheinlich ist. Sicher hat M. das *ἐφύτευσα* geboten wie Röm. 6, 5 das *σύμφυτοι*.

10 Tert. (V, 6): „*Architectum se prudentem adfirmat.*“

11 Tert. (V, 6): „*Positurus unicum fundamentum, quod est Christus*“ — *Χριστός* mit C* und einigen Vätern > *Ἰ. Χρ.*

12—15 Tert. (V, 6): „*Super quod* (*scil. fundamentum* = *Christum*)

16 *Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστὲ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, 17 *ὅτι εἰ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τις φθερεῖ, φθαρήσεται·*

18 Anspielung, s. u.

19 *ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία ἐστὶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. γέγραπται γάρ. Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν.* 20 *καὶ πάλιν· Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων (σοφῶν?), ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι.*

21 *ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν,* 22 *εἴτε Παῦλος, εἴτε Ἀπολλώς, εἴτε Κηφᾶς, εἴτε κόσμος, εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος, εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα, πάντα ὑμῶν·* 23 *ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ.*

Aus c. IV ist bezeugt 5 *καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους φωτίσει . . .*

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prout quisque superstruxerit, dignam scilicet vel indignam doctrinam, si opus eius per ignem probabitur, si merces illi per ignem rependetur, creatoris est, quia per ignem iudicatur nostra superaedificatio."

16 Tert. (V, 6): „‚*Nescitis quod templum dei sitis et in vobis inhabitet spiritus dei?*'" — *ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ* mit BP > *οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν* (die Nachstellung von *τ. πν. τ. θεοῦ* nur bei M.).

17 Tert. (V, 6): „‚*Quod si templum dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur*'". — *ὅτι εἰ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τις* Marcion allein > *εἴ τις τ. ναὸν τ. θ.* — *φθαρήσεται* Marcion allein > *φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός.*

18 Tert. (V, 6): „*Stulti estote, ut sitis sapientes*" (im Grundtext der Sing.).

19. 20 Tert. V, 6: „‚*Sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est penes deum; scriptum est enim: Deprehendens sapientes in nequitia illorum, et rursus: Dominus scit cogitationes sapientium, quod sint supervacuae*'" (Die Stellung von „est" ist sonst unbezeugt > *penes deum est*). Epiphan. p. 121. 161 bringt v. 19 b und 20 wie oben, aber *ἀνθρώπων* (LXX) mit einigen Zeugen > *σοφῶν.*

21—23 Dial. II, 19 wie oben, doch heißt es 21 *ἐν ἀνθρώποις* und *εἴτε Ἀπολλώς* ist ausgefallen (schon im Exemplar des Adamant., da es auch bei der Wiederholung fehlt); aber daß M. ihn absichtlich getilgt, ist nicht anzunehmen (gegen Zahn), und Tert. V, 7 heißt es: „‚*Omnia vestra sunt, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Cephas, sive mundus, sive vita sive mors, sive praesentia sive futura*'"; vorher schon: „‚*ergo nemo glorietur in homine*'" (*ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ* mit Gg Augustin, Ambrosiaster > *ἐν ἀνθρώποις*).

IV, 5 Tert. (V, 7): „‚*Et occulta tenebrarum ipse inluminabit*', *utique per Christum*"; wahrscheinlich hat M. nur *καὶ* (nicht *ὃς καὶ*) gelesen mit D*Gdg Augustin. Tert. (V, 7): „*ab illo erit et laus unicuique, a quo et contrarium laudis, ut a iudice.*"

ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἑκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. 9 b *θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις.* 15 b Anspielungen; aber *ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα.*

Aus c. V. ist bezeugt 1 Anspielung, 3 *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὼν τῷ σώματι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτω τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον,* 4 *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ,* 5 *παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου.* 7 *Ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός.* 11 (mit Sündern *μηδὲ συνεσθίειν*). 13 Anspielung auf *ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν.*

Aus c. VI ist bezeugt 3 *ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν,* 11 *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τινὲς ἦτε, ἀλλ' ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλ' ἡγιάσθητε.* 13 *σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ*

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9 b Tert. (V, 7): „‚*Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus.*‘“

15 Tert. (V, 7): „*Ad filios scribens, quos in evangelio generaverat*“, (V, 8): „‚*In evangelio*‘, *inquit*, ‚*ego vos generavi*‘“, *Ἐν τῷ εὐαγγ.* (> *διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγ.*), sonst unbezeugt. Hat M. *ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.* ausgelassen?

V, 1 Tert. (V, 7): „*Illum, qui* ‚*mulierem patris sui habuit*‘.“

3—5 wörtlich bis v. 5 *ὄλεθρον* nach Dial. II, 5 (v. 5 ohne *τῆς σαρκός*; Rufin v. 3 bietet nicht *γάρ*, v. 4 b *Iesu Christi*, v. 5 *interitum carnis*), vgl. Dial. II, 8 (*παρέδωκα*) *τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς ὄλ. τ. σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ*, II, 21 (*παρέδωκα*) *τ. τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον.* Tert. (V, 7): „*Eum damnat dedendum Satanae*“, „*Viderit et quomodo dixerit* ‚*In interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini*‘.“ 3 *ὡς* primum mit DGLdg und einigen Lateinern und Griechen — 4 *ἡμῶν* mit BDGLPdgvulg — *Χριστοῦ* mit D^cGLPgvulg. und der Mehrzahl > fehlt — *Ἰησοῦ* ohne *Χριστοῦ* mit ℵABD*dvulg. > D^cGLg — 5 *τοῦ κυρίου* ohne *Ἰησοῦ* mit BOrig. und zahlreichen Vätern.

7 Tert. (V, 7): „‚*Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova consparsio, sicut estis azymi . . . et pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*‘.“ Epiph. p. 121. 161: *Καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός.* Dial. II, 18 ebenso (aber nur Rufin bietet „*et enim*“).

11 Tert. (IV, 9) setzt voraus, daß dies auch bei M. steht.

13 Tert. (V, 7): „‚*Auferri*‘ *iubens* ‚*malum de medio*‘.“

VI, 11 Dial. V, 22 wörtlich, *ἀλλὰ* singulär > *καὶ* (so auch Rufin). Sicher ist es übrigens nicht, daß Adam. hier aus M.s Bibel geschöpft hat. — Adv. Marc. II, 9 setzt Tert. voraus, daß v. 3 auch in M.s Bibel steht.

13 ff. Tert. (V, 7): „*Avertens autem nos a fornicatione manifestat carnis resurrectionem* (Tert. geht also von 5, 1—7 sofort zu 6, 13 über); ‚*cor-*

κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι, ὡς ὁ ναὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῷ ναῷ. 14 Anspielung: . . . *ὃς τὸν κύριον ἤγειρε, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ.* 15 *οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; ἄρας οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μή γένοιτο.* 16 *οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ ὅτι κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἓν σῶμά ἐστιν; ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.* 20 *ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε* (+ im Lateinischen „tollite" = *ἄρατε* entstellt aus *ἄραγε*) *τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ (θνητῷ?) σώματι ὑμῶν.*

Aus c. VII nur kurze Anspielungen (v. 1. 2. 3. 7. 10. 11. 29: *ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν.* 39: *μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ;* Marcion hat dies Kapitel vielleicht verkürzt).

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pus', inquit, ‚non fornicationi, sed domino, et dominus corpori, ut templum deo et deus templo'. templum ergo dei peribit [*et deus templo* add. Mss.]? *atquin vides: ‚qui dominum* [*quem dominus* Mss.] *suscitavit et nos suscitabit', in corpore quoque suscitabit, quia ‚corpus domino et dominus corpori'; et bene quod aggerat: ‚Nescitis corpora vestra membra esse Christi'* " (auf v. 15 b wird auch adv. Marc. IV, 34 angespielt). Der Zusatz „*ut templum*" etc. muß hier gestanden haben, da ihn Tert. als Text kommentiert. — 15 Dial. II, 22 wörtlich. — 16 Dial. II, 23 und Epiph. p. 121. 161 wörtlich (*ἢ* fehlt am Anfang bei beiden Zeugen mit DKL und griech. Vätern; Rufin in der Übersetzung bietet es; *γάρ* nur Dial., Rufin bietet es nicht).

20 Tert. (V, 7): „„*Empti enim sumus magno*'"; ein Stichwort M.s; s. Orig., Hom. 7, 1 in Num. u. Esnik (Schmid S. 178: „Jesus sandte Paulus zu predigen, daß wir um den Preis erkauft seien, und jeder, welcher glaubt an Jesus, wurde verkauft von dem Gerechten dem Guten"); gleich darauf: „*Iam nunc quomodo honorabimus, quomodo tollemus deum in corpore perituro?*" Die hieraus folgende LA „*tollite*" („*portate*" neben „*honorate*" [„*glorificate*"]) ist lateinisch; so g vulg Tert., de resurr. 10. 16, Cypr., Lucifer, Ambrosiaster etc.; doch hat sie durch Übertragung aus dem Abendland auch Chrysost.; sie ist aus *ἄραγε* entstanden. Die griech. Überlieferung bietet *δοξάσατε δή (οὖν)*; aber Methodius *ἄραγε δοξάσατε* (Bonwetsch S. 325). Hat M. wirklich hier *θνητῷ* neben *σώματι* geboten (s. Röm. 6, 12) oder hat Tert. in seinem Referat beide Stellen vermischt? *θνητῷ* ist sonst hier ganz unbezeugt.

VII, 1 ff. Tert. (V, 7): „*Sequitur de nuptiis congredi . . . apostolus, etsi bonum continentiae praefert tamen coniugium et contrahi permittit* ⟨ *et* ⟩ *usui esse, et magis retineri quam disiungi suadet . . . atquin et apostolus, cum praecipit mulierem a viro non discedere aut, si discesserit, manere innuptam aut reconciliari viro, et repudium permisit, quod non in totum prohibuit, et matrimonium confirmavit, quod primo vetuit disiungi et, si forte disiunctum, voluit reformari. sed et continentiae quas ait causas? ‚quia tempus in collecto est' . . . praescribens ‚tantum in domino' esse nubendum, ne quis fidelis eth-*

Aus c. VIII nur kurze Anspielungen 1 *περὶ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων.* 4 *οἴδαμεν ὅτι εἴδωλον οὐδέν ἐστιν.* 5 *καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶν (οἱ?) λεγόμενοι θεοὶ εἴτε ἐν οὐρανοῖς, εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς,* 6 *ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα.* 13 *οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου σκανδαλίσω (ᾧ ὁ ἀδελφός μου σκανδαλισθῇ?).*

C. IX Anspielung auf 7 a b: *τίς στρατεύεται... τίς φυτεύει ἄμπελον;* 7 c—10 *τίς ποιμαίνει ποίμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐσθίει;* 8 *μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως ταῦτα λέγει;* 9 *ἐν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται· Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ; (τῷ κυρίῳ?).* 10 *ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως*

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nicum matrimonium contrahat." — v. 29 „*quia*" (*ὅτι*) mit DG ital. vulg. Adv. Marc. I, 29 ist v. 29 zitiert. Hätte M. dieses Kapitel in vollem Umfang geboten, so hätte ihm Tert. vieles vorrücken können. Allein andererseits war auch dem Tert. dieses Kapitel nicht geheuer. Orig. bemerkt (Catene z. d. St.), daß sich die Marcioniten auf v. 7 berufen (s. Cramer).

VIII, 1 ff Tert. (V, 7): „ ‚*Sed et si sunt qui dicuntur dei, sive in caelis sive in terris*' ... *de idolis enim coepit, de idolothytis disputaturus*: ‚*Scimus quod idolum nihil sit*' ... ‚*Nobis tamen unus*' *esset* ‚*deus pater, ex quo omnia*' ". 1 Zahn meint, v. 1—3 hätten gänzlich gefehlt; aber v. 1 ist berührt. — 4 *ἐστιν* mit Gg. Iren. Ambrosiaster etc. — 5 *οὐρανοῖς* allein > *οὐρανῷ*. Die berechtigte Frage Zahns, ob nicht v. 6 b verändert war, erledigt sich, wenn man mit Kroymann liest: „ ‚*deus pater, ex quo omnia*': ⟨*ex quo omnia*⟩ *nobis, nisi cuius omnia*?" Es ergibt sich dann, daß Tert. einen eigenen Gedanken vorbringt. Auch adv. Marc. III, 15 ist v. 5 zitiert (*οὐρανῷ*). Esnik (Schmid S. 197): „Sie sagen, daß der Apostel sagt: ‚Ich werde nicht Fleisch essen in Ewigkeit, wodurch mein Bruder geärgert würde'." Ein anderer Text als der obige ist nicht anzunehmen.

IX, 4—14 Tert. (V, 7): „*Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis, exempla praemiserat militum pastorum rusticorum; sed divina illa* (*illis*?) *auctoritas deerat; legem igitur opponit creatoris ingratis, quam destruebat — sui enim dei nullam talem habebat — ‚bovi', inquit, ‚terenti os non obligabis', et adiecit: ‚num quid de bobus pertinet ad dominum'? etiam* [*de*] *bobus propter homines benignum? ‚Propter nos enim scriptum est', inquit. ergo et legem allegoricam secundum nos probavit et ‚de evangelio viventibus' patrocinantem.*" ... *sed noluit uti legis potestate, quia maluit gratis laborare. hoc ad gloriam suam retulit, quam negavit quemquam evacuaturum, non ad legis destructionem, qua alium probavit usurum*" (vgl. III, 5).

7 c—10 Dial. I, 22 wörtlich (*αὐτῆς* fehlt v. 7; aber bei Rufin mit D und einigen > Vätern *τῆς ποίμνης*). 8 *οὐχί* mit KLP etc. > *οὐ*; so auch bei Epiph. p. 121. 162; er wirft dem M. vor, er habe *Μωσέως* v. 8 eingeschoben; hier wird es bei M. wirklich gestanden und in v. 9 gefehlt haben

λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν. 14 *ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.* 15 a *ἐγὼ . . . ἐχρησάμην.* 15 b *τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει* oder der überlieferte Text.

X, 1 *Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον,* 2 *καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,* 3 *καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον,* 4 *καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.* 5 *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν . . .* 6 *ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῖν ἐγενήθησαν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν.* 7 *μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται· ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν . . .* 9 *μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν . . . .* 11 *ταῦτ' ἀτύπως*

(im Dial. steht es wie im kathol. Text). Epiph. p. 122. 163 bringt auch *μὴ τῶν βόων μέλει τῷ θεῷ.* Tert.s „*dominum*" in v. 9 ist vielleicht richtig. 14 Dial. I, 6 (nur bei Rufin und daher im Dial. vielleicht Zusatz: „*Ita et dominus disposuit his qui evangelium annuntiant, ut de evangelio vivant*"; doch s. oben bei Tert.).

X, 1—9.11 Epiph. p. 122. 163 f. (Nach v. 9 bemerkt er selbst, daß er das Zwischenliegende übergehe, nach v. 11 schreibt er *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς*). 1—4 Dial. II, 18 (aber ohne die ersten 6 Worte; in II, 20 *πέτρα ὁ Χριστὸς ἦν*). 1.4 Tert. (V, 7): „*In petram offendit caecus Marcion, de qua bibebant in solitudine patres nostri, si enim petra illa Christus fuit . . .*" Tert. (V, 7): „(*Paulus*) *et reliquum exitum populi decursurus praemittit: ‚Haec autem exempla nobis sunt facta'.*" . . . „*de illo me terret sibi*" . . . „*iam si deliquere eadem, quae et populus*" (zu den Versen 4—9). V, 11 Tert. (V, 7): „*Denique et in clausula praefationi respondet: ‚Haec autem quemadmodum evenerunt illis scripta sunt ad nos commonendos, in quos fines aevorum decucurrerunt'.*" Tert. schon V, 5: „‚*Petra autem fuit Christus*'."

1 *πάντες* prim. fehlt bei Epiph. — 2 fehlt bei Epiph. — 3 *πνευμ. ἔφαγον βρῶμα* Epiph. (mit A); die Stellung der Worte im Dial. mit ℵcDG ital. vulg. Iren. (> *πνευμ. βρῶμα ἔφαγον*) — 4 *πνευμ. ἔπιον πόμα* Epiph. (mit der Mehrzahl); die Stellung im Dial. mit DGKL ital. vulg. — *ἡ δὲ πέτρα* mit ACDbKL > *ἡ πέτρα δέ.* — 5 Das von Epiph. nicht gebotene *ὁ θεός* kann M. getilgt haben, was wohl verständlich wäre. — 6 *ἡμῖν* mit Tert. singulär, Epiph. *ἡμῶν* — 6 *πρὸς* singulär > *εἰς* — 7 *ὡς* mit CDKP > *ὥσπερ* — 9 *Χριστὸν*: Epiph.: *ὁ δὲ Μαρκίων ἀντὶ τοῦ ‚κύριον', ‚Χριστὸν' ἐποίησεν* mit (*Χριστόν* DGKL ital., Iren., Ambrosiaster und vielen Lateinern) — 11 Dial. II, 18 *ταῦτ' ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις* (so richtig van de Sande; Rufin „*sine typo*"). Diesen Text setzt Markus dem katholischen, den Adam. zitiert hatte und der *μὲν τύπος* für *ἀτύπως* enthielt, entgegen; Epiph. bietet *τυπικῶς*, Tert. „*quemadmodum*" (*καθώς*,

(Alternative Lesart: *καθώς*, und *δὲ* fehlt) *συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησεν.*

16 *τὸ* [*δὲ*] *ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας . . . , τὸν* [*τε*] *ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν . . . . τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου εἶναι κοινωνίαν.* 19 *τί οὖν φημί; ὅτι ἱερόθυτόν τί ἐστιν ἢ εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν;* 20 *ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ.* 25 Anspielung.

Aus c. XI bezeugt sind 3 *ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν.* 5 Anspielung: *γυνὴ προφητεύουσα . . . οὐκ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ κεφαλῇ.* 7 *ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.* 8—10 Anspielungen: *γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός, γυνὴ διὰ*

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eine alte Marcionitische Alternativlesart, oder verdorben aus *ἀτύπως?*). Übrigens lautet die Rede des Markus im Dialog: *Οὐχ οὕτως γέγραπται* („*in codice nostro*" fügt Rufin, wohl richtig, hinzu)· *οὐ λέγει γὰρ ‚ταῦτα τύπος συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις', ἀλλ' οὕτως λέγει ‚ταῦτ' ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν' κτλ.*; der katholische Text bietet *τυπικῶς* (so auch dg vulg. Iren.) oder *τύποι* (DGL) — *πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν*: *ἡμῖν* Epiph. verkürzend; das Zitat von v. 11 in Dial. V, 5 bringt den katholischen Text — 11 c ist durch Tert. allein bezeugt.

16 Dial. II, 20 (Rufin verkürzend: „*in qua sacramenta confecit Christus et signacula corporis sui sanguinisque designat*"); der Dialog gibt nur ein Referat; M. hat den Text höchstwahrscheinlich unverändert wiedergegeben (*κυρίου* mit DG dg vulg. Augustin, Ambrosiaster > *Χριστοῦ* die Mehrzahl und Rufin); Zahns Zurückweisung dieses Zitats ist ungerechtfertigt, da der griechische Text gegen Rufin im Rechte ist, wie die bekannte Zeugenreihe beweist.

19 f. Epiph. p. 122. 165 f.; er fügt hinzu: *προσέθετο δὲ ὁ Μαρκίων ‚τὸ ἱερόθυτον'*. Diese tendenziöse Hinzufügung ist sonst unbezeugt. — Die Worte *ἢ ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν*; ließ M. weg.

25 Tert. (V, 7): „*Magnum argumentum dei alterius permissio omnium opsoniorum adversus legem!*" Bei Esnik findet sich S. 197 v. 25 und auch v. 27; man hat aber keine Gewähr, daß sie aus M.s Bibl. stammen.

XI, 3 Tert. (V, 8): „‚*Caput viri Christus est*'."

5 Tert. (V, 8): „*Ceterum prophetandi ius et illas habere iam ostendit* (Tert. geht nachträglich auf die Stelle ein), *cum mulieri etiam prophetanti velamen imponit.*"

7 Tert. (V, 8): „‚*Vir enim non debet caput velari, cum sit dei imago*' " (auf die verschiedene Wortstellung ist nichts zu geben). Dial. V, 23 (fehlt bei Rufin) ganz wie oben; also hat Tert. *καὶ δόξα* ausgelassen. Epiph. p. 122. 167 (v. 14 einmischend): *Ἀνὴρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.*

8—10 Tert. (V, 8): „*Sed et quare ‚mulier potestatem super caput habere*

τὸν ἄνδρα. ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. 19 Anspielung αἱρέσεις ..... δόκιμοι. 20—34 (speziell 27. 29 κρῖμα) e i n e Anspielung auf das Abendmahl als Leib und Blut Christi.

Aus c. XII sind bezeugt 1 περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν. 8—10 Wörtliche Anspielungen: ᾧ ... δίδοται διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ λόγος γνώσεως ... ἑτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ χάρισμα ἰαμάτων, ἄλλῳ δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ προφητεία, ἄλλῳ διάκρισις πνευμάτων, ἑτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν. 12 ff Anspielung (Körper und Glieder). 24 b ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστερουμένῳ περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμήν. 28 Anspielung: ἔθετο ὁ κύριος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ... ἀποστόλους ... προφήτας. 31 Anspielung zusammen mit c. XIII χαρίσματα ... καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγάπη.

Aus c. XIV sind bezeugt 2 ff in Anspielung und 2 πνεύματι

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debebit'? si quia ‚ex viro' et ‚propter virum facta est' secundum institutionem creatoris ... adicit etiam ‚propter angelos'."

19 Tert. (V. 8); „*Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum poni, et eos probabiles intellegendos, qui haereses ut malum fugiant.*"

20—34 Tert. (V, 8): „*Perinde panis et calicis sacramento ... probavimus corporis et sanguinis dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis, sed et omnem iudicii mentionem creatori competere.*"

XII, 1 Tert. (V, 8): „*Nunc, ‚de spiritalibus' dico.*"

8—10 Tert. (V, 8): „ ‚*Alii*', *inquit*, ‚*datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae ... alii sermo scientiae ... alii fides in eodem spiritu ... alii donum curationum, alii virtutum ... alii prophetia, alii distinctio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio linguarum*'." v. 9 *donum (χάρισμα)* mit dg vulg. lat. Vätern > χάρισμα (so Tert. selbst). Was bei Tert. hier fehlt oder anders gestellt ist, kann nicht sicher für M. gelten.

12 ff. Tert. (V, 8): „*Ipsum quod corporis nostri per multa et diversa membra unitatem charismatum variorum compagini adaequavit.*"

24 b Dial. II, 19 wörtlich (*ἀλλά* nur bei Rufin); die ersten 6 Worte wörtlich ebenso bei Epiph. p. 122. 168.

28 Tert. (V, 17): „*Haereticus* (als er ‚*et prophetarum*' in Ephes. 2,20 strich) *oblitus* ‚*dominum posuisse in ecclesia*' *sicut* ‚*apostolos*' *ita et* ‚*prophetas*'." — *dominus* allein > ὁ θεός. Sicher wäre dies bisher übersehene Zitat nicht, da Tert. es nachbringt, wenn nicht diese Variante den Ursprung verbürgte.

31 u. c. XIII Tert. (V. 8): „*De dilectione omnibus charismatibus praeponenda.*"

XIV, 2 ff. Tert. (V, 8): „ ‚*Charisma linguarum*' *confirmat*'," (V, 15): „*et sacramenta edisserat.*"

λαλεῖ μυστήρια. 19 b *ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι διὰ τὸν νόμον.* 21 *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον.* 25 Anspielung: *τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας φανερὰ γίνεται.* 26 Anspielung: *ψαλμός, ἀποκάλυψις, γλῶσσα, ἑρμηνεία.* 32 f. *καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται· οὐ γὰρ ἀκαταστασίας ἐστὶν ἀλλ' εἰρήνης.* 34 *αἱ γυναῖκες*

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19 b So Epiph. p. 122. 168 mit der Einführung, M. habe „*πεπλανημένως*" *διὰ τὸν νόμον* hinter *λαλῆσαι* gesetzt. Es handelt sich hier nicht um eine tendenziöse Korrektur, sondern ein uralter Fehler, den Paulin v. Nola und Ambrosiaster ähnlich bezeugen („*in lege*" bez. „*per legem*"), war dadurch entstanden, daß *τῷ νοί μου* zu *τῷ νόμῳ*, dann aus Ratlosigkeit zu *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ*, zu *διὰ τοῦ νόμου* und zu *διὰ τὸν νόμον* wurde. In der Bibel der Marcioniten, die Epiph. las, war der Zusatz in den Text neben *τῷ νοί* gekommen oder umgekehrt. Was sie sich dabei gedacht haben, ist dunkel: *διὰ τὸν νόμον* kann doch nicht heißen: „um das Gesetz zu bekämpfen". Wahrscheinlich ist *διὰ* c. Acc. hier = *διὰ* c. Genet., wie so oft in der späteren Zeit. Mit Recht bietet übrigens Holl l. c.: *πεπλανημένως ὁ Μαρκίων ⟨μετὰ τό⟩* „*ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*", *κτλ.* Die Entfernung von *τῷ νοί μου* aus M.s Text ist nicht statthaft (= Zahn); denn Epiph. schreibt nach den Worten „*τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι*" die Worte *προσέθετο* „*διὰ τὸν νόμον*".

21 Wörtlich so Epiph. p. 122. 170. Tert. (V, 8): „*Si quod in lege commemorat in aliis linguis et in aliis labiis locuturum creatorem.* — *ἑτέροις* mit DGKLPital. vulg. > *ἑτέρων* — *πρὸς τ. λαὸν τοῦτον* singulär > *τ. λαῷ τούτῳ.*

25 Tert. (V, 8): „*qui et futura praenuntiarint et ‚cordis occulta traduxerint'*", vgl. V, 15: „*formam spiritalis et propheticae gratiae . . . ut et futura praenuntiet et ‚occulta cordis revelet'.*"

26 Tert. (V, 8): „*Edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem duntaxat spiritalem, in ecstasi id est amentia, si qua linguae interpretatio accessit.*"

32 f. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß dieses Zitat bei Tert. (IV, 4) dem Marcionitischen Apostolikon angehört: „*Et spiritus prophetarum prophetis erunt subditi* (das sonst nicht bezeugte Futur erklärt sich aus dem Zusammenhang); *non enim eversionis sunt* (mit Ambrosiaster fehlt hier die sonst einstimmig bezeugte falsche LA *ὁ θεός*), *sed pacis.*"

34 Wörtlich so Dial. II, 18 und Epiph. p. 123 (*ἐνταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*). 170. Tert. (V, 8): „*Aeque praescribens silentium mulieribus in ecclesia, ne quid discendi duntaxat gratia loquantur . . . ex lege accipit subiciendae feminae auctoritatem.*" — *ἐκκλησίᾳ* mit fu**tol und den ägyp'ischen Versionen > *ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.* — Bei *ἐπιτέτραπται* und *ἐπιτρέπεται* (Rufin, Epiph. p. 170) sind die Zeugen geteilt — *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* Dial. mit DKdg vulg. Lateiner > *ὑποτασσέσθωσαν* Epiph. ℵAB etc.

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. 35 Anspielung: *μαθεῖν θέλουσιν*, verändert, aber nicht mehr herzustellen.

XV, 1 *Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε,* 2 *δι' οὗ καὶ σώζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε·* 3 *παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν,* 4 *καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* 5—8 müssen mindestens z. T. von M. geboten worden sein. 9 *(ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων?)* 11 ... *οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε....* 12 Anspielung: *πῶς λέγουσίν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;* 14 *εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, κενὸν καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν.* 17 ... *εἰ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται μάταιον (καὶ*

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35 s. Tert. zu v. 34. Die Einschachtelung von 35 a zwischen 34 b und 34 c macht eine Textänderung um so wahrscheinlicher, als das schroffe *αἰσχρόν* in 35 c M.s Meinung schwerlich entsprach.

XV, 1—4 Dial. V, 6. Zahn übergeht dies Zitat; aber schon die Ausmerzung von *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* (aber an erster Stelle bietet es Rufin) zeigt, daß hier M.s Text vorliegt; dazu kommt die Tilgung von *ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον* v. 3, die ebenso entscheidend ist. Die Worte fehlen auch bei Iren., Tertull., Hilar., Ambros., Ambrosiaster usw. (wohl Einfluß des M.s Textes). — 1 *δέ*: Dial. *γάρ* (aber Rufin *δέ*) — 4 *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* mit GKLP g vulg. Iren. und dem Epiph.-Zitat > *τ. ἡμ. τ. τρίτῃ* — die ersten 9 Worte v. 1 auch bei Epiph. p. 123. 171. — Auf v. 3. 4 wird auch Dial. V, 11 angespielt und bei Epiph., l. c. lauten sie: *ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* (also auch ohne *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*). Adv. Marc. III, 8 zitiert Tert. die Verse 3. 4 ebenfalls ohne *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, also nach M.s Text. Esnik S. 203 bietet die Worte; ferner spielt er auf die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen an; aber ob aus M.s Text? S. zu v. 11.

9 Die Einschiebung von *ἐλάχιστα* in I Kor. 1, 28 stammt wahrscheinlich aus diesem Vers.

11 Epiph. p. 123. 171. Tert. adv. Marc. IV, 4: „‚*Sive ego*‘, *inquit*, ‚*sive illi, sic praedicamus*‘“. Hieraus folgt, daß die vv. 5—8 nicht oder mindestens nicht ganz gefehlt haben können.

12 Tert. (V, 9): „*Mortuorum resurrectionem quomodo quidam tunc negarint.*“ Auf v. 13 f spielt Tert. adv. Marc. III, 8 an.

14 Dial. V, 6. Zahn übergeht es — *ἄρα* nach *κενόν* fehlt mit d Iren. — *ἡμῶν* Rufin (fehlt im Griech.) — *ὑμῶν* Ruf. mit den Lateinern und vielen anderen Codd. > *ἡμῶν* Dial. (Griech.).

17 Epiph. p. 123. 171. In der Refutat. Epiph. (16. 17); *Εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται, καὶ εἰ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, μάταιον τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν* (fraglich ob aus M.).

τὰ ἑξῆς). — 20 *Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάναι, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων,* 21 *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.* 22 *ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται,* 23 *ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* 24 ... *ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν·* 25 *δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ θῇ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* (oder *ἄχρις οὗ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ θῶνται).*

29 *Τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ (ὅλως?) νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν,* 30 *τί καὶ ἡμεῖς*

20—23 Dial. V, 6 f, vgl. Dial. V, 11, wo v. 22. 23 ebenso zitiert (nur hier aber die 4 letzten Worte und Dial. V, 7; *γάρ* in v. 22 fehlt) — 20 *κηρύσσεται ἐκ νεκρῶν ⟨ἀναστάναι⟩* (das letzte Wort nur bei Rufin) > *ἐγήγερται* ganz originell — 20 *εἰ δέ* (so auch Rufin) mit d > *νυνὶ δέ* — 22 *διὰ τοῦ* Rufin originell (und nur Dial. V, 6, nicht V, 11) > *ἐν τῷ* Dial. im Griech. und allen Zeugen — 23 Rufin Dial. V, 6 „*et initium*". Die Worte *ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι* fehlen V, 6 und V, 11; M. hat sie wohl getilgt. Tert. (V, 9) zu 21: „*Quia per hominem mors et per hominem resurrectio* (fehlt *τῶν νεκρῶν*), zu 22 (V, 9): „*Quodsi sic in Christo vivificamur omnes, sicut mortificamur in Adam*" (wohl etwas frei).

24. 25 Tert. (V, 9): „‚*Oportet enim regnare eum, donec ponat inimicos eius sub pedes eius.*'" Tert. liest *πάντας* nicht (singulär) — *ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ* mit AG g Orig., zahlreichen Vätern > *ἐχθρούς*. Esnik (Schmid S. 190): „Ferner das andere Wort des Apostels, welches richtig gesprochen ist, untergraben sie: „Wenn er alle Herrschaften und Mächte zerstört haben wird, muß er herrschen, bis daß alle seine Feinde unter seine Füße gestellt sind". Diese direkte Verbindung von v. 24 b und 25 a durch Ausstoßung des *γάρ* in 25 a wird durch Tert. nicht bezeugt, ebensowenig das Passiv statt *θῇ*. Spätere Marcioniten haben (s. Esniks Mitteilung) den Text verändert (oder ist das die ursprüngliche Marcionitische Lesart?), *θῶνται* für *θῇ* gesetzt, um Jesus keine kriegerischen Handlungen beizulegen, und zum Subjekt von v. 24 den Weltschöpfer gemacht, während in v. 25 Jesus Subjekt ist. Die Textveränderung stimmt frappierend überein mit der zu Luk. 12, 46 von M. selbst gemachten, wo er statt *(καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων) θήσει* geschrieben hat *τεθήσεται.* — *πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν* mit Gregor Nyss. Didym. > *π. α. κ. πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν* — das sonst durchweg bezeugte *καὶ δύναμιν* nach *ἐξουσίαν* fehlt hier.

29 Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Quid*', *ait*, ‚*facient qui pro mortuis baptizantur, si* (*ὅλως* übersehen?) *mortui non resurgunt*'." Esnik (Schmid S. 202): „Wenn die Toten nicht auferstehen, was sollen diejenigen tun, welche anstatt der Toten getauft worden sind?"

29—44 Dial. V, 23 fortlaufend (29 *καί* nur Rufin — 31 *ἀποθνήσκον-*

κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν, 31 καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντες; νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, ἀδελφοί, ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. 32 εἰ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος; εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. 33 μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί. 34 ἐκνήψατε δικαίως, καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε. ἀγνωσίαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσι· πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῖν λαλῶ. 35 ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις· πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; 36 ἄφρον, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἀποθανῇ, 37 καὶ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γεννησόμενον σπείρεις, ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον, εἰ τύχοι, σίτου ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν, 38 ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα (spätere Marcionitische Korrektur πνεῦμα für σῶμα) καθὼς ἠθέλησεν· ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἀπολαμβάνει. 39 οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σάρξ· ἄλλη μὲν σὰρξ ἀνθρώπου, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν, ἑτέρα δὲ ἰχθύων. 40 καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια· ἀλλ' ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων, 41 ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων· ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. 42 οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις (τῶν νεκρῶν). σπείρεται

τες singulär > ἀποθνήσκω [auch Rufin] — 34 *iusti* Rufin — 36 ἄφρον mit KL Orig. > ἄφρων — πρῶτον ἀποθανῇ mit G d e f g vulg. Iren. und den meisten lat. Vätern > ἀποθ. πρῶτ. — 38 *vult* Rufin — 38 b singulär > καὶ ἑκάστῳ τ. σπερμ. ἴδ. σῶμα [so auch Rufin] — 39 ἄλλη mit D > ἀλλὰ ἄλλη [so auch Rufin] — ἀνθρώπου mit D d Tert. Ambroisaster > ἀνθρώπων [so auch Rufin] — κτηνῶν: Rufin πτηνῶν — 41 σελήνης mit am harl Tertull., Orig., Augustin > σελήνης καὶ mit d usw. [auch Rufin]; 42 b—44 nur bei Rufin) — 36 auch Dial. V, 24 [σὺ γάρ und ohne ἄφρον] — 37 auch Dial. V, 24 [etwas frei] — 38 auch Dial. V, 24 [38 b ἑκάστῳ δὲ τ. σπερμ. τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα δίδωσιν; bei Rufin fehlt δίδωσιν. In einer Interpolation wird sodann die spätere Marcionitische Lesart vermerkt: οὐ λέγει· ‚ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν', ἀλλ' ‚ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν', s. Zahn, Ztschr. f. KGesch. Bd. 9, S. 198 ff.] — 40 a auch Dial. V, 2. Vers 41. 42 a auch Dial. V, 2 [σελήνης ohne folgendes καί wie oben] — 42 b auch Dial. V, 25 — 44 a auch Dial. V, 25.

35 Tert. (V, 10): „*Sed dicent quidam: Quomodo mortui resurgent? quo autem corpore venient?*" frei.

37 ff. Tert. (V, 10): „*Denique si proponit exempla grani tritici vel alicuius eiusmodi, quibus det corpus deus prout volet, si unicuique seminum proprium ait corpus esse, ut aliam quidem carnem hominum aliam vero pecudum et volucrum* (also las Tert. beides, s. oben; aber nicht „Fische"), *et corpora caelestia atque terrena, et aliam gloriam solis et lunae aliam et stellarum aliam.*"

42 ff. Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Sic et resurrectio*'" .... „*sicut et granum cor-*

ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ· 43 *σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει.* 44 *σπείρεται (σῶμα?) ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται (σῶμα?) πνευματικόν.*

45 *Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, Ἀδάμ, εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος, κύριος, εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν.* 46 ... *οὐ πρῶτον ὃ πνευματικόν* 47 .... *ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος, κύριος, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.* 48 *οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι·* 49 *(καὶ) καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου.*

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pus seritur, corpus resurgit. seminationem denique vocavit dissolutionem corporis in terram, quia ‚seritur in corruptela ⟨ in dedecoratione, in infirmitate, resurgit autem in incorruptelam ; in honestatem, in virtutem‘ . . . 44 *‚si seritur anima, resurgit spiritale‘* “. — Da v. 21 und 42 bei Tert. *τῶν νεκρῶν* fehlt, sind diese Worte, die der Dialog bietet, unsicher. Aus dem „si“ läßt sich nichts schließen, da 44 a und 44 b vermengt sind. Statt „*anima*“ ist wohl, „*anima⟨le⟩*“ zu lesen. Ob Tert. „*corpus*“ bei M. gefunden hat, ist zweifelhaft. — V. 43. 44 bei Esnik S. 203 (ob aus M. ?).

45. 47 Dial. II, 19. — Vers 45. 46. 47 Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Factus primus homo, Adam, in animam vivam, novissimus, Adam, in spiritum vivificantem‘* “, vorher: „‚*non primum quod spiritale‘* “. „‚*Primus‘* “ *inquit ‚homo de humo terrenus, secundus, dominus, de caelo‘* “. Zu v. 45 bemerkt Tert.: „*Licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse (ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ); ‚dominum‘ enim posuit novissimum pro novissimo ‚Adam‘* “. — 46 *ὃ* singulär > *τό* (unsicher) — 47 *κύριος* (so Dial. und Tert.) mit sehr vielen Zeugen, aber fast alle *ἄνθρωπος ὁ κύριος* > *ἄνθρωπος*, dazu Tert.: „*Quare secundus, si non homo, quod et primus? aut numquid et primus dominus, si et secundus? sed sufficit: si in evangelio filium hominis adhibet Christum et hominem et in homine Adam eum negare non poterit*“. Dial. II, 19: *Ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔφη· ‚Ὁ δεύτερος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ — καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς κύριος‘*, ferner *σκόπει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀσεβὲς τόλμημα, πῶς παρεχάραξαν τὴν γραφήν. τὴν γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνελεῖν βουλόμενοι, ἐνήλλαξαν τό· ‚Ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐποίησαν. ‚Ὁ δεύτερος, κύριος‘, οὐκ ἰδόντες κτλ.* Da für *ὁ κύριος* ℵ* AD*c*KLP Orig. Basil. und antiochenische Väter (> ℵ* BCDG d g vulg. und zahlreiche Väter) eintreten, so kann an dieser Stelle nicht sicher behauptet werden (anders V, 45), *κύριος* sei eine LA Marcions.

48 Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Qualis qui de terra, tales et terreni, et qualis qui de caelo, tales et qui de caelo.‘* “

49 Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Sicut portavimus‘, inquit, ‚imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis‘, . . . ‚portemus‘ enim, inquit, non ‚portabimus‘, praeceptive, non promissive*“. Aber vielleicht *portemus* = *portabimus*.

50 *τοῦτο γάρ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι, οὔτε ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.* 51 *ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες μὲν ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα.* 52 *ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι· σαλπίσει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα.* 53 *δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτ'ν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι*

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50 Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt*‘“ (bald darauf „‚*non consequentur*‘“) (andere Zitate bei Tert. kommen hier nicht in Betracht). Dial. II, 26 (nur bei Rufin erhalten): „‚*non possidebunt*‘“; Dial. II, 22 Rufin ebenso, aber im Griechischen: *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύνανται, οὔτε ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν* — *κληρονομήσουσι* mit G g Iren. Orig. > *κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται* — vorher *γάρ* mit DG d g Iren. > *δέ* — *οὔτε* selbständig > *οὐδέ*. Esnik (bei Schmid S. 201): „Die Marcioniten sagen: Der Apostel hat gesagt: ‚Der Leib und das Blut erben nicht das Reich Gottes und die Verweslichkeit nicht die Unverweslichkeit.‘“ Die LA „der Leib“ (für „Fleisch“) mögen spätere Marcioniten geschaffen haben, um die Stelle für ihre Zwecke noch brauchbarer zu machen.

51 f Dial. V, 26 (nur bei Rufin erhalten): „‚*Ecce mysterium vobis dico: Omnes quidem ⟨re⟩surgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur.*‘“ Es ist die spezifisch lateinische Lesart (D* d vulg. usw.). Dial. V, 23 wie oben, aber *οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα* für *ἀναστησόμεθα* (dagegen Rufin wie vorher). Tert. (V, 10): „‚*Resurgent mortui incorrupti, et nos mutabimur* (genau so noch einmal V, 12; v. 51 fehlt bei Tert.) *in atomo, in oculi momentaneo motu.*‘“ Tert. stellt also in seinem Referat 52 b vor 52 a und läßt *ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι* und *σαλπίσει γάρ* aus. Dial. V, 23 fährt fort (v. 52) wie oben.

53 Dial. II, 23 wörtlich (in Dial. II, 24 wiederholt, aber 53 a und 53 b umgestellt; außerdem *δέ* [singulär] für *γάρ)* und Tert. (V, 10): „‚*oportet enim corruptivum hoc induere incorruptelam et mortale hoc immortalitatem*‘“ (wiederholt in V, 12 „‚*necesse est corruptivum istud . . . et mortale istud*‘“ usw.). Auch aus Hieron., c. Joh. Hieros. folgt, daß v. 50 und 53 bei M. nicht gefehlt haben (auch bei Esnik S. 201 stehen v. 50. 52. 53; ob aus M. ?). 54 Epiph. p. 123. 171 wie oben; von *τότε* an auch Dial. II, 18 (und dazu auch v. 55 a, bei Rufin durch Homöotel. ausgefallen). Tert. (V, 10) zu v. 54. 55: „‚*Tunc fiet verbum quod scriptum est: Ubi est, mors, victoria* [*ubi contentio*] *tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus.*‘“ Die eingeklammerten Worte sind schwerlich eine Alternativlesart, die Tert. bietet (Zahn, Gesch. d. Ntlichen Kanons I, S. 51), sondern eine spätere Glosse (griechisch *νεῖκος)*. In Dial. V, 27 ist unsere Stelle mit II Kor. 5, 4 verkuppelt: *ὅταν δὲ καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας.*

ἀθανασίαν. 54 (Anfang nicht bezeugt), ὅταν δὲ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος. 55 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; 57 Anspielung: τῷ θεῷ χάρις τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος. 58 ... ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε.

Von c. XVI ist nichts erhalten.

Eine größere Streichung M.s ist in diesem Brief nicht nachweisbar; doch ist c. VII vielleicht gekürzt worden.

Προς Κορινθιους $\overline{B}$.

Aus c. I ist bezeugt 3 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, 20 ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ναί· διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ.

Aus c. II 14 τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις, τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, 15 ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, 16 τοῖς μὲν ὀσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. 17 (οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν) ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ (καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) ... ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ κατέναντι θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν.

Aus c. III 3 φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἐστὶ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος,

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57 Tert. (V, 10): „*Nec alii deo gratias dicit, quod nobis victoriam, utique de morte, referre praestiterit*".

58 S. den falschen Laod.-Brief v. 14.

I, 3 Tert. (V, 11): „*Benedictus deus domini nostri Iesu Christi*" "(καὶ πατήρ fehlt nach θεός).... „,*misericordiarum pater*" " (mehrmals).

20 Epiph. p. 123. 173 (hier πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ), Dial. II, 18 ὅσαι γὰρ bis ναί.

II, 14—16 Dial. II, 20. In v. 15 fehlt τῷ θεῷ absichtlich nach ἐσμέν — 16 τοῖς singulär > οἷς (beide Male) — ζωῆς Rufin mit DGKL ital. vulg., Iren., Augustin, Ambrosiaster > ἐκ ζωῆς Dial. im Griech.

17 Didymus spielt darauf an als auf eine Beweisstelle der Marcioniten (von Zahn entdeckt); s. Mai, Nova Patr. Bibl. IV, 2, 122: Οὐ προσεκτέον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων λέγουσιν, ὅτι οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Χριστῷ διδάσκοντες κατέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἑτέρου παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τουτέστιν ἐνάντια αὐτῷ, φθέγγονται. Also las M. οἱ λοιποί mit vielen Zeugen > ℵBACK al plu d e f vulg οἱ πολλοί und verstand unter den λοιποί die Urapostel.

III, 3 Dial. V, 27 (am Anfang φανερώτερον, aber das war durch die Art der Einführung gefordert; ἀλλά Rufin, ἀλλ' ἐν der griechische Text).

οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις, ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίναις. 6 *καινῆς διαθήκης ... οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτέννει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ.* 7 f. s. zu v. 13. 11 *εἰ γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον διὰ δόξης, πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ μὴ καταργούμενον.* 13 Anspielungen (dabei auch solche auf 7 ff): *Μωσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Ισραήλ ... τοῦ καταργουμένου.*

14 *Ἀλλ' ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα τοῦ κόσμου (τοῦ αἰῶνος?)· ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ ...* 15 *κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται.* 16 *ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα.* 18 *ἡμεῖς ἤδη ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὸν Χριστὸν*

Tert. (V, 11): „*qui literam tabulis lapideis inciderat, idem et de spiritu edixerat*".

6 Tert. (V, 11): „*Sic et ‚testamentum novum' non alterius erit ... si non ‚literae' at eius ‚spiritus' ... si ‚litera occidit, spiritus vero vivificat.'* "

11 Dial. II, 27 (Rufin beide Male *‚in gloria'*; *πολύ* singulär; *καὶ μὴ καταργούμενον* singulär [fehlt bei Rufin]). C. 3,6 —11 ist auch in den Acta Archelai 45 zitiert, in einem Abschnitt, der wahrscheinlich aus den Antithesen M.s stammt.

13 Tert. (V, 11): „*Commemorat et de velamine Moysei, quo faciem tegebat incontemplabilem filiis Israel. si ideo, ut claritatem maiorem defenderet novi testamenti, quod manet in gloria, quam veteris, quod evacuari habebat*".

14. 15 Tert. (V, 11): „ *‚Sed obtunsi sunt sensus mundi'* — *non utique creatoris, sed populi, qui in mundo est; de Israele enim dicit* —; *‚ad hodiernum usque velamen id ipsum in corde eorum.'* " *mundi* (nach M. ist *mundus* Bezeichnung des Weltschöpfers) tendenziös > *αὐτῶν*. In der 2. Hälfte des Zitats wird v. 14 a durch v. 15 c fortgesetzt; man könnte an ein großes Homöotel. in einer Handschrift denken (*ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ* < *τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει, μὴ ἀποκαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ* > *τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται*), und das ist wahrscheinlich, da Tert. fortfährt: „*figuram tum ostendit fuisse velamen faciei in Moyse velaminis cordis in populo, quia nec nunc apud illos perspiciatur Moyses corde, sicut nec facie tunc*". Aber der eigentliche Inhalt von 14 b und 15 a b wird damit kaum gestreift, so daß anzunehmen ist, daß hier zwar ein Homöotel. vorliegt, aber der Text geändert war.

16 Tert. (V, 16): „ „*Cum vero converterit ad deum, auferetur velamen'* " — „*deum*" selbständig > *τὸν κύριον* — ob *περιαιρεθήσεται?* (alle Zeugen *περιαιρεῖται*).

18 Tert. (V, 16): „*Dicit ergo ‚nos' iam ‚aperta facie contemplantes Christum eadem imagine transfigurari a gloria domini in gloriam, tam-*

κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης τοῦ κυρίου εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνευμάτων.

Aus c. IV 4 *ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαυγάσαι αὐτοῖς τὸν φωτισμόν . . . ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.* 5 *οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ,* 6 *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι κατέλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ.*

7 *ἔχομεν οὖν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ ᾖ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν.* 8—10 Anspielungen

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quam a domino spirituum.' " Es fehlt „*omnes*" nach „*nos*" — „*iam*" sonst unbezeugt > *δέ* — *Christum* selbständig > *τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου* — „*a gloria domini*" selbständig > *ἀπὸ δόξης* — *spirituum* selbständig > *πνεύματος* — ob mit G *ἀποπτριζόμενοι?*

IV, 4 So Dial. II, 21 (Rufin: „*ut non fulgeat illuminatio evangelii*") — *εἰς* singulär > *πρός* — *διαυγάσαι* mit A > *αὐγάσαι* — *αὐτοῖς* [die MSS fehlerhaft *αὐτῶν*] mit Dbc KLP vulg. Orig. > fehlt. Tert. (V, 11): „ ‚*In quibus deus aevi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium*' ", vgl. Iren. III, 7, 1 usw. Die letzten 4 Worte nur bei Tert. (V, 11): „ ‚*qui est imago dei*' ".

5. 6 a bis *λάμψαι* Epiph. 123. 174 (*διὰ Ἰησοῦ* mit ℵ*A**C d g vulg. und den Lateinern > *διὰ Ἰησοῦν* — *λάμψει* s. u.) 6 Dial. II, 19 und Tert. V, 11 vollständig („ ‚*quoniam deus, qui dixit ex tenebris lucem lucescere, reluxit in cordibus nostris ad inluminationem agnitionis suae in persona Christi*' ") — *λάμψει* Epiph. mit vielen Zeugen > *λάμψαι* Tert., Dial. mit ℵc Dc G CHKLP d g vulg. usw. — *ἔλαμψεν* Tert. Rufin mit D*G d g > *ὃς ἔλαμψεν* Dial. griechisch (aber Tert. hat *κατέλαμψεν* gelesen und wohl auch Rufin [*illuminavit* neben „*fulgere*"]) — *ἡμῶν* Tert., mit fast allen Zeugen > *ὑμῶν* Dial. mit C — *πρὸς* fehlt bei Rufin — *τῆς δόξης* fehlt bei Tert. (Schuld des Abschreibers, wie eine bald darauf folgende Stelle beweist) — *αὐτοῦ* Tert., Dial. mit C*D*G d g > *τοῦ θεοῦ.*

7 Dial. II, 27 (Rufin: fehlt *οὖν* — *ᾖ* nach *δυνάμεως* — *ἐξ ἡμῶν*). Die von Rufin nicht bezeugten Singularitäten (auch *οὐχ* für *μή*) müssen anerkannt werden. Anspielungen bei Tert. (V, 11): „*thesaurus in fictilibus vasis*' " „ ‚*gloria dei in fictilibus vasis*' " „ ‚*eminentia virtutis dei*' " „*ut* ‚*eminentia*' *eius probetur*". „*Gloria*" ist auf Rechnung Tert.s zu setzen.

8—10 Tert. (V, 11): „*fictilia vasa*', *in quibus tanta nos pati dicit, in quibus etiam* ‚*mortificationem circumferimus dei*' . . . *sed enim proponit:* ‚*ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro*' . . . *de qua ergo Christi vita dicit?*" Tert. las also > *Ἰησοῦ* an der 1. Stelle „*deus*", an der 2. „*Christus*" („*Christus*" D* Gdg Orig. an der ersten Stelle, D* Gdg Iren., Orig., Ambros. an der zweiten); der relative Modalismus M.s tritt hier

und Stücke: *τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες . . . . ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν.* 11 *ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ ζῶντες εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ ἡμῶν σαρκί.* 13 *ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν.* 16—18 Anspielungen und Stücke: *καὶ οὐκ ἐγκακώσομεν . . . ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται . . ὁ ἔσω [ἄνθρωπος] ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ . . . τὰ βλεπόμενα, τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα, πρόσκαιρα, αἰώνια.*

Aus c. V 1. 2 *ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία καταλυθῇ — οἰκίαν αἰώνιον ἀχειροποίητον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ — στενάζομεν, τὸ οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες,* 3 *εἴπερ καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι οὐχ εὑρεθησόμεθα γυμνοί,* 4 *καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σκήνει τοῦ*

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hervor — *φανερωθῇ* vorangestellt mit A vulg cop — *ἐν τῷ σώματι* mit der Mehrzahl > *ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν.*

11 Dial. V, 27 (Rufin: fehlt *γάρ* — *Ἰησοῦ* für *τοῦ Χριστοῦ* — „*in carne nostra mortali*"). *Ἀεὶ* fehlt (aber das kommt wegen des Anfangs nicht in Betracht) — *διὰ Ἰησοῦν* fehlt nach *παραδιδόμεθα* (mit Absicht?) — *τοῦ Χριστοῦ* mit C, *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* D* Gdg (D^c tilgt *Χριστοῦ*), *Ἰησοῦ* die große Mehrzahl — die sonst bezeugte LA: *ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν.* Tert. (V, 11): „*Futuram vitam dicit Christi in corpore appariturum.*" (Also las auch er nicht *Ἰησοῦ*).

13 Epiph. p. 123. 175. Epiph. bemerkt: *ἐξέκοψεν δὲ τό· κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* (samt dem Spruch selbst: *ἐπίστευσα, διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα*, der nun unmöglich geworden und den auch Epiph. fortläßt).

16—18 Tert. (V, 11): „*Et quomodo in sequentibus non ad ‚visibilia' nec ad ‚temporalia', sed ad ‚invisibilia' et ad ‚aeterna' id est non ad praesentia, sed ad futura exhortatur.*" „‚*exteriorem' quidem ‚hominem nostrum corrumpi' dicens*" . . . „*de quibus praemisit adiciens: ‚et non deficiemus'; nam et ‚interiorem hominem nostrum renovari de die in diem' dicens*" — 16 *καὶ οὐκ ἐγκακώσομεν* singulär — *ἄνθρωπος* nach *ἔσω* mit arm. (aber Tert. mußte das Wort hinzufügen).

V, 1—3 Tert. (V, 12): „‚⟨*Loco*⟩ *terreni domicilii nostri' non sic ait ‚habere nos domum aeternam, non manu factam in caelo', quia quae manu facta sit, creatoris, intereat in totum, ‚dissoluta' post mortem . . . subicit ‚ingemere nos, de isto tabernaculo corporis terreni, quod de caelo est, superinduere cupientes: si quidem et despoliati non inveniemur nudi.'*" — 1 sonst *ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον* — sonst *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* — 3 *ἐκδυσάμενοι* mit D* Gdg und Lateinern > *ἐνδυσάμενοι* — sonst *γυμ. εὑρ.*

4 Tert. (V, 12): „‚*etenim qui sumus in isto tabernaculo corporis ingemimus, quod gravemur nolentes exui, sed superindui, uti devoretur mortale hoc a vita'*" — *τούτῳ* mit D Gdg vulg Ambrosiaster, Orig. usw. > fehlt — *τοῦ σώματος* ohne Zeugen — *θέλοντες* ohne Zeugen und unsicher;

σώματος στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, οὐ θέλοντες ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. Anspielungen auf 5. 6. 8: *θεός, (ὁ δοὺς) ἡμῖν τὸν ἀραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος — ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου — εὐδοκοῦμεν ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον.* 10 *τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος ἃ διὰ σώματος ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον.* 17 *ὥστε εἴ τις κτίσις καινὴ ἐν Χριστῷ, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ καινὰ γέγονε τὰ πάντα.*

[Aus c. VI 14. 15 ganz unsichere Anspielung: *οὐδεμία κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος, οὐδὲ Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ*]; adv. Marc. III, 8 hält Tert. die Stelle dem M. entgegen.

Aus c. VII 1 Anspielung: *καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος.* Tert. verbindet c. XI, 2: *παρθένον ἁγνὴν*

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der Grundtext kann auch, wie alle Zeugen bieten, *ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν* gelautet haben — *τοῦτο* mit Gg Ambrosiaster > fehlt. — In Dial. V, 27 ist 4c verkuppelt mit I Kor. 15, 54.

5. 6. 8. Tert. (V, 12): „‚*Arrabonem nos*‘ ‚*spiritus*‘ *dicit a* ‚*deo*‘ *habere . . . ‚et abesse a domino, quamdiu in carne sumus, ac propterea debere boni ducere abesse potius a corpore et esse cum domino.*‘ “

10 Tert. (V, 12): „*Atque adeo omnes ait nos oportere manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus admisit sive bonum sive malum*“, so auch Esnik S. 201 (aber „erhalte mit seinem Leibe, was er vorher getan hat“ — sicher unrichtig). Dial. I, 16: *ἕκαστος παρὰ Χριστοῦ κομίζεται εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν* (Rufin: „*Unusquisque a domino accipiet quae egit, sive bona sive mala*“). Vielleicht haben die späteren Marcioniten das „Tribunal“ Christi als unpassend empfunden — *Τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος* fehlt auch in L — *ἃ* mit D* G und den lat. Codd., wenn sie auch *ἃ διὰ* als *ἴδια* gelesen haben > *τά* — *ἔπραξεν* mit D* G > *πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν.*

17 Tert. (V, 12): „‚*Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia.*‘ “ Im Dial. II, 16: *εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ* („*si qua in Christo*“ Rufin), *καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά.* Die lateinische Fassung bei Tert. ist originell — *τὰ πάντα* mit Dbc KLP und einigen Vätern (und an dieser Stelle) > fehlt (*τὰ πάντα* vor *καινά* in Minuskeln und bei mehreren Vätern).

[VI, 14 f. Dial. III, 4: Wort des Bardesaniten Marinus]. Adv. Marc. III, 8: „*negatam ab apostolo lucis, i. e. veritatis, et fallaciae, i. e. tenebrarum, communionem*“.

VII, 1 Tert. (V, 12): „*si etiam iubet, ut ‚mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis‘ substantiam † capere regnum dei*“. Der Text hat augenscheinlich eine Lücke; Zahns Ausfüllung durch I Kor. 15, 50 als Teil

παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ eng mit dem vorigen Zitat; aber alles Übergangene hat gewiß nicht gefehlt; denn aus c. X ist erhalten 18 οὐχ ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστῶν δόκιμός ἐστιν.

Aus c. XI ist bezeugt (außer v. 2, s. u.) 13 ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι. 14 ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός.

Aus c. XII sind bezeugt Teile von 2. 4. 7—9 παράδεισον ... ἄνθρωπον ἁρπαγέντα ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ .... καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα

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des Textes Marcions hier ist nicht überzeugend, auch die Kroymanns nicht, s. zu c. 11, 2 — αἵματος selbständig und tendenziös > πνεύματος.

XI, 2 Tert. (V, 12) — unmittelbar an den vorigen Satz angeschlossen —: „*si et ‚virginem sanctam‘ destinat ecclesiam ‚adsignare Christo‘, utique ut sponsam sponso*“ etc. Da VII, 1 und XI, 2 als Parallelsätze geordnet sind und auch sachlich eine Verbindung besteht, so haben Zahn und a. geschlossen, M. habe alles zwischen VII, 1 und XI, 2 Liegende gestrichen. Allein diese Annahme hat die größten Bedenken gegen sich; denn (1) überliefert Adamant. c. X, 18 (s. Dial. II, 2 [Rufin: „... *ille probatus est*“ > ἐστιν δόκιμος Dial. Graec.] — δόκιμός ἐστιν D d r vulg ℵ*. Das Fehlen von ἐκεῖνος ist sonst unbezeugt), und wenn ein Zweifel am Marcionitischen Ursprung dieses Zitats möglich ist, so ist (2) zu beachten, daß im Texte Tert.s sich gerade hier eine Lücke findet (s. o.), von der wir nicht wissen, wie groß sie war; es kann ein ganzes Blatt ausgefallen sein. (3) ist die Streichung von 4 ganzen Kapiteln bei M. nicht glaublich (bei Röm. 3, 31 bis 4, 25; 9, 1—33; 10, 5—11, 32; 15. 16 liegt es anders, s. dort), zumal in diesen Kapiteln vieles steht, was ihm besonders zusagen mußte. (4) Tert. hat die zweite größere Hälfte des II Kor. auch sonst sehr kurz behandelt; s. zu c. VI. XI. XII. XIII. (5) Eine Lücke von 73 Versen hätte Tert. als solche sicher angemerkt. Zu beachten ist auch, daß Ephraem (36. Lied gegen die Ketzer c. 7) gegen M. höchstwahrscheinlich II Kor. 8, 9 (ἐπτώχευσε) anführt.

XI, 13 Tert. (V, 12): „*Si et, ‚pseudapostolos‘ dicit ‚operarios dolosos, transfiguratores sui.‘*“ Auch von Prophyrius (Nr. 26 meiner Ausgabe) auf die Urapostel bezogen. 14 Tert. (V, 12): „*Si ‚Satanas transfiguratur in angelum lucis.‘*“

XII. 2 Tert. (V, 12): „*De ‚paradiso‘ suus stilus est ... ‚hominem tollere ad caelum‘ creatoris exemplum est in Helia ... creatoris ‚angelum satanae colophizando apostolo suo adplicuisse et ter ab eo obsecratum non concessisse‘ ... ‚ut virtus in infirmitate comprobaretur‘*“. Adv. Marc. I, 14. 29 spielt Tert. auf v. 9 an. Esnik (Schmid S. 180): „Aber Paulus, sagen sie, wurde in den dritten Himmel entrückt, und er hörte (diese) unaussprechlichen Worte, (welche wir predigen). Aber siehe, Paulus sagt: „Was die Menschen nicht aussprechen dürfen“; s. auch S. 185, wo

ῥήματα, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι ... ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ, ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ ... τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα ... δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται.

Aus c. XIII sind bezeugt 1 *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.* 2 *οὗ φείσομαι τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν,* 3 *ἢ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ,* 4 *καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ.* 10 *παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν.*

In diesem Brief ist keine größere Auslassung bezeugt. Die großen Lücken, die Tert. in seiner kritischen Behandlung läßt, dürfen nicht als Ausmerzungen M.s in Anspruch genommen werden.

Προς Ῥωμαιους.

Aus c. I u. II: I, 13 *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα* fehlte. I, 16 *οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ Ἕλληνι,* 17 *δικαιο-*

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sich noch die Worte finden: „Er wurde ins Paradies entrückt", S. 186: „Und ich hörte unaussprechliche Worte, welche niemand aussprechen darf."

XIII, 1 Dial. II, 18 (Rufin: „*Ecce hoc tertio ... in ore enim duorum et*" ...) — „*ecce*" mit ℵc A vielen Minusk. vulg. Damas. Augustin — *γάρ* Rufin ohne Zeugen — *ἢ* mit ℵ vulg — obige Stellung von *μαρτύρων* nur minusc. a^{scr}. Tert. (V, 12): „‚*In tribus testibus*' *praefiniens* ‚*staturum omne verbum*' ".

XIII, 2 Tert. (V, 12): „*Quid et* ‚*non parsurum se peccatoribus*' *comminatur*". Daß Tert. ‚*peccatoribus*' schreibt (> *προημαρτηκόσιν*) ist vielleicht nicht zu urgieren.

3 Dial. V, 6. *ἢ* vulg. Orig. und anderen Vätern > *ἐπεί.*

4 Dial. V, 12 (Rufin ohne das 2. *καί*) — *εἰ* mit ℵc ADbc L vulg usw. > fehlt — *καί* secundum mit Orig., Hippol. und wenigen Vätern > fehlt.

10 Tert. (V, 12): „*immo et ipsam* ‚*durius agendi in praesentia potestatem a domino datam*' *sibi adfirmat*".

I Daß M. die Erwähnung Davids aus Röm. 1, 3 gestrichen hat, sagt Orig., Comm. X § 24 in Joh. — V. 16. 17 Tert. (V, 13): „‚*non enim me pudet evangelii; virtus enim dei est in salutem omni credenti, Judaeo et Graeco, quia iustitia dei in eo revelatur ex fide in fidem*' ". — *Ἰουδαίῳ* mit BGg > *Ἰουδ. τε πρῶτον.* Da Tert. 18 a unmittelbar an 17 a anschließt und wörtlich zitiert, muß *καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται* gefehlt haben.

σύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν. 18 ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων, I, 19—II, 1 waren sehr wahrscheinlich getilgt. II, 2 οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν. 12 ὅσοι ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται, 13 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. 14 Anspielung: τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν. 16 κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου Χριστοῦ. 20 b ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς

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18 „*quoniam* [*et*] ‚*iram*' *dicit* ‚*revelari de caelo super impietatem et iniustitiam hominum, qui veritatem* ⟨*in*⟩ *iniustitia detineant*' ". ὀργή mit minusc. 47 > ὀργὴ θεοῦ — ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν unbezeugt > ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν. — Da Tert. fortfährt (c. II, 2): „*etiam adiciens:* „ ‚*Scimus autem iudicium dei secundum veritatem esse*' ", und gleich darauf bemerkt: „*quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola Marcion fecerit auferendo quae voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate parebit; mihi sufficit, quae proinde eradenda non vidit quasi neglegentias et caecitates eius accipere*", so war bei ihm II, 2 unmittelbar mit I, 18 verbunden. Allerdings beschwert sich Orig. darüber, daß die Marcioniten „*ne extremo quidem digito*" die Schwierigkeiten berührt haben, die für ihre Lehre doppelt stark in Röm. 1, 24 ff. liegen, da sie doch eben um solcher Stellen willen (der strafende Gott) das AT verworfen haben (Comm. I, 8 in Rom., T. VI p. 55 f.). Allein man kann daraus nicht auch nur mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit schließen, daß M. die Stelle konserviert hat. Orig. mag das vorausgesetzt oder spätere Marcioniten mögen sie wieder rezipiert haben. *Ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας* (II, 2 b) braucht nicht gefehlt zu haben (gegen Zahn), da es sich gut zu I, 18 fügt.

II, 12. 13 Epiph. p. 118. 175.—13 *τοῦ νόμου* mit KLP, bez. Dc KL > *νόμου*.

14 Tert. (V, 13): S. zu v. 16.

16 Tert. (V, 13): „ ‚*iudicabit deus occulta hominum*', *tam eorum qui in lege deliquerunt, quam eorum qui sine lege, quia* ‚*et hi legem ignorant et natura faciunt quae sunt legis*' . . . *iudicabit autem quomodo?* ‚*Secundum evangelium*', *inquit*, ‚*per Christum*' ". Dial. II, 5: *κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Zu *κ. τ. εὐαγγ. μου* s. auch Dial. I, 6. Das an beiden Stellen vom Dial. gebotene *μου* muß Tert. übersehen haben; denn M. kann es nicht getilgt haben; dagegen wird *Χριστοῦ* (ohne *Ἰησοῦ*) richtig sein (so M. allein). Auch bei Orig. (Comm. in Joh. V S. 104; die Stelle ist oben zu Gal. 1, 7 abgedruckt) steht *μου* (und *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*).

20 b Epiph. p. 118. 176.

ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. 21 ff Anspielung: ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτεις. 24 Anspielung: δι' ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημεῖται. 25 περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσσῃς· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν. 26—29 Anspielungen: ἡ ἀκροβυστία... ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖος ... ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος ... περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ γράμματι.

Aus c. III u. IV nur Anspielungen auf III, 12 (im gefälschten Laod.-Brief v. 5): ποιῶν χρηστότητα, III, 19: πᾶν στόμα φραγῇ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος und III, 20: διὰ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας, ferner III, 21, welches sofort mit V, 1 verbunden war; es fehlten also III, 31—IV, 25; der Text lautete: Τότε νόμος, νυνὶ δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ· V, 1 δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ νόμου, εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

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21 ff. Tert. (V, 13): „*Vehitur in transgressores legis, docentes ‚non furari et furantes.‘* “

24 Tert. (V, 13): „*ut ingesserit propheticam increpationem: ‚Propter vos nomen dei blasphematur‘* “.

25 Epiph. p. 118. 176 wörtlich; die ersten 7 Worte ebenso Dial. II, 20. Orig., Comm. in Rom. z. d. St.: „*Marcion sane cui per allegoriam nihil placet intelligi, quomodo exponat quod dicit apostolus circumcisionem prodesse, omnino non inveniet.*“

26—29 Tert. (V, 13): „*Praefert et ‚circumcisionem cordis‘ praeputiationi ... ‚circumcisio cordis‘, non carnis, ‚spiritu non littera‘ ... eius erit spiritus circumcidens cor, cuius et littera metens carnem, eius et ‚Iudaeus, qui in occulto‘, cuius et ‚Iudaeus in aperto.‘* “

III, 19 Tert. (V, 13): „*Lex totum mundum deduxerat in reatum et omne os obstruxerat.*“ Es ist nicht statthaft (gegen Zahn), diese Anspielung auszuschließen. Für III, 20 darf man sich auf Orig., Comm. III, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 195 berufen, der gegen M. bemerkt, es stünde Röm. 3, 20 nicht: „*ex lege agnitio peccati*“, sondern „*per legem*“.

III, 21. 22 u. V, 1 der wahre Sachverhalt bei Tert. (V, 13) ist bisher noch nicht durchschaut worden. Er schreibt: „‚*Tunc lex, nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi*‘ “. Daß auch „*tunc lex*“ zum Text gehört, zeigt Tert., da er fortfährt: „*Quae est ista dictinctio? servivit deus tuus dispositioni creatoris ‚dans ei tempus et legi eius? an eius ‚tunc‘ cuius et ‚nunc‘? eius ‚lex‘, cuius et ‚fides Christi‘? distinctio dispositionum est, non deorum; ‚monet iustificatos ex fide Christi, non ex lege‘* (man sieht, wie eng der Zusammenhang ist und aus III, 21 (*χωρὶς νόμου*) ist *οὐκ ἐκ νόμου* in V, 1 aufgenommen und *Χριστοῦ* zu *πίστεως* gefügt) ‚*pacem ad deum habere.*‘ “ — III, 21 *τότε νόμος* ist Einschub M.s, ebenso gehört die Verschmelzung von III, 21 u. 22 ihm an — *πίστεως Χριστοῦ* mit B > *πιστ. Ἰ. Χρ.* — V, 1

Aus c. V ist weiter bezeugt 6 *ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν.* 8. *συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτὴν ἀγάπην ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτι ⟨ἔτι⟩ ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε,* 9 *πολλῷ μᾶλλον, δικαιωθέντες ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, σωθησόμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς δι' αὐτοῦ.* 20 *νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα .... ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις,* 21 *ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν θάνατον, οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ζωὴν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Aus c. VI ist bezeugt: 1 f. *μὴ γένοιτο,* 3 *ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθητε εἰς Χριστόν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθητε.* 4. 5. s. unten. 9 *ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ἀναστὰς οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει· θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει·* 10 *ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανε, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ, ὃ δὲ ζῇ, ζῇ τῷ θεῷ.* 14 a *ἁμαρτία ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκέτι κυριεύσει.* 19 *ὥσπερ γὰρ παρε-*

(πίστεως) τοῦ Χριστοῦ selbständig — *ἔχωμεν* mit der Mehrzahl und den Lateinern > *ἔχομεν*, also bot schon M. jene sinnlose Lesart.

V, 6 Epiph. p. 118. 177 wörtlich.

8. 9 Dial. V, 12 (Rufin: „*deus caritatem*", „*ab ira per ipsum*") — *ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς* mit DGL d g Orig. Augustin > *εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός* — 9 *πολλῷ* mit D*d g Iren., Orig., Ambrosiaster > *πολλῷ οὖν* — *δι' αὐτοῦ* fehlt im Dial. im Griechischen; die Stellung nach *ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς* ist sonst nicht bezeugt.

20 Tert. (V, 13): „‚*Lex autem*', *inquit*, ‚*subintroivit, ut abundaret delictum*' *quare?* ‚*ut superabundaret*', *inquit*, ‚*gratia*'. Daraufhin wage ich nicht, mit Zahn als sicher anzunehmen, M. habe *ἵνα ὑπερπερισσεύσῃ ἡ χάρις* geschrieben. Die Worte *οὗ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία* überging Tert., also mußte er die Konstruktion verändern. Daß diese Stelle bei M. stand, bezeugt auch Orig. (Comm. V, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 368 f.). Er schreibt: „*Si quidem, antequam lex per Mosen daretur, nemo peccasset, volentes accusare legem ex his apostoli verbis Marcion et caeteri haeretici occasionem capere viderentur tamquam haec fuerit causa datae legis, ut peccatum, quod ante legem non fuerat, abundaret.*"

21 Tert. (V, 13): „‚*Ut quemadmodum regnaverat peccatum in mortem, ita et gratia regnaret in iustitia in vitam per Iesum Christum*'." — *εἰς τ. θάνατον* (> das allg. bezeugte *ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ*) ist nicht sicher — *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* sonst unbezeugt > *διὰ δικαιοσύνης* (auch nicht sicher) — *αἰώνιον*, welches hier nach *ζωήν* fehlt, ist sonst durchweg bezeugt.

VI, 1 f. Das „absit" (Tert. I, 27) kann nur aus dieser Stelle stammen; also haben v. 1 u. 2 im Text gestanden.

3. 9. 10. 14 a. 19. 20. Alle diese Zitate stammen aus den Dialogen (V, 12; V, 11 [v. 9]; V, 12 [v. 9. 10]; I, 27 [v. 14 a]; III, 7; I, 27). Sie sind an sich nicht sicher marcionitisch; aber einige Lesarten legen diesen Ursprung nahe. — 3 *ἐβαπτίσθητε* singulär; da aber Rufin mit allen Zeugen

στήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δουλεύειν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀκαρθασίᾳ εἰς ἀνομίαν, οὕτω νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη τῷ θεῷ δουλεύειν ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. 20 *ὅτε δὲ ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.*

Aus c. VII ist bezeugt 4 *ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . . τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι.* 5 *ὅτε γὰρ ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο ἐν ἡμῖν.* 7 *τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὅτι νόμος ἁμαρτία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐ γιγνώσκω εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμον.* 8 Anspielung (kombiniert mit 11): *ἁμαρτία ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξεπάτησεν.*

ἐβαπτίσθημεν liest, so ist jene LA nicht sicher — *Χριστόν* mit B Minuskeln Orig. > *Χρ. Ἰησοῦν* — 9 zweimal zitiert, beidemal *ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ἀναστάς* (so auch Rufin: „*surgens a mortuis*" bez. „*resurrexit a mortuis*") > *εἰδότες ὅτι Χριστ'ς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν*, selbständig; jene LA ist marcionitisch, s. z. Gal. 1, 1 — 14 a (nur Rufin) *ἐν ἡμῖν* ohne Zeugen > *ὑμῶν* — *οὐκέτι* mit ℵ*KOrig. > *οὐ* — 19 (*γάρ* durch Rufin bezeugt — „*servire*" beide Male Rufin > *δοῦλα* des griech. Texts — „*ita nunc*" Rufin >*οὕτω* des griech. Texts — *ὑμῶν* secundum fehlt im griech. Text — „*in iustitia*" Rufin > *τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ* griechischer Text): *δουλεύειν* mit Gdg vulg Orig., Ambrosiaster > *δοῦλα* — *τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ* sonst unbezeugt > *τῇ ἀκαρθ. κ. τ. ἀνομία* — *τῷ θεῷ δουλεύειν ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ* sonst unbezeugt > *δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ*. Jene LA ist marcionitisch; nicht „der Gerechtigkeit" soll man sich in den Dienst stellen, sondern Gott — 20 *δέ* (fehlt im Griech.), sonst unbezeugt > *γάρ* — *ἦτε δοῦλοι* mit L > *δοῦλοι ἦτε*. — Der armenisch erhaltene antimarcionitische Syrer (s. über ihn in Beilage VI) zitiert v. 5 als in M.s Apostolos stehend, aber in bezug auf den Wortlaut des Textes („Denn wenn wir Zusammengepflanzte für den Tod unsres Herrn geworden sind, so gleicherweise auch für seine Auferstehung"), hat man, außer für *σύμφυτοι*, keine Sicherheit. Aus Hieron., c. Joh. Hierosol. 36 folgt, daß v. 4 bei M. erhalten war.

VII, 4 Tert. (V, 13): „‚*Mortuos nos*' *inquit* ‚*legi* ⟨*per corpus* ‚*Christi*'⟩; *ergo corpus Christi est . . . eius nominat corpus, quem subicit ex mortuis resurrexisse*" (Kroymanns Einschiebung ist notwendig).

5 Dial. V, 22. Da das Zitat mit einem Zitat aus Röm. 8, 9 verbunden ist, bietet hier der Dial. die 2. Person für die 1.; ich habe das korrigiert. Rufin richtig *διὰ τοῦ νόμου*, der griech. Text fehlerhaft *διὰ τῆς σαρκός* — *ἐν ἡμῖν* sonst unbezeugt > *ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν*.

7 Tert. (V, 13): „‚*Quid ergo dicemus, quia lex peccatum? absit . . . sed ego delictum non scio nisi per legem*'." — *ἀλλ' ἐγώ* sonst unbezeugt > *ἀλλά* — *ὅτι* mit einigen Minuskeln > fehlt — *γιγνώσκω* sonst unbezeugt > *ἔγνω*.

8 (11) Tert. (V, 13): „*Non ergo lex seduxit, sed peccatum per praecepti occasionem*".

12 *ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή.* 13 *ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον.* 14 a *ὁ νόμος πνευματικός.* 18 bezeugt. 23 Anspielung: *(ἕτερον) νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου.* 24 *ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος· τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου;* 25 b *ἄρα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῖ δουλεύω τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας.*

Aus c. VIII ist bezeugt 1 *οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.* 2 *ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.* 3 Anspielung: *(τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν) πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας.* 4 *ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν ⟨τοῖς⟩ μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα·* 5 *οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος·* 6 *τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ⟨θάνατος⟩, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ*

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12 Epiph. p. 118. 177. Dial. II, 20 wörtlich. Tert. (V, 13): „Lex *sancta et praeceptum eius iustum et bonum*“ (die Abkürzungen von *ἅγιος* und *αὐτός* sind vom Übersetzer wahrscheinlich verwechselt).

13 Dial. II, 20 wörtlich.

14 Tert. (V, 13): „ ‚*spiritalem*‘ *confirmat* ‚*legem*‘ “ — 18 Daß die Marcioniten diesen Spruch, daß im Fleische nichts Gutes wohnt, für ihre Lehre verwendet haben, sagt Clemens, Strom. III, 11, 76.

23 Tert. (V, 14): „ ‚*legem peccati habitantem in membris suis et adversantem legi sensus*‘.“

24 Dial. V, 21 wörtlich. Die Bezeichnung M.'s für seine Glaubensgenossen ‚*συνταλαίπωροι*‘ stammt wohl aus dieser Stelle.

25 b Dial. V, 27 wörtlich; *ἄρα γάρ* fehlt bei Rufin; sonst unbezeugt > *ἄρα οὖν* — *τῷ μὲν νοῖ* mit der Mehrzahl > *τῷ νοῖ* ℵ*G d f e g Orig. Ambrosiaster — *τοῦ θεοῦ* sonst unbezeugt > *θεοῦ*..

VIII, 1. 2 Dial. V, 27 — *ἡμᾶς* mit cop aeth ar^{e} > *με (σε)*.

3 Tert. (V, 14): „*Hunc si pater misit* ‚*in similitudinem carnis peccati*‘ “ (gleich darauf noch einmal). „*pater*“ sonst unbezeugt > *ὁ θεός*, aber Tert. referiert hier nur; ich wage daher nicht *ὁ πατήρ* aufzunehmen.

4 a Epiph. p. 118. 177. 4—6 Dial. V, 22 — 5 *περιπατοῦντες* sonst unbezeugt > *ὄντες* — 6 Der Text bietet nach *σαρκός* die Worte *ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν* für *θάνατος* sie stammen aus dem nächsten Vers; wohl nur durch ein Versehen sind sie vorweggenommen. Esnik zitiert v. 5 u. 9 (ob aus M.'s Text?).

9 Dial. V, 22 (zweimal; das zweite Mal *νῦν* für *ὑμεῖς*, sonst unbezeugt, aber beizubehalten, vgl. *τότε* in 3, 21). Tert. (V, 14): „. . . . *nolit esse nos in carne, cum simus in carne.*“

εἰρήνη. 9 *νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι.* 10 *τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην.* 11 *ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν.* 19—22 gestrichen. (36 *ἑνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν).* Große Lücke, sehr wahrscheinlich das ganze IX. Kapitel umfassend.

Aus c. X ist bezeugt (nach einer Anspielung auf 1 *'Ισραήλ)* 2 *μαρτυρῶ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν,* 3 *θεὸν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην στῆσαι ζητοῦντες, οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ.* 4 *τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι.* In bezug auf diesen Spruch hat M. den Apostel XI, 33 ausrufen lassen; es fehlte also alles Dazwischenliegende.

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10 Tert. (V, 14): „*,corpus quidem mortuum propter delictum, spiritus autem vita propter iustitiam'.*"

11 Tert. (V, 14): „*,qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra'.*" — *ἐκ νεκρῶν* nach *Χριστόν* mit ℵcBDGK vulg. Orig. Iren. > *ἐκ νεκρῶν* nach *ἐγείρας* — *(τὸν) Χριστὸν* mit ℵcDcGLP-Valentin und Vätern > *Χριστὸν 'Ιησοῦν.*

19—22 gestrichen; denn Orig. schreibt Hom. I, 7 in Ezech., T. XIV, p. 20 f.: „*Nam ,exspectatio creaturae revelationem filiorum dei exspectat'. et licet nolint ii, qui scripturas apostolicas interpolaverunt, iustiusmodi sermones inesse libris eorum, quibus possit creator Christus approbari, exspectat tamen omnis creatura*" *etc.*

36 Dial. I, 21. Es ist nicht sicher, daß diese Worte aus M.s Bibel geschöpft sind.

Kein Zitat aus c. 9 bei Tert., Epiph., Adamant.; Tert. (V, 14) aber schreibt hier: „*Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisae scripturae, sed adprehendo* (X, 1—4) *,testimonium perhibentem' apostolum Israeli, ,quod zelum dei habeant', sui utique, ,non tamen per scientiam'; ,deum' enim ,inquit, ,ignorantes et suam iustitiam sistere quaerentes non subiecerunt se iustitiae dei; finis etenim legis Christus in iustitiam omni credenti'.*" — Nicht nur die Wortstellung ist X, 3 abweichend von der überlieferten, sondern auch singulär ist *θεόν* (so auch im folgenden „*inscitia erga deum, ignorantia erga deum*") > *τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην* — 4 auch Epiph. p. 118. 178. Das „*Israeli*" Tert.s zeigt, daß M. v. 1 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ 'Ισραήλ* mit KL und antioch. Vätern > *ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν* gelesen hat.

Keine Zitate aus X, 5—XI, 32 bei Adamant. u. Epiph. Der Spruch XI, 33 paßte im Sinne M.s trefflich zu X, 4, was Tert. freilich nicht einzusehen vermag und sich wundert. Den ausgelassenen Abschnitt hat M. aus dogmatischen Gründen tilgen müssen.

XI, 33 Tert. (V, 14): „*Atquin exclamat: ,O profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei, et investigabiles* (nicht zu korrigieren!) *viae eius'! unde ista* (Mss. *,irae'*) *eruptio? ex recordatione scilicet scripturarum, quas retro revol-*

Aus c. XI: 33 *ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας θεοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ*, 34 *τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;*

Aus c. XII 9 *ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ*, 10 *τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι*, 12 *τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες*, 14 *εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε*, 16 *μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι, μὴ γίνεσθε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι*, 17 *κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ μηδενὶ ἀποδιδόντες*, 19 *μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐκδίκησις κἀγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος*, 18 *εἰρηνεύοντες μετὰ πάντων (ἀνθρώπων)*.

Aus c. XIII ist bezeugt 8 b *ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον νόμον πεπλήρωκε*. 9 *τὸ γὰρ οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις καὶ εἴ τις*

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verat, ex contemplatione sacramentorum, quae supra disseruerat in fidem Christi ex lege venientem. haec si Marcion de industria erasit, quid apostolus eius exclamat, nullas intuens divitias dei, tam pauperi et egeni'." Gleich darauf noch einmal: „ ‚O *profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei*'." Dann: XI, 34 f.: „ ‚*quis enim cognovit sensum domini aut quis consiliarius* ⟨*eius*⟩ *fuit? quis porrexit ei et retribuetur illi*'." Hierauf: „*qui tanta de scripturis ademisti, quid ista* (XI, 34. 35) *servasti, quasi non et haec creatoris*'?" (weil aus Jesajas) — 33 die Worte *καὶ γνώσεως* und *ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ* sind absichtlich getilgt — 35 *ἢ τίς* ist die sonst bezeugte Lesart. Adv. Marc. II, 2 zitiert Tert. Röm. 11, 33 f. nach dem katholischen Text.

XII, 9. 10. 12 14. 16. 17. 18. 19 Tert. (V, 14): „ ‚*Odio*', *inquit*, ‚*habentes malum et bono adhaerentes*' " 10 „ ‚*amore fraternitatis invicem adfectuosi*' " 12 „ ‚*spe gaudentes*', *pressuram sustinentes*, " 14 „ ‚*benedicte et nolite maledicere*' " (dies auch in einer Antithese M.s bei Orig., hom. XV, 3 in Num. 23, 8, T. X p. 174) 16 „ ‚*non altum sapientes, sed humilibus adsectantes; ne sitis apud vos sapientes*' " 17 „ ‚*malum pro malo nemini retribueritis*' " 19 „ ‚*nec vosmet ipsos ulciscentes; mihi enim vindictam et ego vindicabo, dicit dominus*' " 18 „ ‚*pacem cum omnibus* (ob auch *hominibus?*) *habetote*'." M. hat also v. 18 und 19 umgestellt, was logisch ist und sicher *γέγραπται* (v. 19), wahrscheinlich *ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ* ausgelassen (tendenziös). Über die anderen Auslassungen läßt sich nicht urteilen. Die etwas verschiedene Wortstellung und ein paar Kleinigkeiten mögen auf Rechnung Tert.s kommen, der die Abschrift des Textes mehrmals unterbricht. — 19 *κἀγώ* mit Cypr., Ambrosiaster (Tert. selbst adv. Marc. IV, 16) > *ἐγώ*.

XIII, 8 b Epiph. p. 118. 178.

XIII, 9, 10 Dial. II, 17 (Rufin läßt *ἐν* aus). Die Wortstellung *οὐ φον.*, *οὐ μοιχ.* ist sonst unbezeugt und nach dem Dekalog gemacht; *οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* fehlt mit Clem. Alex. und Orig. — *ἐν τούτῳ τ. λόγῳ* mit ALP d

ἑτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· 10 *ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται. πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.*

Aus XIV eine Anspielung zu 10 *τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 21 *καλὸν τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα μηδὲ πιεῖν οἶνον μηδὲ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀδελφός σου προσκόπτει.* 23 *πᾶν δὲ ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν.* Damit hat der Brief nach Marcion geschlossen; es folgte der Gruß: *Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ἁγίων.*

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vulg Clem. Alex. > *ἐν τ. λόγῳ τούτῳ*. Tert. (V, 14): „*Merito itaque totam creatoris disciplinam principali praecepto eius conclusit: ‚Diliges proximum tamquam te. hoc legis supplementum‘.*“

XIV, 2 durch Esnik S. 198 bezeugt (aber ob aus M.s Text?). Vers 10 Tert. (V, 14): „*Bene autem quod in clausula tribunal Christi comminatur*“ (*Christi* mit ℵcCLPPolykarp usw. > *τοῦ θεοῦ* mit der großen Mehrzahl und DG d g). Also hat nach Tert. nur noch weniges in dem Briefe gestanden. Dies bezeugt aber auch Origenes ausdrücklich (Comm. in Rom. nach Anführung von 16, 25 ff.): „*Caput hoc Marcion, a quo scripturae evangelicae atque apostolicae interpolatae sunt, de hac epistula penitus abstulit, et non solum hoc, sed et ab eo loco, ubi scriptum et: ‚Omne autem quod non ex fide, peccatum est‘, usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit. in aliis vero exemplaribus, i. e. in his, quae non sunt a Marcione temerata, hoc ipsum caput* (Röm. 16, 25—27) *diverse positum invenimus*“ *usw.* Also schloß der Brief mit 14, 23. Der Versuch Zahns, die Worte des Origenes anders zu deuten (er will u. a. „*dissecuit*“ als „zerschneiden“ verstehen, als könne es nicht gut lateinisch „abschneiden“ bedeuten), sind gescheitert. Der Schluß ist auch keine Geschmacklosigkeit („die man Marcion nicht zutrauen kann“; so Zahn, Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons II S. 521), wenn eine kurze Grußformel folgte. Eine solche wird m. E. durch die Worte des Orig. nicht ausgeschlossen, und wirklich hat de Bruyne („*La finale Marcionite de la lettre aux Rom. retrouvée*“, Rev. Bénéd. 1911 p. 133 ff., vgl. l. c. 1921 Oktob.) wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß aus einer fragmentarisch erhaltenen Handschrift von Monza sich der Marcionitische Schluß des Briefs noch ermitteln läßt: „*Gratia cum omnibus sanctis*“ (in der Handschrift ist „*bus*“ erhalten). Da dieser Gruß an alle Christen geht, so kann man mit Recht mit de Bruyne fragen, ob die Unterdrückung der Adresse „Rom“ in 1, 7. 15 in einigen Mss. nicht letztlich auf M. (oder schon auf eine Rezension vor M.?) zurückgeht. Zur Textgeschichte von Röm. 15.16 s. Corssen (Ztschr. f. NTliche Wissensch. X S. 1 ff. 97 ff.); er hat u. a. wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß auch in dem altlateinischen Texte, wie er durch DG repräsentiert ist, diese Capp. ursprünglich gefehlt haben. C. 16, 25—27 hat M. nicht gelesen (auch Iren., Tert., Cypr. bezeugen sie nicht). Näheres s. unten. Die Verse sind unecht, aber sehr alt und Marcionitisch.

Aus diesem Briefe hatte M. nachweisbar 1, 17 b; 1, 19—2, 1; 3, 31—4, 25; 9, 1—33 (sehr wahrscheinlich); 10, 5—11, 32; 15 u. 16 gestrichen bez. nicht geboten, also rund sechs Kapitel.

Προς Θεσσαλονικεις Α.

Aus c. II ist bezeugt: 14. *ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ταὐτὰ ἐπάθετε ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, 15 a *τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον ἀποκτεινάντων (Ἰησοῦν) καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας.*

Aus c. IV ist bezeugt 3 *τοῦτο . . . θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ὑμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας*, 4 *εἰδέναι ἕνα ἕκαστον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν τιμῇ*, 5 Anspielung: *μὴ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καθά-*

Ich habe das in den Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akademie 1919 S. 572 ff. dargetan, s. auch Lietzmann, Römerbrief 2. Aufl. S. 124 f. Näheres s. unten. Zahn (a. a. O. S. 428 ff.) nimmt an, daß sich auch noch später Marcioniten auf diese Verse berufen haben, und begründet das mit der Ausführung des Origenes (nach Hieron.) zu Eph. 3, 5, die sich gegen Häretiker richtet, welche diese Stelle für sich verwerteten; allein daß diese Häretiker Marcioniten waren, ist mindestens nicht sicher. — C. 14, 21 bezeugt Esnik (Schmid S. 197): „Aber sie sagen, daß der Apostel sagt: ‚Besser ist es, nicht Fleisch zu essen und nicht Wein zu trinken und nicht etwas (zu tun), woran mein Bruder Ärgernis nimmt'." Ein anderer Text als der überlieferte ist nicht anzunehmen; doch ist es unsicher, ob hier M.s Text vorliegt.

Epiph. p. 178: *Τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς ⟨α'⟩, πέμπτης ἐπιστολῆς — οὕτω γὰρ κεῖται ἐν τῷ Μαρκίωνι — ὀγδόης δὲ οὔσης παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, τὰ πάντα τοῦ Μαρκίωνος διαστραμμένως ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοντος οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς παρεθέμεθα*, und *Τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δευτέρας, ἕκτης [δὲ] κειμένης παρὰ τῷ Μαρκίωνι, ἑνάτης δὲ οὔσης παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὁμοίως διαστραφείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μαρκίωνος, πάλιν οὐδὲν ἐξεθέμεθα.* Epiphanius hatte sich, als er vor Jahren die Auszüge aus den Paulusbriefen machte, nichts aus diesen Briefen angemerkt und deutete dies, den Tatbestand vergessend, nun so, als seien die Briefe hoffnungslos verfälscht und verkehrt.

II, 14. 15 Dial. V, 12 (aber Rufin bietet den Text nur bis *ἀποκτεινάντων*; auch hat nur er *καὶ ὑμεῖς*). Tert. (V, 15): „‚*Occiderant Iudaei prophetas suos*'; sodann „*qui et dominum interfecerunt*', *dicendo* ‚*et prophetas suos*', *licet* ‚*suos*' *adiectio sit haeretici.*" Nach Tert. lautete der Text *καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας* (mit D^{bc}KL und einigen Vätern) > *τ. προφ.* — 15 *τὸν κύριον* mit Minuskeln, Orig., Chrysost. > *τ. κυρ. Ἰησοῦν.* Sicher ist es nicht, daß Dial. V, 12 sein Zitat aus M.s Bibel genommen hat.

IV, 3—5 Tert. (V, 15): „*Quam autem* ‚*sanctitatem nostram voluntatem dei*' *dicat, ex contrariis quae prohibet, agnoscere est*: ‚*abstinere*' *enim, in-*

περ τὰ ἔθνη. 15 Anspielung: οἱ παραλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου (oder τοῦ Χριστοῦ). 16 b οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτοι. 17 Stücke: οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα. Wahrscheinlich sind die Verse 16. 17 noch umfassender bezeugt; s. darüber unten.

Aus c. V ist bezeugt 19 τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, 20 προφητείας

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quit, ‚a stupro, scire unumquemque vas suum in honore tractare .... non in libidine, qua gentes‘ — 4 ἕνα ἕκαστον mit B^3D^bChrysost. > ἕκαστον — Durchweg ist sonst ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ bezeugt (Tert. läßt aber auch wenige Zeilen später ἐν ἁγιασμῷ aus: „*quae vas nostrum in honore matrimonii tractet*“). Das Wort ἁγιασμός war ihm wohl in diesem Falle zu kostbar.

IV, 15—17 Tert. (V, 15): „*Ait eos ‚qui remaneant in adventum Christi cum eis, qui mortui in Christo primi resurgent‘* (cf. V, 20: „*‚in adventu domini ... qui primi resurgent‘* “), *‚quod in nubibus auferentur in aërem obviam domino‘* “ (V, 20: „*‚cum illis‘, dicit, ‚simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam domino‘* “) — „*in adventum Christi*“ (bez. „*domini*“) ist aus v. 15 herübergenommen — πρῶτοι mit D*G itala vulg. > πρῶτον — aus dem dramatischen Vers 16 a bringt Tert. nichts. Dagegen bietet Dial. I, 25 die Verse 16. 17 vollständig: ἐν κελεύσματι θεοῦ, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι καταβήσεται κύριος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται πρῶτοι, 17 ἔπειτα καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ (Rufin: „*In iussu dei, in voce archangeli, in novissima tuba descendet de coelis, et mortui resurgunt (resurgent) primi, 17 deinde nos qui vivimus, qui reliqui sumus in adventu eius, simul cum ipsis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aëra*“). Im griech. Text ist κύριος zugesetzt und οἱ ζῶντες aus Versehen ausgefallen; οὐρανῶν ist > das sonst durchweg bezeugte οὐρανοῦ beizubehalten, ebenso das sonst unbezeugte καὶ vor ἡμεῖς und am Schluß Χριστοῦ > αὐτοῦ. Es ist nicht absolut sicher, daß dieses Zitat aus M.s Bibel stammt; aber da es mit dem Text Tert.s sowohl πρῶτοι als auch die Herübernahme von εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν aus v. 15 in v. 17 gemeinsam hat, so ist der Marcionitische Ursprung sehr wahrscheinlich. Dazu kommen eigentümliche Lesarten: θεοῦ ist von σάλπιγγι zu κελεύσματι gezogen (das scheint nicht unabsichtlich zu sein), ἐσχάτῃ ist hinzugesetzt, ἐν Χριστῷ nach οἱ νεκροί fehlt (auch das wird nicht unabsichtlich sein; M. dachte an die allgemeine Auferstehung), ferner ἐγερθήσονται mit wenigen Vätern > ἀναστήσονται, sodann καὶ ἡμεῖς, und endlich τοῦ Χριστοῦ (τῷ Χριστῷ) am Schluß mit D G d g vulg. Orig. > τ. κυρίου (τ. κυρίῳ).

V, 19. 20 Tert. (V, 15): „*Quem ‚spiritum‘ prohibet ‚extingui‘, et quas ‚prophetias‘ vetat ‚nihil haberi?‘* “.

μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε. 23 *τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη.* 26 *ἀσπάσασθε πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.*

In diesem Brief sind größere Streichungen nicht nachweisbar.

Προς Θεσσαλονικεις Β.

Aus c. I ist bezeugt aus 6—9 *εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ κυρίῳ ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν,* 7 *καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν (μεθ' ἡμῶν) ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ,* 8 *ἐρχομένου εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ,* 9 *οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν ὀλέθριον αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.*

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23 Tert. (V, 15): „*Quomodo apostolus omnes in nobis substantias certis nominibus distinxit, et omnes in uno voto constituit salutis, optans, ut ‚spiritus noster et corpus et anima sine querela in adventu domini et salutificatoris nostri Christi conserventur*?‘“ — *ὁλόκληρον* tendenziös getilgt — *καὶ σωτῆρος* ist sonst unbezeugter Zusatz. — *Χριστοῦ* allein > *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

26 So der gefälschte Laod.-Brief 17; aber der Vers ist dort nicht sicher ursprünglich.

I, 6—9 Tert. (V, 16): „*Dominum et hic retributorem utriusque meriti dicimus circumferri ab apostolo, . . . ‚apud quem iustum sit adflictatoribus nostris rependi adflictationem et nobis, qui adflictemur, requietem in revelatione domini Iesu venientis a caelo cum angelis virtutis suae et in flamma ignis‘. sed flammam et ignem delendo haereticus extinxit. lucet tamen vanitas liturae, cum enim ‚ad ultionem‘ venturam scribat apostolus ‚dominum exigendam de eis, qui deum ignorent et qui non obaudiant evangelio‘, ‚quos‘ ait ‚poenam luituros exitialem aeternam a facie domini et a gloria valentiae eius‘*“ (die letzten 8 Worte gleich darauf noch einmal). Zu 6. 7: Dial. II, 5: *εἴπερ, φησί, δίκαιον παρὰ κυρίου ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν* (Ruf: „‚*apud deum*‘“ und so ist zu lesen). In der Wiederholung II, 6 derselbe Satz, aber *παρὰ θεῷ δίκαιον ἀνταποδοῦναι.* Obwohl die erste Fassung dem Adamant., die zweite dem Marcioniten in den Mund gelegt ist, entfernt sich jene durch *παρὰ κυρίου* und *ἀποδοῦναι* vom üblichen Text. Dem Redaktor scheint hier ein Versehen passiert zu sein; auch Tert. hat *κύριος,* nicht *θεός,* gelesen. Die Lesart ist sonst unbezeugt, ebenso *ἀποδοῦναι* — 7 *μεθ' ἡμῶν* fehlt bei allen drei Zeugen, aber konnte nicht wohl von ihnen aufgenommen werden. — 8 *ἐρχομένου εἰς* sonst unbezeugt > *διδόντος.* Die Auslassung der Feuerflamme und die Ersetzung des *διδόντος* durch *ἐρχομένου* sind tendenziös. — *εὐαγγελίῳ*: ob *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ* wirklich gefehlt hat? — 9 *ὀλέθριον* mit A, ein paar Minuskeln und wenigen Vätern, wahrscheinlich auch die Iren. und andere lat. Zeugen > *ὄλεθρον.*

Aus c. II ist bezeugt 3 *ἐὰν μὴ . . . . ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,* 4 *ὁ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν καὶ πᾶν σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι (θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον?).* 9 *(οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν) τοῦ Σατανᾶ. . . . ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους.* 10 *ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι αὐτούς,* 11 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔσται αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης,* 12 *ἵνα κριθῶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀλλὰ εὐδοκήσαντες τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.*

Aus c. III ist bezeugt 10 *(τοῦτο) παραγγέλλομεν (ὑμῖν ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει), ‚ἐργάζεσθαι' (μηδὲ) ‚ἐσθιέτω.'* — Auch in diesem Brief sind größere Streichungen nicht nachweisbar.

Προς Λαοδικεας.

Aus c. I ist bezeugt aus 6 *ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ,* 7 *ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.* 9

II, 3. 4 Tert. (V, 16): „*Quis autem est ‚homo delicti, filius perditionis'*, *quem ‚revelari' prius oportet ante domini adventum, ‚extollens se super omne quod deus dicitur et omnem religionem, consessurus in templo dei et deum se iactaturus ?'* " — 4 *καὶ πᾶν* unsicher (sonst unbezeugt) — Die letzten Worte sind schwerlich eine Übersetzung von *ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν θεός*, die ja auch mißverstanden werden konnten; vielleicht *θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον*. Ob *ὁ ἀντικείμενος* durch Zufall ausgefallen ist ?

9 Tert. (V, 16): „*quaero cur veniat ‚in omni virtute et signis et ostentis mendacii'* ". Daß der Satan nicht von M. ausgemerzt war, folgt aus den Worten: „*quale est, ut illi ‚Satanas' sit necessarius*", wenige Zeilen später.

10—12 Tert. (V, 16): „ ‚*Propterea'*, *inquit, ‚quod dilectionem veritatis non susceperint, ut salvi essent, et propter hoc erit eis ⟨in⟩ instinctum fallaciae, ut iudicentur omnes, qui non crediderunt veritati, sed consenserunt iniquitati'*." 11 M. wollte nicht schreiben *πέμπει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ψεύδει* und veränderte den Text deshalb („*in instinctum*" mit Recht Kroymann ; doch wäre *instinctum* vulgär = *instinctus* auch möglich).

III, 10 Tert. (V, 16): „ ‚*Iubere operari eum qui velit manducare.*' " Die positive Fassung gehört wohl Tert. an.

Laod. Tert. (V, 17): „*Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion et titulum aliquando interpolare gestit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam.*" V, 11: „*Praetereo hic de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos.*" Epiphanius c. 9 p. 105 (in der Aufzählung der Briefe: *ἑβδόμη πρὸς Ἐφεσίους . . . ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῆς*

κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν, ἣν προέθετο ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ 10 *εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα εἰς τὸν Χριστόν, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,* 12 *εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης, τοὺς προηλπικότας εἰς τὸν Χριστόν,* 13 *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν ᾧ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ.*

πρὸς Λαοδικέας λεγομένης μέρη(!). p. 182: *προσέθετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ Ἀποστολικῷ καλουμένῳ καὶ τῆς καλουμένης πρὸς Λαοδικέας.* Es folgt aber Ephes. 4, 4 als Vers aus dem Laodicenerbrief; daß er wie dort lautet, bemerkt Epiph. selbst. Dazu p. 183: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλης περισσῆς πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις ⟨ἐλέγχεται τῆς⟩ ἐκτὸς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου· οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ Μαρκίωνι ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικέας, τῆς μὴ οὔσης ἐν τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ.* Im Dial. II, 18. 19 wird der Brief an die Epheser unter diesem Namen zitiert. In einem Cod. Casin. (Bibl. Casinensis I, 2 S. 290) liest man: „*Sciendum sane, quia haec epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios scriptam habemus, haeretici et maxime Marcionistae ad Laudicenses attitulant*".

I, 6. 7 Dial. V, 12 — *υἱῷ αὐτοῦ* mit D*G d g vulg, lat. Väter > fehlt; Orig.: *ἠγαπημένος ἁπλῶς λέγεται ὁ σωτήρ*, Hieron.: „*Nec putandum, quod in Latinis codicibus habetur scriptum esse ‚in dilecto filio suo', sed simpliciter ‚in dilecto'*". Ob das Zitat aus M.s Bibel, ist nicht ganz sicher.

9. 10 Tert. (V, 17): „*Cui ergo competet ‚secundum boni existimationem, quam proposuerit in sacramento voluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum'* — *ut ita dixerim, sicut verbum illud in Graeco sonat* — *‚recapitulare'* (*id est ad initium redigere vel ab initio recensere*) *‚omnia in Christum, quae in caelis et quae in terris'*." (Im folgenden „*omnia ad initium recensentur in Christo*", dann „*ad recensenda omnia in Christo,*", dann „*recenseri in Christum alium,*", dann „*recenseantur in eum, a quo denique destruuntur*"; in V, 19: ... „*ipsum, in quo omnia recensentur ad initium revocata*") — 9 Die Einfügung der Worte *ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ* aus 9 a in 9 b für *ἐν αὐτῷ* kann auf Rechnung Tert.s kommen — *εὐδοκίαν* mit DG d g Victorin Hilar. > *εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ* — *εἰς τὸν Χριστόν* sonst unbezeugt > *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ* (bedeutungslos).

12 Tert. (V, 17): „*Cum dicit: ‚ut simus in laudem gloriae nos, qui praesperavimus in Christum'*" — *δόξης* mit DG d g floriac. > *δόξης αὐτοῦ* — *εἰς τὸν Χριστόν* > *ἐν τ. Χριστῷ* (bedeutungslos).

13 Tert. (V, 17): „‚*In quo et vos, cum audissetis sermonem veritatis, evangelium, in quo credidistis et signati estis spiritu promissionis eius sancto*'" — „*evangelium*" allein > allgemein *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν* — *ἐν ᾧ* secundum mit DG d g am Iren. Victorin > *ἐν ᾧ καί.*

17—22 a (aber ohne 21, s. Galat. 4, 24) Anspielungen: *ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης . . . πνεῦμα σοφίας*, 18 *πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας*. 19 *ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς κληρονομίας ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις*, 20 f. *ἐνήργηκεν ἐν Χριστῷ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ, ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ καθίσας αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ . . .* 22 *καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν.*

Aus c. II ist bezeugt 1 *ὑμᾶς ὄντας τοῖς παραπτώμασι νεκρούς*, 2 *ἐν οἷς περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπιστίας*, 3 *ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημεν, καὶ ἤμεθα φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί.* 10 *αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ.* 11 *μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη* (Tert., *ἐν σαρκὶ*), *οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου*, 12 *ὅτι ἦτε* (Tert., Dial. *ἐν*) *τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ*,

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17—20. 22: . . . „‚*pater gloriae*‘“ . . . „*ab illo ‚spiritus sapientiae‘ optatur*“ . . . . „*ille, dabit illuminatos cordis oculis*‘“ . . . „‚*apud illum sunt et ‚divitiae haereditatis in sanctis*‘“ . . . „*ille ‚inoperatus est in Christum valentiam suam suscitando eum a mortuis et collocando eum ad dexteram suam et subiciendo omnia*‘“. Möglich ist, daß M. etwas gekürzt hat, aber nicht zu beweisen. Fehlte *τῆς δόξης* nach *ὁ πλοῦτος*, fehlte *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* nach *ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ?* Über Ephes. 1, 21 s. oben zu Gal. 4, 24. Das Übergehen des Verses hier, nachdem er in den Galaterbrief aufgenommen, macht es wahrscheinlich, daß er nicht zweimal bei M. gestanden hat.

II, 1—3 Tert. (V, 17): „*Dicit illos ‚delictis mortuos,* [*non*] *in quibus ingressi erant secundum aevum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis aëris, qui operatur in filiis incredulitatis . . . in quibus et nos omnes conversati sumus . . . et iracundiae filii fuimus,‘ inquit, sed ‚natura‘*“ (gleich darauf noch einmal: „‚*fuimus natura filii iracundiae . . . sicut et ceteri*‘“). Wahrscheinlich unverändert, da Tert. stückweise den Text einflicht. Es braucht weder *καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν* (v. 1), noch *ποτε* (v. 2) noch *ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις* bis *διανοιῶν* (v. 3) gefehlt zu haben, vielleicht aber *τοῦ πνεύματος* und *νῦν* (v. 2) und *ποτε* (v. 3). Mit *ἀπιστίας* steht der Text allein > *ἀπειθείας* (eine der häufigsten Verwechselungen). Das erste *ποτε* fehlt in L.

10 Tert. (V, 17): „‚*Ipsius‘, inquit, ‚sumus factura, conditi in Christo*‘“ — *Χριστῷ* mit tol und anderen, Victorin > *Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. Derselbe Satz noch einmal: „‚*Ipsius enim factura sumus conditi in Christo.*‘“

11—15 Epiph. p. 119. 178 f.; die Verse 11—14 a wie oben in einem Zug. Im Dial. II, 18 die Verse 11—13 auch in einem Zug (11 *ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς*, Rufin: ‚*quia vos aliquando*‘, 12 *ἐν τῷ*, 13 fehlt *ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.* und statt *αὐτοῦ* steht *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*). Bei Tert. (V, 17) die vv. 11—15 mehrfach unter-

ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν (Tert. καὶ ἐπαγγ. αὐτῶν, καὶ auch Rufin), τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· 13 νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Tert. bietet Ἰησ. nicht, auch in folgenden nicht ποτε) ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτὲ ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. 14 αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη, ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἑν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τῆς ἔχθρας ἐν σαρκὶ λύσας, 15 τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν δόγμασιν καταργήσας, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην, 16 καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 17 καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην (ὑμῖν

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brochen: „*Memores vos, aliquando nationes in carne, qui appellamini praeputiatio ab ea quae dicitur circumcisio in carne manu facta,* 12 *quod essetis illo in tempore sine Christo, alienati a conversatione Israelis et peregrini testamentorum, et promissionis eorum spem non habentes et sine deo in mundo.* 13 *at nunc*‘, *inquit,* ‚*in Christo vos, qui eratis longe, facti estis prope in sanguine eius.* 14 *itaque ipse est*‘, *inquit,* ‚*pax nostra, qui fecit duo unum soluto medio pariete inimicitiae in carne,* 15 *legem praeceptorum sententiis vacuam fecit, ut duos conderet in semetipso in unum novum hominem, faciens pacem*‘ “. Ausdrücklich sagt Tert., daß M. „*sua*“ v. 14 nach „*carne*“ gestrichen hat („*Marcion abstulit* ‚*sua*‘ “; ‚*carne*‘ gehört nun zu inimicitiae), er hat aber auch „*in*“ vor „*sententiis*“ getilgt (15) und damit den *δόγματα* einen instrumentalen Sinn gegeben; die *δόγματα* sind nun die christlichen Glaubenslehren. Schon V, 11 hatte Tert. Ephes. 2, 12 zitiert: „*Ait enim meminisse nationes, quod illo in tempore, cum essent sine Christo, alieni ab Israele, sine conversatione et testamentis et spe promissionis, etiam sine deo dixit esse*“. — 11 *μνημον.* mit G d > *διὸ μνημον.* — das Fehlen von *ὅτι* vor *ὑμεῖς* ist sonst unbezeugt (belanglos) — *ὑμεῖς ποτε* mit ℵ c D b GKLP g Orig. > *ποτε ὑμεῖς* — das Fehlen von *ἐν σαρκί* (Epiph., Dial.) ist wohl eine spätere Marcionitische Korrektur — 13 *ἐν Χριστῷ* mit L Iren., Orig., Victorin > *ἐν Χρ. Ἰησοῦ* (das völlige Fehlen, wie im Dial., ist sonst unbezeugt) — das Fehlen von *ποτε* sonst unbezeugt — *αὐτοῦ* sonst unbezeugt > *τοῦ Χριστοῦ* — 14 f. *τῆς ἔχθρας* sonst unbezeugt (> *τοῦ φραγμοῦ*); de gewöhnliche Text: *τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν καταργήσας* — 15 *ἐν ἑαυτῷ* mit ℵcDGKL d g Lateinern > *ἐν αὐτῷ.*

16 Tert. (V, 17): „‚*ut reconciliet ambos duo in uno corpore*‘, *inquit,* ‚*cum interfecisset inimicitiam in eo per crucem*‘ “. — Die Stellung *τ. θεῷ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι* ist sonst unbezeugt, ebenso die Nachstellung von *διὰ τ. σταυροῦ* (sonst nach *τ. θεῷ*). — Von dem Mischzitat (Ephes. 2, 12. 16; Kol. 1, 21) Dial. V, 3 sehe ich ab.

17—20 Tert. (V, 17): „*Hoc itaque* ‚*adnuntiante pacem eis qui prope et eis qui longe,* 18 *accessum consecuti simul ad patrem* 19 *iam non sumus*

fehlt bei Tert. u. Dial. V, 28) *τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς*, 18 *ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι πρὸς τὸν πάτερα*, 19 . . . *οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων, ἀλλ' οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, 20 *ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὄντος ἀκρωγωνιαίου Χριστοῦ.*

Aus c. III ist bezeugt 8 *ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ (ἐλαχίστῳ?) πάντων ἁγίων* (hat vielleicht bei Tert. gefehlt) *ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸν ἀνεξιχνίαστον πλοῦτον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 9 *καὶ φωτίσαι πάντας τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι*, 10 *ἵνα γνωρισθῇ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Aus c. IV ist bezeugt 5 *εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Χριστός*, 6 *εἷς θεὸς καὶ (?) πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων*

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peregrini et advenae, sed concives sanctorum, sed domestici dei,... 20 *superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum*' — *abstulit haereticus ‚et prophetarum*' . . . *timuit, ne et super veterum prophetarum fundamentum aedificatio nostra constaret in Christo* . . . . . *Unde accepit ‚summum angularem*' *dicere Christum nisi de psalmi significatione*". Vers 17. 18 wörtlich wie oben in Dial. II, 19 (hier und bei Tert. ist *εἰρήνην* nicht wiederholt mit KL und Vätern); auch Dial. V, 28, wo 17 noch einmal zitiert wird, fehlt es, und ebenso fehlt, wie bei Tert., *ὑμῖν* (dies Fehlen ist sonst unbezeugt) — 19 *ἀλλά* mit DcKLP usw. > *ἀλλ' ἐστε* — *ἀλλ'* sonst unbezeugt > *καί* — 20 *Χριστοῦ* mit ℵ*37 > *Ἰησ. Χριστοῦ.*

III, 8. 9 Dial. II, 20 wie oben, jedoch (9), wie der katholische Text, mit *ἐν* vor *θεῷ* (im Grundtext und bei Rufin); es ist sehr unsicher, ob diese Stelle im Dialog aus M.s Text geflossen ist. Tert. (V, 18: „*De manibus haeretici praecidentis* (*praecidendis* Mss.) *non miror, si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit. ‚Datam*', *inquit, ‚sibi apostolus gratiam novissimo omnium inluminandi omnes, quae dispensatio sacramenti occulti ab aevis in deo, qui omnia condidit*', *rapuit haereticus ‚in*' *praepositionem et ita legi facit: ‚occulti ab aevis deo, qui omnia condidit*' ". — 8 *ἐν* mit DGKL ital. vulg. und vielen Vätern > fehlt — *τὸν πλοῦτον* mit ℵcDKLP > *τὸ πλοῦτος* — 9 *πάντας* mit ℵcBDG ital. vulg. > fehlt — Das wichtige *ἐν* fehlt auch in ℵ*. Zu diesem Verse vgl. die Marcionitischen Verse Röm. 16, 25 f.: *ἀποκάλυψις μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου.*

10 Tert. (V, 18): „*infert enim apostolus: ‚ut nota fiat principatibus et potestatibus in supercaelestibus per ecclesiam multifaria sapientia dei*' ". — *γνωρισθῇ* mit G d* g vulg. Orig., Victorin, Ambrosiaster > *γνωρ. νῦν.*

IV, 5 f. Epiph. p. 120. 182 (angeblich aus dem „Laodicenerbrief") wörtlich (aber ohne *ἡμῖν*); in der ersten Anführung steht nicht *εἷς Χριστός*,

καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν· 8 *ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν.* (10 *ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς*). 25 *ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἕκαστος,* 26 *ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.*

Aus c. V ist bezeugt 2 (Anspielung). 11 a *μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ σκότους,* 14 *διὸ λέγει· ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ νεκρῶν* ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.* 18 *μεθύσκεσθαι οἴνῳ αἰσχρόν.* 19 *ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις ... τῷ θεῷ* 22 *αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε,* 23 *ὅτι ἀνὴρ κεφαλή ἐστιν τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς καὶ Χριστὸς κεφαλή ἐστιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* 28 b *τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἀγαπᾷ ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγαπῶν,*

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das ich aber nicht tilgen möchte (sonst unbezeugt). Vers 6 auch Dial. II, 19 (zweimal zitiert, das erste Mal im Griech. unvollständig) wie oben, aber *ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν* mit DGKL d g vulg., Firmil. usw. usw. > *ἐν πᾶσιν*, mit oder ohne *ὑμῖν*, und vorher fehlt *καί* vor *πατήρ* mit einigen Minuskeln, Iren. und wenigen Zeugen (Rufin bringt es einmal).

8 Tert. (V, 18): „‚*Captivam*‘, *inquit*, ‚*duxit captivitatem*‘ “.

10 Dial. V, 7 unsicher, ob nach Marcion.

25 f. Tert. (V, 18): „‚*Deponentes mendacium loquimini veritatem ad proximum quisque*‘ *et* ‚*Irascimini et nolite delinquere*‘ (⟨*ut*⟩ *ipsis verbis, quibus psalmus, exponeret sensus eius*); *sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram*‘ “. (*ut* hat K r o y m. mit Recht vor *ipsis* gesetzt statt *sol ut*) — *πρὸς τόν* mit ℵ* > *μετὰ τοῦ* — 26 b findet sich auch Dial. I, 13 zweimal, das erste Mal in einer Antithese M.s — *τῷ* mit ℵcDGKLP > fehlt.

Cap. V, 11 schließt Tert. im Zitat unmittelbar an IV, 26 an, so daß man glauben muß, alles Dazwischenliegende fehlt; allein V, 2 ist durch Ephraem bezeugt (Lied 36, 3 gegen die Ketzer): „Es steht für sie (die Marcioniten) und für uns über den Sohn Gottes geschrieben, daß er ein Opfer und Wohlgeruch für Gott geworden ist“. „Nolite communicare operibus tenebrarum“, schreibt Tert.; *τοῖς ἀκάρποις* braucht nicht gefehlt zu haben.

14 Epiph. p. 119. 179.

18 Tert. (V, 18): „*sic et* ‚*inebriari vino dedecore*‘ “, also wohl *αἰσχρόν*.

19 Tert. (V, 18): „*et* ‚*psalmis et hymnis*‘ *deo canere docere*“ — *τῷ θεῷ* sonst unbezeugt > *τῷ κυρίῳ*.

22—23 Tert. (V, 18): „*Ceterum, mulieres viris subiectas esse debere*‘, *unde confirmat?* ‚*Quia vir*‘, *inquit*, ‚*caput est mulieris, sicut et Christus caput est ecclesiae*‘ “ — *ἰδίοις* (vor *ἀνδράσιν*) hat wahrscheinlich gefehlt, ebenso voraussichtlich *ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ* und *αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος* — 23 *κεφαλή ἐστιν* mit B Minusk. vulg. Orig. > *ἐστιν κεφ.* — *ἐστιν* alterum, sonst unbezeugt.

28 b—32 Tert. (V, 18): „*Dicit* ‚*carnem suam diligit qui uxorem suam diligit, sicut et Christus ecclesiam*‘ .... 29 b ‚*nemo*‘ ‚*inquit*, ‚*carnem suam*

καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· 29 b *οὐδεὶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα μισεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφει καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν, καθὼς ⟨καὶ⟩ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,* 31 *ἀντὶ ταύτης καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.* 32 *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*

Aus c. VI ist bezeugt 1: Anspielung auf *τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν.* 2 *τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα.* 4 b *ἐκτρέφετε τὰ τέκνα ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου.* 11 *ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν*

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odio habet, sed et nutrit et fovet eam, sicut Christus ecclesiam‘ . . . 31 ‚*propter hanc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne una*‘. 32 ‚*sacramentum hoc magnum est*‘ . . . . ‚*ego autem dico*‘, *inquit*, ‚*in Christum et ecclesiam*‘ “. Epiph. p. 119. 180 f. (v. 31): *ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν* (Epiph. bemerkt, daß *τῇ γυναικί* gefehlt habe, d. h. die Worte *καὶ κολληθήσεται τ. γυν.*; denn *κ. κολληθ.* allein ist sinnlos) — 28 b Ist von M. im Interesse seiner Lehre umgestaltet; diese Änderung mit den Lesarten bei Ambrosiaster d D usw. in Verbindung zu setzen (Z a h n), scheint mir nicht geboten; man darf auch die Worte *καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, die aus v. 29 geschöpft und dort trotzdem festgehalten sind, nicht streichen. Sinn: „D e r liebt sein Fleisch, der sein Weib so liebt, wie (auch) Christus die Kirche“ (d. h. ungeschlechtlich) — 29 *μισεῖ* sonst unbezeugt > *ἐμίσησεν (γάρ ποτε*, das vorangeht, fehlte wohl) — 31 *ἀντὶ ταύτης* sonst unbezeugt und tendenziöse Korrektur > *ἀντὶ τούτου*, damit es auf *ἐκκλησίαν* bezogen werde (also fehlte der von Tert. ausgelassene v. 30 wirklich; *οἱ δύο:* blickt auf Christus und die Kirche); Epiph. hat *ἀντὶ τούτου* — Epiph. *αὐτοῦ* > Tert. — *καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικί* ist fortgelassen (so nach Tert. und Epiph.); nach dem Zeugnis von Orig. (und Hieron.) fehlte es auch in katholischen Mss., ja Origenes scheint keine Mss. mit diesem Satze zu kennen. (Die Ausstoßung ist aber doch wohl marcionitisch-tendenziös) — 32 *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* mit BK Minusk. Iren. Orig. > *εἰς τ. ἐκκλ.* Zu v. 31 bemerkt Hieron. (d. h. Origenes): „*Interrogemus Marcionem, qua consequentia locum istum, qui de veteri usurpatus est instrumento, in Christum et in ecclesiam interpretari queat, cum iuxta illum scriptura vetus omnino non pertineat ad Christum.*“ — Von dem armenisch erhaltenen antimarcionitischen Syrer läßt sich für den Marcionitischen Text von Eph. 5, 25 nichts lernen.

VI, 1. Tert. (V, 18): „‚*Obaudiant et parentibus filii*‘; *nam — etsi Marcion abstulit:* ‚*Hoc enim est primum, in promissione praeceptum*‘ — *lex loquitur:* 2 ‚*Honora patrem et matrem*‘, *et* ‚*Parentes, enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione domini*‘ “ — 2 ohne *σου* nach *πατέρα* (sonst unbezeugt); tendenziös — 3 von M. höchstwahrscheinlich ausgestoßen samt 2 b — 4 b *ὑμῶν* ist ebenso tendenziös weggelassen wie v. 2 *σου*.

11 f. Tert. (V, 18): „*Sed adversus munditenentes luctatio si nobis* . . .

τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ στῶμεν πρὸς τὴν μεθοδίαν τοῦ διαβόλου. 12 *πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας .... τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότου τούτου ... τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.* 14—17 Anspielungen: 14 *περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης,* 15 *καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης,* 16 *ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι,* 17 *καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ.* 19 f. Anspielungen: *ἵνα μοι δοθῇ, ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος, ἐν παρρησίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον,* 20 *ἐν ἁλύσει, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ παρρησιάσωμαι.* — — Größere Ausmerzungen sind nicht nachweisbar außer (sehr wahrscheinlich) 1, 21 und 6, 2 b. 3 und die starke Umgestaltung in 5, 28—32 mit Auslassung von v. 30.

Προς Κολοσσαεις.

Aus c. I ist bezeugt 5 *τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην. ... ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἣν ἠκούσατε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,* 6 a *τοῦ*

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porro cum supra quidem induere nos iubeat armaturam, in qua stemus ad machinationem diaboli, iam ostendit diaboli esse, quae diabolo subiungit, potestates et munditenentes tenebrarum istarum" ..... „*‚spiritalia nequitiae in caelis‘*". Dial. I, 19 stellt Eph. 6, 11 und 16 zusammen (unsicher, ob aus M.s Bibel): *ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι* — 11 b eigentümliche Fassung > *πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στῆναι* — *μεθοδίαν* mit d > *μεθοδίας*. Tert. (III, 14): „*armantem nos adversus hostes ‚spiritales nequitiae‘*" (v. 12).

14—17 Tert. (III, 14): ... „*Paulum, ‚praecingentem lumbos nostros veritate et lorica iustitiae* 15 *et calciantem nos praeparatione evangelii pacis, non belli,* 16 *adsumere iubentem scutum fidei, in quo possimus omnia diaboli ignita tela extinguere,* 17 *et galeam salutaris et gladium spiritus‘, ‚quod est‘, inquit, ‚dei sermo‘*". Hat M. wirklich v. 15 *οὐ τοῦ πολέμου* hinzugefügt? Sehr unwahrscheinlich!

19 f. Tert. (V, 18): „*In catenis iam constitutus ob libertatem praedicationis constantiam manifestandi sacramenti in apertione oris, quam sibi expostulare a deo mandabat, ecclesiae utique praestabat.*" Ob *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* nach *μυστήριον* gefehlt hat?

Koloss. I, 5 Tert. (V, 19): „*Apostolus dicens ‚de spe reposita in caelis quam audistis in sermone veritatis evangelii,* 6 *quod pervenit ad vos sicut et in totum mundum‘*". — Hat M. wirklich *ἠκούσατε* (sonst unbezeugt) > *προηκούσατε* gelesen?

παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ. 15—17 durch Streichungen also gestaltet: *ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων.* 19 *ἐν ἑαυτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι.* 20 *καὶ . . . ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ . . .* 21 *καὶ ὑμᾶς ποτὲ ὄντας ἀπηλλοτριωμένους καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς . . . ἀποκατήλλαξεν* 22 *ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ.* 24 . . . *ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία.*

Aus c. II ist bezeugt 4 (Anspielung auf *παραλογίζηται ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ*) 8 . . . *διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὡς κενῆς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν*

15—19 Tert. (V, 19): „‚*Invisibilis dei imaginem*‘ *ait* ‚*Christum*‘ . . . *Si non est Christus* ‚*primogenitus conditionis*‘ . . 16 *si non* ‚*in illo condita sunt universa in caelis et in terris, visibilia et invisibilia, sive throni sive dominationes sive principatus sive potestates*‘, *si non* ‚*cuncta per illum et in illo sunt condita*‘ — *haec enim Marcioni displicere oportebant* —, *non utique tam nude posuisset apostolus:* 17 ‚*Et ipse est ante omnes*‘. *quomodo enim* ‚*ante omnes*‘, *si non ante omnia?* . . . 19 *quomodo item* ‚*boni duxit omnem plenitudinem in semetipso habitare*‘? *primo enim quae est ista plenitudo, nisi ex illis quae Marcion detraxit?*“ Tert. fährt fort: „*Aut si haec pseudapostoli nostri et Iudaici evangelizatores de suo intulerint, edat plenitudinem dei sui Marcion*“. Es fehlten also 15 b. 16 und sehr wahrscheinlich auch 17 b. Auch in Tert. V, 20 ist v. 15 bezeugt: „*Bene, quod et alibi* ‚*Christum imaginem dei invisibilis*‘ *appellat.*“ — 19 *ἐν ἑαυτῷ* sonst unbezeugt > *αὐτῷ* (tendenziös).

20 ff. Tert. (V, 19): „‚*Cui denique reconciliat omnia in semetipsum pacem faciens per crucis suae sanguinem*‘? . . . 21 *ita* ‚*et nos quondam alienatos et inimicos sensu in malis operibus creatori redigit in gratiam*‘“. Die kleinen Auslassungen besagen nichts; aber ob auch 20 b stehen geblieben ist? — *εἰς ἑαυτόν* sonst unbezeugt > *αὐτόν* (s. z. v. 19) — „*Sicubi* (v. 22. 24) *autem et ecclesiam corpus Christi dicit esse — ut hic ait* ‚*adimplere se reliqua pressurarum Christi in carne pro corpore eius, quod est ecclesia*‘ — *non propterea et in totum mentionem corporis transferens a substantia carnis. nam et supra* ‚*reconcilari nos*‘ *ait* ‚*in corpore eius per mortem*‘, *utique in eo corpore, in quo mori potuit, per carnem mortuus et non per ecclesiam, plane propter ecclesiam corpus commutando pro corpore, carnale pro spiritali.*“ M. hat also v. 22 a *τῆς σαρκός* nicht gelesen; daher kann das Zitat Dial. V, 3 (hier sind Teile von 22 f. mit Eph. 2, 12. 16 verbunden) nicht von ihm sein trotz des ungewöhnlichen *ἀντικατήλλαξεν* (*νῦν δὲ ἀντικατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*) — das Fehlen von *μου* v. 24 ist bedeutungslos.

II, 4. 8 Tert. (V, 19): „*Monet* ‚*cavendum a subtililoquentia et philo-*

τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. 13 Anspielung: *συνεζωοποίησεν ὑμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ χαρισάμενος τὰ παραπτώματα.* 16 *μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας καὶ σαββάτων (σαββάτου)*, 17 *ὅ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων.* 18—22 Anspielungen: *θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ, θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων, οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλήν, μὴ ἅψῃ μηδὲ γεύσῃ, κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Daß große Teile von c. III oder das ganze Kapitel erhalten waren, folgt aus der allgemeinen Bemerkung Tert.'s: „Cetera praeceptorum, ut eadem, satis sit iam alibi docuisse, quam a creatore manarint... creator iam tunc docebat exponere veterem hominem et novum induere". . . 9 *τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον*

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sophia ut inani seductione, quae sit secundum elementa mundi. .... et secundum traditionem hominum'". *ὡς* sonst unbezeugt > *καί* (tendenziös; die Verse waren vielleicht auch sonst verändert). Auch im folgenden fällt *κενὴ ἀπάτη* als Kategorie weg („*homines subtililoqui et philosophi*" — „*subtililoquentiae vires et philosophiae regulae*"). *Κατὰ τ. στοιχ. τ. κ.* stand vielleicht vor *κατὰ τ παρ ίδοσιν τ. ἀ.*

13 Tert. (V, 19): „. . . *si nos deus cum Christo vivificat donans delicta.*"

16 f. Epiph. p. 119. 181 wörtlich bis *μελλόντων.* Tert. (V, 19): „ ‚*Nemo vos iudicet in cibo et potu et in parte diei festi et neomeniae et sabbati, quae est umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi.*' " Das „*et* . . . *et* . . . *et*" ist sonst unbezeugt — *sabbati* mit D*.

18—22 Tert. (V, 19): „*Si autem aliquos taxat, qui ex visionibus angelicis dicebant cibis abstinendum* — ‚*ne attigeris, ne gustaveris*' — ‚*volentes in humilitate sensus incedere, non tenentes caput*', *non ideo legem et Moysen pulsat, quasi de angelica superstitione constituerit interdictionem quorundam edulium* . . . *Denique hanc disciplinam* — ‚*secundum praecepta*' *inquit*, ‚*et doctrinam hominum*' *deputavit in eos, qui caput non tenerent.*" *θρησκεία* (v. 18) fehlte nicht; es liegt in „*superstitione*". — 18 M. las *ἑόρακεν* ohne *μή* mit D*ℵAB d Orig., August., Ambrosiaster.

III, 3. 4 Dial. V, 28 (Rufin fehlt): *κέκρυπται γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ· ὅταν δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς φανερωθῇ, ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν, σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ φανερωθησόμεθα ἐν δόξῃ.* Dieser Text zeigt vom katholischen manche Abweichungen (*κέκρυπται* vorangestellt, in 4 ist die 2. Person in die 1. umgesetzt (mit BDbcKL Orig. lat. Vätern), *δέ* ist sonst unbezeugt, und singulär ist der Schluß (nach *ἡμῶν*) > *τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε*); aber dennoch bleibt es unsicher, ob er aus M.s Bibel stammt. — 9 Carmen adv. Marc. V, 90: „*veterem* (*hominem*), *quem dicitis hostem*". Die Worte können auch zu Ephes. 4, 22 oder Röm. 6, 6 gehören.

Aus c. IV sind 10—14 bezeugt; angeführt sind v. 10 und 11. 14; durch *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* sind v. 12. 13 gedeckt. Man braucht es nicht zu bezweifeln, daß M. auch v. 16 las. 10 *Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀρίσταρχος, ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου, καὶ Μάρκος, ὁ ἀνέψιος Βαρνάβα — περὶ οὗ ἐλάβετε ἐντολάς, ἵνα ⟨ἐὰν⟩ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δέξησθε* [Dial. *δέξασθε οὖν*] *αὐτόν* — 11 *καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς. οὗτοι μόνοι μού εἰσι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οἵτινες ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγορία, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.* 14 *Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς καὶ Δημᾶς.* 16 s. u.

Als größere Ausmerzung ist nur 1, 15 b. 16. 17 b zu verzeichnen.

Προς Φιλιππησιους.

Aus c. I sind im LAOD. bezeugt 2 *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς* (ohne *ἡμῶν* > alle Zeugen) *καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 3 *εὐχαριστῶ Χριστῷ* (> alle Zeugen, die *τῷ θεῷ μου* bieten) *ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου*, 12 *οἱ ἐξ ἐμοῦ εἰς προκοπὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ⟨ἐληλύθασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς⟩* (Vielleicht erst von den Schülern tendenziös und verschlagen gefälscht), 13 *τοὺς δεσμοὺς φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ*, 18 (*ἐν τούτῳ*) *χαίρω*, 19 *τοῦτό μοι* (*ἀποβήσεται*) *εἰς σωτηρίαν*

IV, 10. 11. 14 Dial. I, 5 (Rufin: 10 „*ut si venerit . . . suscipiatis*"; liest *οὖν* nicht; 11 „*isti enim*", „*adiutores mei*") — 10 *ἵνα* mit Ambrosiaster („*ut si venerit ad vos excipiatis illum*") > fehlt. 11 *μού εἰσιν* mit DG d g vulg. Ambrosiaster (aber alle nach *συνεργοί*) > fehlt. 14 Das Fehlen der Worte nach *Λουκᾶς*: ‚*ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός*' ist schwerlich zufällig.

16 Durch den gefälschten Laod.-Brief v. 20 bezeugt: „*Et facite legi Colosensibus, et Colosensium vobis.*"

Phil.: Epiphan. p. 182: *ὡσαύτως* (wie bei Philem.) *οὐδὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ διαστρόφως παρ' αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι οὐδὲν ἐξελεξάμεθα.* Über die Nichtigkeit der Begründung dieser Bemerkung und den Ursprung des Irrtums s. oben zu I Thess. init. — In dem von Marcioniten (saec II) gefälschten, uns lateinisch erhaltenen (s. u.) Laod.-Brief sind uns zahlreiche Stellen aus dem Philipperbrief M.s überliefert (im Folgenden durch LAOD. bezeichnet).

I, Für die Verse 14—18 Tert. (V, 20): „*Cum praedicationis enumerat varietatem, ‚quod alii ex fiducia vinculorum eius audentius sermonem enuntiarent,* 15 *alii per invidiam et contentionem, quidam vero et per sermonis existimationem,* 17 *plerique ex dilectione,* 16 *nonnulli ex aemulatione, iam aliqui et ex simultate Christum praedicarent*'" . . . 18 ‚*nihil mea*', *inquit* ‚*sive causatione sive veritate Christus adnuntietur*'". Wenige Zeilen später:

διὰ τῶν ὑμῶν δεήσεων καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας πνεύματος, 20 *εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου,* 21 *ἔστιν γάρ μοι τὸ ζῆν ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν χαρά* (willkürliche Änderung). — In Referaten sind 14—18 bezeugt, aber 15. 17 sind verändert: 14 *πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου περισσοτέρως τολμᾶν τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν,* 15 *τινὲς διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ διὰ λόγου δόξαν,* 17 *οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀγάπης,* 16 *οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας, ἤδη καί τινες ἐξ ἀγῶνος τὸν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν.* 18 *οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει·εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.* 23 *τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἐξιέναι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος (τὸ ἀναλῦσαι?) καὶ σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ (Χριστῷ?) εἶναι.*

Aus c. II ist in LAOD. 2 *τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες . . . ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε,* 12 *ὥστε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καθὼς ἠκούσατε τὴν παρουσίαν μου, οὕτω κρατεῖτε καὶ πράσσετε ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ* (tendenziöse grobe Fälschung), 13 *ἔστιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν,* 14 *ποιεῖτε χωρὶς διαλογισμοῦ ὅ τι ἂν ποιῆτε.* Sonst ist in diesem Kapitel bezeugt 6 *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ,* 7 *ἀλλ'*

„*fides praedicantium quorundam vera, id est simplex, quorundam nimis docta*" — 14 *τὸν λόγον* mit D^cK al. plur. Chrysost. Theodoret > *τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* — 15 „*sermonis existimationem*" (s. „*nimis docta fides*") sonst unbezeugt > *εὐδοκίαν.* Marcion setzte *τὴν τοῦ λόγου δόξαν* ein und wollte damit die eitle christliche Schulweisheit treffen, wie er Kol. 2, 8 durch seine Korrektur die heidnische Philosophie an den Pranger stellte — 17 *ἤδη καί τινες ἐξ ἀγῶνος:* frei von M. eingesetzt; wenn er es für nötig hielt, *ἐξ ἐριθείας* (d. h. das Motiv der Zänkerei) zu ergänzen, und er dies durch „*simultas*" = „Wettstreit" tat, so kann er nur die Absicht gehabt haben, entweder den Apostel im voraus den Parteikampf der Katholiken gegen s e i n e Kirche tadeln zu lassen oder — und das ist wahrscheinlicher — die kirchlichen Parteikämpfe überhaupt — 18 *οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει* (selbständig, aber s. Gal. 2, 6) > *τί γάρ· πλὴν ὅτι παντὶ τρόπῳ,* der Grund dieser Änderung ist dunkel — 23 Esnik (S c h m i d S. 201): „Sie sagen, der Apostel hat gesagt: Ich verlange herauszugehen aus dem Leibe und mit dem Herrn zu sein." Die Überlieferung sonst bietet *Χριστῷ,* und schwerlich hat das M. verändert; auch wird er wohl *ἀναλῦσαι* gelesen haben.

II, 6. 7 Tert. (V, 20): „*Plane de substantia Christi putant et hic Marcionitae suffragari sibi apostolum . . ., cum dicit, quod ‚in effigie dei constitutus non rapinam existimavit pariari deo,* 7 *sed exhausit semetipsum accepta effigie servi' (non veritate) et ‚in similitudine hominis' (non in homine) ‚et figura inventus homo' (non substantia, id est non carne)*" — 7 sonst *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* — *ἀνθρώπου* mit Orig., Cypr., Hilar., Victorin > *ἀνθρώπων* — M. hat *γενόμενος* nicht gelesen und auch nicht *ὡς*; so entstand der

ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ἄνθρωπος. 8 Anspielung: auf den Gehorsam gegenüber dem Tod und dem Kreuzestod.

Aus c. III ist bezeugt in LAOD v. 1 τὸ λοιπόν, ἀγαπητοί, χαίρετε ἐν Χριστῷ. Die Verse 4. 5. 7—9 in Anspielungen und Stücken: 4 πεποίθησιν ἐν σαρκί, 5 Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, φυλῆς Βενιαμείν, Φαρισαῖος, 7 ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα νῦν ἥγημαι ζημίαν, 8 διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα, 9 ἔχων δικαιοσύνην μὴ ἐμὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐκ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ. 20 ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς 21 . . . μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύνμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

Aus c. IV ist nur in LAOD. einiges erhalten: 6 πάντα τὰ

Sinn, den er wünschte: „als Mensch wurde er (nur) erfunden, weil Gestalt und Habitus die eines Menschen waren". Daß diese Stelle eine Grundstelle der Christologie M.s war, bezeugen auch Chrysostomus hom. 7 in Phil.) und Esnik (S. 176. 177).

8 Tert. (V, 20): „‚*morti subditum*', *adiecit*, ‚*et mortem crucis*'". Die Annahme eines anderen Textes gegenüber γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ ist schwerlich gerechtfertigt.

III, 4. 5. 7—9: 7 „*Quae autem retro lucri duxerat? quae et supra* (4) *numerat*: ‚*gloriam carnis* 5 *in nota circumcisionis, generis Hebraei ex Hebraeo censum, titulum tribus Beniamin*', ‚*Pharisaeae*' *candidae dignitatem.* 7 ‚*haec nunc detrimento sibi deputat: non deum sed stuporem Iudaeorum.* 8 *haec et si stercora existimat, prae comparatione agnitionis Christi,* 9 *habens iustitiam non suam iam, quae ex lege, sed quae per ipsum, scilicet per Christum, ex deo. ergo, inquis, hac distinctione lex non ex deo erit Christi. subtiliter satis. accipe itaque subtilius: cum enim dicit:* ‚*non quae ex lege, sed quae per ipsum*' *non dixisset* ‚*per ipsum*' *de alio quam cuius fuit lex*". 7 νῦν sonst unbezeugt — 8 Χριστοῦ sonst unbezeugt > Χρ. Ἰ. oder Ἰ. Χρ. Nach Celsus (Orig. VI, 53) haben sich die Marcioniten selbst „σκύβαλα" genannt — 9 δικαιοσύνην ἐμήν mit ℵc > ἐμ. δικ.— ἤδη sonst unbezeugt (ähnlich ist v. 7 νῦν), auch heißt es sonst μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην. — τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ sonst unbezeugt > τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην Vielleicht bot M. τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην, aber auch dann bleibt die bedeutende Änderung bestehen αὐτοῦ, > πίστεως Χριστοῦ. Man begreift sie, weil gleich darauf ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει folgt. Dadurch, daß M. so schrieb, gewann er das Doppelte: er vermied die mindestens scheinbare Tautologie und brachte den Gegensatz zur Gerechtigkeit aus dem Gesetz kräftiger und objektiver zum Ausdruck.

20. 21 Tert. (V, 20): „‚*Noster*', *inquit*, ‚*municipatus in caelis*' . . . *quodsi ergo Christus adveniens de caelis* ‚*transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conformale corpori gloriae suae*', *resurget ergo corpus hoc nostrum*".

αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωριζέσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν, 8 *ὅσα ὁλόκληρα καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ προσφιλῆ, πράσσετε, καὶ ἃ ἠκούσατε καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κρατεῖτε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἡ εἰρήνη*, 22 *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἅγιοι*, 23 *ἡ χάρις* (Gruß). Es ist bei allen Stellen aus dem Philipperbrief, die der Fälscher entlehnt und verfälscht hat, unsicher, ob die Fälschung schon im Text des Philipperbriefes, sei es von Marcion, sei es von den Marcioniten vorgenommen war, oder ob sie erst von diesen für ihren gefälschten Brief unternommen worden ist.

Keine größere Ausmerzung ist nachweisbar.

Προς Φιλημονα.

Dieser Brief ist von M. nicht geschädigt worden; denn Tert. bemerkt (V, 21): „*Soli huic epistolae brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem litteras factas receperit, quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare.*" Hiernach (in diesem Falle ausnahmsweise nicht nach Origenes) Hieron. in der Praef. z. Comm. in Philem.: „*Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem saltem Marcione auctore doceantur, qui cum ceteras epistolas eiusdem vel non susceperit vel quaedam in his mutaverit atque corroserit* (s. Tert., adv. Marc. I, 1), in *hanc solam manus non est ausus mittere, quia sua illam brevitas defendebat*". Also ist die Bemerkung des Epiphanius (p. 182): *ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πρὸς Φιλήμονα οὐδὲν παρεθέμεθα διὰ τὸ ὁλοσχερῶς αὐτὴν ἐνδιαστρόφως παρ' αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι*, in ihrer Begründung nichtig und beruht auf demselben Irrtum wie die Bemerkungen zu I u. II Thess. und Phil. (s. o.).

C. Die Marcionitischen Prologe.

Die Texte lauten [1]:

Galatae sunt Graeci. hi verbum veritatis primum ab apostolo acceperunt; sed post discessum eius temptati sunt a

1 Vgl. de Bruyne, Rev. Bénéd., 1907 Jan. p. 1—16. p. 257 ff.; Corssen, Ztschr. f. d. NTliche Wissensch., 10. Bd., 1909, S. 36 ff. und S. 97 ff. Wordsworth - White, Novum Testamentum, Latine,

falsis apostolis, ut in legem et circumcisionem verterentur. hos apostolus revocat ad fidem veritatis scribens eis ab Epheso.

Corinthi sunt Achaei. et hi similiter ab apostolo audierunt verbum veritatis et subversi multifarie a falsis apostolis, quidam a philosophiae verbosa eloquentia, alii a secta legis Judaicae inducti. hos revocat apostolus ad veram (et) evangelicam sapientiam scribens eis ab Epheso [per Timotheum, zahlreiche Mss.; aber wohl nicht ursprünglich].

Post actam paenitentiam consolatorias scribit eis a Troade et conlaudans eos hortatur ad meliora.

Romani sunt in partibus Italiae. hi praeventi sunt a falsis apostolis et sub nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi in legem et prophetas erant inducti. hos revocat apostolus ad veram evangelicam fidem scribens eis a Corintho („ab Athenis" ist gewiß unrichtig [s. Thess.], obgleich durch mehrere Zeugen neben Korinth bezeugt)[1].

Thessalonicenses sunt Machedones, qui accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide etiam in persecutione civium suorum; praeterea nec receperunt ea quae a falsis apostolis dicebantur. hos conlaudat apostolus scribens eis ab Athenis.

Ad Thessalonicenses secundam scribit et notum facit eis de temporibus novissimis et de adversarii detectione. scribit ab Athenis.

II, 1, 1913, p. 41 f. u. II, 2, 1922, p. 153; v. Harnack, Theol. Lit. Ztg., 1907, Nr. 5; Rendel Harris, Expository Times, 1907, N. 9. v. Harnack, Die Entstehung des N. T.s, 1914, S. 106. Preuschen, Analecta[2] II S. 85 ff. S. auch Burkitt, Gospel Hist. and its transmission, Edit. 2 u. 3 p. 353. Souter, Text and Canon of the N. T. p. 205 ff. Ders., Charakter and History of Pelagius Comment. on the epp. of St. Paul (Proceed. of the British Acad. Vol. VII, 1916, p. 24). Der kritische Apparat bei Bruyne und Corssen, die z. T. verschiedene Handschriften benutzt haben. Der Apparat zum Römer- u. I Kor.-Brief bei Wordsworth. Die Varianten sind fast durchweg unerheblich.

1 Modification dieses Prologs in den Codd. *HΘ*: „Romani sunt in partes Italiae. hi fidem habentes et scientiam fidei ignorantes physicas rationes consonare praedicationi apostoli vel prophetarum discunt. scribit eis ab Athenis", und im Cod. Mus. Brit. Harl. 2804: „Romani, qui in urbe Roma in Christum crediderant, ita a falsis apostolis depravati erant, ut sub nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi in legem et circumcisionem inducerentur; hos revocat ad veram et evangelicam fidem scribens eis ab Athenis".

(Laudiceni sunt Asiani. hi praeventi erant a pseudoapostolis ... ad hos non accessit ipse apostolus ... hos per epistulam recorrigit) ....[1].

Colossenses et hi sicut Laudicenses sunt Asiani, et ipsi praeventi erant a pseudapostolis nec ad hos accessit ipse apostolus, sed et hos per epistulam recorrigit — audierant enim verbum ab Archippo qui et ministerium in eos accepit —, ergo apostolus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso.

Philippenses sunt Machedones. hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide nec receperunt falsos apostolos. hos apostolus conlaudat scribens eis a Roma de carcere per Epaphroditum.

Philemoni familiares litteras facit pro Onesimo servo eius. scribit autem ei a Roma de carcere.

Timotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione episcopatus diaconii et omnis ecclesiasticae disciplinae.

Item Timotheo scribit de exhortatione martyrii et omnis regulae veritatis et quid futurum sit temporibus novissimis et de sua passione.

Titum commonefacit et instruit de constitutione presbyterii et de spiritali conversatione et haereticis vitandis qui in scripturis Judaicis credunt (tendenziöse Korrektur im Cod. Reginen.: „Judaicis fabulis").

Diese Prologe sind einfach die Prologe der europäischen lateinischen Bibel; denn sie stehen in 14 von den 20 alten Vulgata-Haupthandschriften; die älteste von diesen ist der Fuldensis.

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1 Dieser Prolog ist aus dem folgenden von Bruyne rekonstruiert worden; so etwa muß er gelautet haben. Jetzt aber findet sich in den Handschriften an seiner Stelle folgender Prolog: „Ephesii sunt Asiani. hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide. hos conlaudat apostolus, scribens eis ab urbe Roma de carcere per Tychicum diaconum". Dieser Prolog, der inhaltlich und sprachlich den anderen gleichartig ist, wird auch schon aus den Marcionitischen Bibeln stammen, nachdem dort die Unsicherheit und Konfusion betreffend Ephes. und Laod. eingebrochen war. In der Handschrift des falschen Laodicenerbriefs von Einsiedeln steht er, leicht modifiziert, als Prolog zu diesem Brief („Laudicenses sunt Asiani" etc.). S. Wordsworth p. 42 und Corssen S. 100.

Sie sind auch Pelagius bekannt gewesen[1], der der älteste Zeuge für sie ist. Sie sind aus dem Griechischen übersetzt (s. unter Thess.: ,,nec receperunt ea quae a falsis apostolis dicebantur" = *τὰ ὑπὸ τ. ψευδαποστόλων λεγόμενα*, und unter Tim.: ,,omnis regulae veritatis = *παντὸς τοῦ κανόνος τῆς ἀληθείας)*, aber griechisch nicht mehr vorhanden. Daß sie Marcionitisch sind, liegt auf der Hand und ist nach den Nachweisungen von Bruyne und Corssen allgemein anerkannt. Es genügt die Einheitlichkeit festzustellen und sodann die Beobachtung, daß ,,lex et circumcisio" (Gal.) = ,,lex et prophetae" (Röm.) = ,,secta legis Judaicae" (Kor.) = ,,scripturae Judaicae" (Tit.) sind. Die Prologe verwerfen hiernach das Christentum, welches das A. T. aufrecht erhält, als ein falsches, nennen die große Kirche eine jüdische Sekte und bezeichnen das A. T. als Judenbuch. Mit den judaistischen Gegnern des Paulus — so nennen sie ihn niemals, sondern bezeichnen ihn einfach als ,,den Apostel" — identifizieren die Prologe alle Missionare vor und neben Paulus und bezeichnen ihre Mission als falsch[2]. Wo sie stattgefunden hat, da muß ,,der Apostel" ,,revocare" bzw. ,,recorrigere" (Röm., Laod., Kol.). Wo sie nachträglich eingetreten ist, muß er ebenfalls ,,revocare" (Gal., Kor.). Besonders charakteristisch aber ist, daß die Briefe lediglich daraufhin sachlich untersucht werden, wie die Gemeinden sich zum ,,verbum veritatis", bzw. zur ,,fides veritatis", ,,vera evangelica sapientia", ,,vera evangelica fides" und ,,fides" verhalten haben. Unter diesen Ausdrücken (das Stichwort ,,veritas" bzw. ,,verus" ist echt Marcionitisch und stammt aus dem für M. wichtigsten Brief; Gal. 2, 5. 14: *ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου)* ist stets das paulinische, vom A. T. freie Christentum zu verstehen. Den Briefen an die Thess. und Phil. ist dieser Gesichtspunkt einfach aufgezwungen. Im Prolog zu Kol. bedeutet ,,verbum" ohne den Zusatz ,,veritatis" wahrscheinlich das falsche Evangelium.

Aus den inneren Beziehungen eines Teils der zehn ersten Prologe zueinander hat Bruyne scharfsinnig die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der Briefe in der Sammlung bestimmt, und es ergab sich — die Marcionitische. Das ist ein weiterer Beweis für

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1 In dem Prolog zu den Paulusbriefen des Pelagius sind sie benutzt.

2 Also sind auch die Urapostel inbegriffen, die Marcion selbst von den judaistischen Missionaren relativ unterschieden hat.

ihren Ursprung. Müssen aber nicht in der ersten Sammlung, für die sie niedergeschrieben worden sind, die zehn Prologe unmittelbar nacheinander gestanden haben, da Prolog II den ersten, Prolog III den zweiten („scribit e i s"), Prolog VIII den siebenten einfach fortsetzt? Haben sie aber nebeneinander gestanden, so werden sie aus einem größeren Werk stammen; muß man da nicht an Marcions „Antithesen" denken? Diese waren, wie Tertullian uns mitteilt, eine „Beigabe" zu seiner neuen Bibel. White schreibt in der Ausgabe (p. 41): „Argumenta unam seriem efficiunt et inter se evidenter cohaerent, ita ut ab auctore quodam Marcionita, et forsan ab ipso Marcione, confecta videantur". Allein so verlockend die Hypothese ist, M. selbst sei der Verfasser, so ist sie doch nicht wahrscheinlich; denn hätte Tert. diese Prologe in der Marcionitischen Sammlung, die ihm vorlag, gefunden — sei es in den Antithesen, sei es getrennt als Einleitungen zu den Briefen —, so hätte er gewiß nicht darauf verzichtet, ihre schlimme Tendenz ans Licht zu ziehen und zu widerlegen. Sie werden daher auf Rechnung eines etwas späteren Marcioniten zu setzen sein [1]; aber ihre große Verbreitung in der katholischen Kirche des Abendlandes erfordert die Annahme, daß sie spätestens um Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind. Sie sind nicht für Gelehrte geschrieben, sondern für geringe Leute; selbst „Romani sunt in partibus Italiae" glaubte der Verf. sagen zu müssen [2]. Aus der Polemik gegen den Katholizismus heraus sind sie entsprungen und sollen der Auslegung der Paulusbriefe die Marcionitische Richtung geben. Geradezu rätselhaft ist es, daß die Katholiken diese Tendenz nicht durchschaut und arglos die Prologe rezipiert haben. Nur die Bettelarmut des Abendlandes an Texten und an Hilfsmitteln zum Verständnis der h. Schriften in der ältesten Zeit und seine Unwissenheit konnten

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1 Gewiß ist das freilich nicht: wie M. in den Antithesen das Ev. und die paulinischen Briefe lediglich unter dem Gesichtspunkt kommentiert hat, um die Hauptpunkte seiner Lehre apologetisch-polemisch zu begründen, so sind auch die Prologe lediglich unter diesem Gesichtspunkt geschrieben. Diese Konkordanz ist so auffallend, daß es doch trotz des Schweigens Tert.s nicht ausgeschlossen ist, daß M. der Verf. auch der Prologe ist.

2 Das spricht gegen Rom als Ort der Abfassung, s. von Soden in der Ztschr. f. KGesch. Bd. 60, 1922, S. 196 f.

es dazu verführen, nach jeder schriftlichen Aufzeichnung zu greifen und sie kritiklos aufzunehmen.

Das hohe Alter der Prologe macht ihre Angaben über die Orte, von denen sie geschrieben sind, wichtig. Wir hören, daß Galat. in Ephesus und Koloss. ebenfalls dort geschrieben ist (dann auch Laod.), und müssen diesen Angaben ein bedeutendes Gewicht beilegen; s. Deißmann, Licht von Osten[4] S. 201. Die Angabe, Philemon sei in Rom geschrieben, erklärt sich wohl aus der falschen Stellung nach Philipp.

Noch ist ein Wort über die drei Prologe zu den Pastoralbriefen zu sagen. Allzu rasch bin ich früher der nächstliegenden Ansicht gefolgt, sie könnten nicht Marcionitisch sein, da ja M. die Pastoralbriefe verworfen hat. Allein Corssen hat mich eines Besseren belehrt. Nicht nur sind diese Prologe formell und inhaltlich den anderen gleichartig [1], sondern entscheidend ist, daß im Prolog zu Titus aus dem Ausdruck c. 1, 14 (*μὴ προσέχοντες*) *Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις* hier „(de haereticis vitandis qui) in scripturis Judaicis credunt" geworden ist. Das ist offenbar ein böses Marcionitisches Quid pro quo: an die Stelle jüdischer Mythen tritt das A. T. selbst. Dann aber ist der Schluß unvermeidlich, daß ein Teil der späteren Marcioniten die Pastoralbriefe anerkannt (s. Chrysost. zu II Tim. 1, 18 T. XI, hom. 3, 1; er kennt solche Marcioniten) und — vermutlich mit einschneidenden Korrekturen — in seine Bibel aufgenommen hat [2].

De Bruyne (Rev. Bénéd. 1921 Oct. p. 13 f.) bestreitet den Marcionitischen Ursprung der Pastoralbriefe-Prologe; aber seine Argumente beweisen nur, daß sie nicht von M. selbst stammen.

Welch eine eigentümliche Peripetie! Die Marcionitischen Prologe dringen mitsamt den Marcionitischen Paulusbriefen, zu

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1 Nur der kleine Unterschied besteht, daß in diesen Briefen „apostolus" fehlt; aber er fehlt auch im Prolog zum Philemonbrief.

2 Darüber läßt sich nichts Sicheres sagen, ob erst die 10 ersten Prologe entstanden sind und später die drei folgenden, oder ob alle 13 Prologe erst damals entworfen wurden, als ein Teil der Marcioniten bereits die Pastoralbriefe rezipiert hatte. In bezug auf den Prolog. zu I Tim. ist an die Parallele im Murat.-Fragment zu erinnern, wo es von den Pastoralbriefen heißt: „in ordinatione ecclesiasticae disciplinae sanctificati sunt". Hier muß ein Zusammenhang bestehen!

denen sie gehören, in das Gebiet des Todfeindes, der katholischen Kirche ein, und werden dort angenommen [1], aber schon vorher haben umgekehrt Marcioniten — wenn auch nur eine Minderzahl — aus der katholischen Bibel die Pastoralbriefe in ihre Sammlung der Paulusbriefe rezipiert. Für die Entscheidung der Frage aber, ob die Marcionitische Übersetzung der Paulusbriefe der katholischen in Rom vorangegangen und ihre Mutter ist, sind diese Prologe ohne Bedeutung, zumal da es zweifelhaft ist, ob sie von Marcion selbst stammen, und da sie sich nur in Vulguta-Mss. finden [2]. Sie können in einem beliebigen Moment in die kirchliche Überlieferung eingetreten sein; doch empfiehlt sich die Annahme nicht, daß dies im großen Umfang schon zur Zeit des noch brennenden Kampfes mit der Marcionitischen Kirche im Abendland geschehen ist; denn daß man damals schon in weiten Kreisen so stumpfsinnig gewesen ist und aus dem Lager des Feindes dieses Gut übernommen hat, ist kaum glaublich. Erst nachdem der Kampf im Abendland beendigt war, weil es nur noch wenige Marcioniten dort gab, und als das Bedürfnis nach Bibelhandschriften und nach Einführungen in die Bibel gewaltig groß wurde, also seit etwa dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts, wird man lateinische Übersetzungen der Paulusbriefe aufgegriffen haben, wo man sie fand. Man wird daher annehmen dürfen, daß die abendländische Kirche diesen Prologen erst seit dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts arglos den Eingang gestattet hat. Dafür spricht auch, daß es Itala-Handschriften mit diesen Prologen nicht gibt, Hieronymus sie nicht

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1 White bei Wordsworth p. 41: „Marcionis ‚Apostolicon' Latine etiam circumlatum fuit et communi usu [scil. in ecclesiis catholicis occidentalibus] tritum. exemplo etiam antiquissimo probatur, quod alias abunde testatum est, ecclesiam nonnihil etiam in Novi Testamenti corpore confirmando haereticis debere. Monarchianorum prologi in Evangelia, Donatistarum capitulationes in Actus, Pelagii praefationes in Epistulas, Priscilliani in easdem canones ab omnibus doctis nunc agnoscuntur; quibus hodie adiungitur Marcion". Zu diesen Beiträgen kommen noch die Textänderungen, die in zahlreiche katholische Bibeln aus häretischen eingedrungen sind.

2 Selbst das ist nicht sicher auszumachen, ob die Ausgliederung der einzelnen Stücke aus der Einheit, die sie bilden, und ihre Zuordnung zu den einzelnen Briefen schon von den Marcioniten vorgenommen worden ist oder erst von einem katholischen Christen. Doch ist ersteres wohl das Wahrscheinlichere.

erwähnt und Pelagius ihr erster Zeuge ist. Indessen, ausgeschlossen ist es nicht, daß sie in diese und jene katholische Bibelhandschrift schon bedeutend früher eingedrungen sind (s. u.).

Die Prologe sind die stärksten Zeugnisse der wuchtigen Einseitigkeit des Marcionitischen Christentums und erinnern durch diese an Luther und seine Entschlossenheit, überall in der Bibel das Rechtfertigungsdogma zu finden.

D. Der Laodicener- und der Alexandrinerbrief.

Im vorigen Jahre, als ich den altbekannten gefälschten Laodicenerbrief in die Hand nahm, entdeckte ich, daß dieser Brief eine Marcionitische Fälschung sei und daher identisch mit jenem Laodicenerbrief, der im Muratorischen Fragment als Marcionitische Fälschung abgewiesen wird [1]. Die Abhandlung, in der ich den Nachweis hierfür erbracht habe (Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akademie, 1. Nov. 1923), rücke ich hier mit geringen Änderungen ein. Über den Marcionitischen Alexandrinerbrief wissen wir noch immer schlechterdings nichts; denn das, was Zahn beigebracht hat [2], hat leider keine Aufklärung herbeigeführt und uns kein Fragment geboten. Hat es sich vielleicht um eine Fälschung zum Zweck der Propaganda in Ägypten gehandelt? Vorzustellen haben wir uns den Brief wahrscheinlich nach dem Muster des gefälschten Laod.-Briefes, d. h. als einen Cento aus echten Paulusbriefen; denn schwerlich werden es sich Marcioniten zugetraut haben, einen ganzen Paulusbrief aus eigenen Mitteln herzustellen.

In zahllosen Vulgatahandschriften des Neuen Testaments und auch in sog. Itala-Handschriften [3], ferner in böhmischen,

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1 Murat. Fragm. Z. 63 ff.: „Fertur etiam ad Laudicenses, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctae ad haeresem Marcionis, et alia plura quae in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest; fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit".

2 Einl. i. d. N. T. Bd. 2³ S. 113. 121, Gesch. des Kanons I S. 277 ff., II S. 82 ff. 238. 586 ff.

3 „At all ages from the VI. to the XV. century we have examples of its occurrence among the Pauline Epistles and most frequently without any marks which imply doubt respecting its canonicity. These instances are more common in proportion to the number of extant Mss. in the earlier epoch than in the later. In one of the three or four extant authorities for

englischen und deutschen Bibelhandschriften und -drucken des Mittelalters [1]. findet sich ein Brief des Paulus an die Laodicener (in wechselnder Stellung, in der Regel bei Koloss.[2]). Ein griechisches oder orientalisches Exemplar ist bisher nicht nachgewiesen — ein arabisches, welches bekanntgeworden, ist jung und aus dem Lateinischen geflossen —, aber die alte griechische Kirche kannte den Brief auch, wie die ablehnenden Äußerungen antiochenischer und späterer Väter beweisen. Im Abendland haben erst die Renaissance, die Reformation und das Tridentinum diesem zähesten Eindringling in die Bibel ein Ende gemacht. Die ältesten Zeugen des Briefs sind der Cod. Fuldensis saec. VI und das sog. Speculum Augustini; aber gekannt (und verworfen) hat ihn schon Hieronymus, als paulinischen Brief gelesen und verteidigt Priscillian [3], und seine Aufnahme in Itala-Bibeln macht es gewiß, daß er spätestens dem 4. Jahrhundert angehören muß; er kann jedoch bedeutend älter sein.

Alles, was man vor achtzig Jahren über den Brief und seine Geschichte ermitteln konnte, hat Anger in einer ausgezeichneten Monographie zusammengefaßt („Über den Laodicenerbrief",

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the Old Latin Version of the Pauline Epistles it has a place. In one of the two most ancient copies of Jerome's revised Vulgate it is found. Among the first class Mss. of this later Version its insertion is almost as common as its omission. This phenomenon moreover is not confined to any one country. Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, England, Germany, Switzerland — all the great nations of Latin Christendom — contribute examples of early Mss. in which this epistle has a place" (Lightfoot).

1 Sowohl in tschechischen Bibelhandschriften als auch in gedruckten Bibeln findet sich der Brief in verschiedenen Rezensionen. Die deutsche Übersetzung stammt spätestens aus dem 14. Jahrhundert und ist in mehr als 14 deutschen Bibeldrucken (vor Luthers Bibel) aufgenommen. In englischen Bibeln stand der Brief vor Wycliffs und Purveys Zeit; sie merzten ihn aus, aber der Brief erhielt sich doch, und zwar in zwei voneinander unabhängigen Übersetzungen und in vor der Mitte des 15. Jahrh. geschriebenen Manuskripten. Auch in einer Albingensischen Bibel (13. Jahrh.) ist der Brief enthalten.

2 Anlaß zur Fälschung gab die Stelle Koloss. 4, 16: „Wenn dieser mein Brief bei euch gelesen ist, so sorgt dafür, daß er auch in der Gemeinde der Laodicener gelesen werde und daß auch ihr (meinen) aus Laodicea kommenden Brief lest."

3 Auch Gregor der Große hat ihn als echten Brief anerkannt.

1843). Zahlreiche fördernde Bemühungen sind dann noch erfolgt [1]. Der Text, wie ihn Lightfoot auf Grund zahlreicher Mss. rezensiert hat, wird durch Vergleichung neuer Handschriften schwerlich wesentliche Veränderungen erfahren. Alle bisher eingesehenen Handschriften gehen auf ein im 5. Verse verderbtes Exemplar zurück.

Über die Unechtheit der Kompilation, die mit Galat. 1, 1 beginnt und scheinbar nichts anderes ist als ein etwas bereichertes Exzerpt aus dem Philipperbrief (bemerkenswert, daß der Plagiator diesen Brief gewählt hat und nicht Koloss.), ist kein Wort zu verlieren. Der heutige Stand der positiven Erkenntnis aber ist folgender: (1) Alle Gelehrten sind darüber einig, daß der Brief „ganz farblos" ist und daß die Absicht des Verfassers daher nur die gewesen sein kann, den verlorenen Brief des Apostels Paulus (Koloss. 4, 16) mit den einfachsten Mitteln und ohne eine besondere Tendenz durch eine pure Fälschung herzustellen. (2) Einige von ihnen halten den Brief entschieden für ein lateinisches Original (so z. B. Westcott), andere für eine Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen (so z. B. Lightfoot und Zahn). (3) Da sich in dem Muratorischen Fragment (um d. J. 200) die Angabe findet: „Fertur etiam ad Laudecenses ... Pauli nomine fincta ad heresem Marcionis (s. o.), so identifizieren einige Gelehrte (z. B. Zahn) unsern Brief mit dem hier abgelehnten, obgleich sie nichts Marcionitisches in dem Schreiben zu finden gestanden — sie meinen, der Verf. habe den Brief unbesehen und leichtfertig für Marcionitisch-häretisch erklärt, weil sich im Kanon Marcions ein Laodicenerbrief befand [2] —, andere dagegen lehnen die Identifizierung ab (z. B. Lightfoot und ich selbst früher), weil das Schreiben nichts

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1 Die gründlichste Untersuchung hat Lightfoot, Epp. to the Coloss. et Philem., 1875, p. 340 ff., geliefert; s. ferner Westcott, Hist. of the Canon [6], 1881; Zahn, Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons II, 1890, S. 566 ff.; v. Harnack, Gesch. der altchristl. Literat. I (1893) S. 33 ff., II, 1 (1897) S. 702, und „Kleine Texte", hrsg. v. Lietzmann, 1912; Berger, Hist. de la Vulgate, 1893; Jülicher, Einl. in d. N. T., 1906, vv. II., usw.

2 Der aber mit dem Epheserbrief identisch war (Marcion hatte diesen Brief mit der Adresse „ad Laodicenos" in seiner Bibel, s. o.).

Marcionitisches enthielte und weil die Stelle Koloss. 4, 16 öfters zu Fälschungen habe Anlaß geben können [1].

Den Text des Briefs habe ich wesentlich nach der Rezension Lightfoots gedruckt [2] eine griechische Rückübersetzung, die sich fast von selbst ergibt, da der Verf. des Briefs ganz und gar auf den Paulinischen Philipperbrief fußt, habe ich beigefügt.

AD LAODICENSES

1 Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem,
sed per Iesum Christum, fratribus qui sunt Laodiciae: 2 gratia
vobis et pax a deo patre et domino Iesu Christo.

3 Gratias ago Christo per omnem orationem meam, quod
permanentes estis in eo et perseverantes in operibus eius, pro-
missum expectantes in diem iudicii, 4 neque destituant vos quo-
rundam vaniloquia insinuantium, ut vos avertant a veritate evan-
gelii quod a me praedicatur. 5 et nunc faciet deus ut qui sunt
ex me ad profectum veritatis evangelii ⟨venerint ad vos⟩ . . . ⟨deo⟩
[de]servientes et facientes benignitatem operum quae . . . . salutis,
vitae aeternae.

6 Et nunc palam sunt vincula mea quae patior in Christo,
quibus laetor et gaudeo. 7 et hoc mihi est ad salutem perpetuam,
quod ipsum factum ⟨est⟩ orationibus vestris et administrante
spiritu sancto sive per vitam sive per mortem. 8 est enim mihi
vere vita in Christo et mori gaudium. 9 et id ipsum in vobis faciet
misericordia sua, ut eandem dilectionem habeatis et sitis unia-
nimes.

10 Ergo, dilectissimi, ut audistis praesentiam mei, ita reti-
nete et facite in timore dei, et erit vobis vita in aeternum —
11 est enim deus qui operatur in vos —, 12 et facite sine retractu
quaecunque facitis.

13 Et quod ⟨reliquum⟩ est, dilectissimi, gaudete in Christo
et praecavete sordidos in lucro. 14 omnes sint petitiones vestrae
palam apud deum, et estote firmi in sensu Christi. 15 et quae

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1 Auch das wurde geltend gemacht, daß ein so geringes Produkt wie diese Kompilation schwerlich aus dem 2. Jahrhundert stammen könne.

2 Angehängt sind ein Prolog zum Brief aus einer mittelalterlichen englischen Übersetzung und eine sich in mehreren Mss. findende Capitulatio.

integra et vera et pudica et iusta et amabilia, facite. [16] et quae audistis et accepistis, in corde retinete, et erit vobis pax.

[[17] Salutate omnes fratres in osculo sancto]. [18] salutant vos sancti. [19] gratia domini Iesu cum spiritu vestro.

[20] Et facite legi Colosensibus et Colosensium vobis.

Vers 4 destituat ... vaniloquentia: Speculum > die besseren Mss. 5 Die volle Ergänzung der beiden Lücken ist unsicher (Lightfoot nimmt nur die erste an), natürlich ist „venerunt" oder „venerint" nach „evangelii" ausgefallen, s. Phil. 1, 12: *εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐληλύθασιν*, vor „[de]servientes" hat m. E. „deo" gestanden; aber es ist vielleicht noch mehr ausgefallen. — operamque Zahn. 8 vere vita Cod. Fuld. u. a. Mss., andere vivere vita oder vera vita; Lightfoot vita. 9 id ipsum Konjektur einiger Mss. und Lightfoots, in ipsum Fuld. usw. — misericordiam suam Mss., berichtigt von Lightfoot. 10 praesentiam mei s. d. Capitulatio; praesentia mei (praesentiam, praesentiam ei, in praesentia mei, praesentiam mihi bzw. eius oder dei oder domini) Mss.; praesentia mei Lightfoot. 13 reliquum Lightfoot, zur Not entbehrlich. 17 der Vers fehlt im Fuld. u. a. Mss. und stammt nicht aus Phil., Lightfoot und Zahn streichen ihn; doch konnte er leicht vor v. 18 ausfallen. Non liquet.

Prolog in einer englischen Übersetzung, älter als saec. XV med. (s. Lightfoot, l. c. p. 363f.) [1].

Laodicensis ben also Colocenses [sic,] as tweye townes and oo peple in [illegible] aners. these ben of Asie, and among hem hadden be false apostlis and disceyede manye. therefore the postle bringith hem to mynde of his conversacion and trewe preching of the gospel, and excith hem to be stidfast in the trewe witt and love of Crist, and to be of oo wil. [But this pistil is not in comyn Latyn bookis, and therfor it was but late translatid into English tunge].

Capitulatio (nur in einem Teil der Handschriften, s. Lightfoot, l. c. p. 349. 350).

Incipiunt capitula epistole [2] ad Laodicenses: I Paulus apostolus pro Laodicensibus domino gratias refert et hortatur eos ne [3]

1 Über die uralte Vorlage dieses Prologs s. später.

2 Al.: in epistolam. — 3 ut.

a seductoribus decipiantur. II De manifestis vinculis [1] apostoli in quibus laetatur et gaudet. III Monet Laodicenses apostolus ut sicut sui audierunt praesentiam [2] ita retineant et sine retractu faciant. IV Hortatur apostolus Laodicenses ut fide sint firmi et quae integra et vera et deo placita sunt faciant. et salutatio fratrum [3].

Προς Λαοδικεας.

[1] *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ· [2] χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

[3] *Εὐχαριστῶ Χριστῷ ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου, ὅτι διαμένοντές ἐστε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, [4] Μηδὲ παραλογίσηται ὑμᾶς ἡ τινῶν ματαιολογία ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀποστρέψωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ εὐαγγελισθέντος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. [5] καὶ νῦν ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἵνα οἱ (ὄντες) ἐξ ἐμοῦ εἰς προκοπὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ⟨ἐληλύθασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς⟩ .... ⟨τῷ θεῷ⟩ λατρεύοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες χρηστότητα ἔργων ... τῆς σωτηρίας, τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου.*

[6] *Καὶ νῦν φανεροί εἰσιν οἱ δεσμοί μου, οὓς ὑπομένω ἐν Χριστῷ, οἷς χαίρω καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμαι. [7] καὶ τοῦτό μοί ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἄϊδιον, ὅτι τοῦτο ἀπέβη διὰ τῶν δεήσεων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας πνεύματος ἁγίου εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου. [8] ἔστιν γάρ μοι ἀληθῶς τὸ ζῆν ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν χαρά. [9] καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιήσει τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχητε καὶ ἦτε σύνψυχοι.*

[10] *Ὥστε, ἀγαπητοί, καθὼς ἠκούσατε τὴν παρουσίαν μου, οὕτω κρατεῖτε καὶ πράσσετε ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ζωὴ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα — [11] ἔστιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν —, [12] καὶ ποιεῖτε χωρὶς διαλογισμοῦ ὅ τι ἂν ποιῆτε.*

[13] *Καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, ἀγαπητοί, χαίρετε ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ παραιτεῖσθε τοὺς αἰσχροκερδεῖς. [14] πάντα τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωριζέσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ γίνεσθε ἑδραῖοι ἐν τῷ νοῖ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. [15] ὅσα δὲ ὁλόκληρα καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ προσφιλῆ, πράσσετε, [16] καὶ ἃ ἠκούσατε καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κρατεῖτε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἡ εἰρήνη.*

[[17] *Ἀσπάσασθε πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ*]. [18] *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἅγιοι.* [19] *ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ*

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1 manifesta vinculat. — 2 praesentia. — 3 + in osculo sancto.

πνεύματος ὑμῶν. [20] καὶ ποιήσατε ἵνα τοῖς Κολασσαεῦσιν ἀναγνωσθῇ καὶ ἡ Κολασσαέων ὑμῖν.

1 Gal. 1, 1. 2 Phil. 1, 2. 3 Phil. 1, 3 (2, 30; 1, 10; 2, 16; Rom. 2, 7; Gal. 5, 5). 4 (Kol. 2, 4); (I Tim. 1, 6); (II Tim. 4, 4); (Gal. 2, 5. 14; Gal. 1, 11). 5 Phil. 1, 12 (Rom. 3, 12 ποιῶν χρηστότητα). 6 Phil. 1, 13. 18; (2, 17). 7 Phil. 1, 19. 20. 8 Phil. 1, 21. 9 Phil. 2, 2 (Tit. 3, 5). 10 Phil. 2, 12. 11 Phil. 2, 13. 12 Phil. 2, 14. 13 Phil. 3, 1 (I Tim. 3, 8; Tit. 1, 7). 14 Phil. 4, 6 (I Kor. 15, 58; 2, 16). 15 Phil. 4, 8 f. 16 Phil. 4, 9. 17 (I Thess. 5, 26). 18 Phil. 4, 22. 19 Phil. 4, 23. Gal. 6, 18. 20 Kol. 4, 16.

Mit vollem Recht bezeichnet man diesen Brief, abstrakt betrachtet, als inhaltslos und schwach, seinen Verfasser als dreisten Stümper, der es wagen durfte, ein solches Machwerk für einen Brief des Apostels auszugeben. Freilich, sein Wagnis ist ihm bei einem großen Leserkreise gelungen und hat sich weit über ein Jahrtausend hinaus die Anerkennung erhalten; aber das ändert nichts an der Einsicht, daß der Verf. mit den geringsten Mitteln gearbeitet hat. Ist doch das Schreiben, nach dem wörtlich aus Galat. 1, 1 entnommenen Anfang, einfach ein Auszug aus dem Philipperbrief, dem es auch in der Aufeinanderfolge der Verse durchweg folgt, dabei aber alles Konkrete im Brief ganz beiseite läßt. Das, was übrig bleibt, ist auch zum Teil paulinischen Briefen entnommen [1]; zieht man auch dieses noch ab, so bleibt ein Zehntel als Eigentum des Verfassers übrig, und auch dieses Zehntel scheint charakterlos und farblos zu sein. Was sollte also dieser Cento? Hatte der Verfasser wirklich nur die Absicht, auf eine möglichst billige Weise die Lücke in der Überlieferung der Paulusbriefe zu stopfen, die durch Koloss. 4, 16 bezeichnet schien? So urteilten alle Kritiker bisher und mußten so urteilen; denn die abstrakte Betrachtung konnte zu keinem anderen Ergebnisse gelangen, und eine Tendenz bzw. eine konkrete Situation, die diese Kompilation erklärte, schien unauffindbar.

Aber mit einem Schlage ändert sich die ganze Beurteilung des Schriftstücks, und es wird verständlich, sobald man erkannt hat, daß es Marcionitischen Ursprungs ist,

1 Augenscheinlich glaubte der Verfasser, naive Leser voraussetzend, seine Fälschung könne nicht aufgedeckt werden, wenn er sie fast durchweg aus den echten Paulusbriefen bestreite.

was ja auch das Muratorische Fragment mit dürren Worten von einem falschen Laod.-Brief sagt. Daß ich das nicht schon früher bemerkt habe, liegt lediglich daran, daß ich leider den Inhalt des auch von mir für ein wertloses Machwerk gehaltenen Briefes nicht im Kopfe hatte und ihn nicht zur Hand nahm.

Der Beweis für den Marcionitischen Ursprung kann unwiderleglich geführt werden:

(1) Der „Apostolos" Marcions beginnt mit dem Galaterbrief als der Grundlage seiner Lehre und deshalb mit den Worten: „Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum". Auch unser Brief beginnt mit diesen monumentalen, im Sinne Marcions antikatholischen Worten [1].

(2) Der Philipperbrief beginnt nach dem Gruß mit den Worten: „Gratias ago deo meo" [2]; unser Verfasser schreibt dafür „Christo". Der „Modalismus" Marcions ist bekannt. Seine Theologie ist immer zugleich Christologie, und in Christus sollten seine Anhänger leben; vgl. dazu in unserem Brief v. 3, permanentes estis in Christo et perseverantes in operibus Christi" [3] und die verstärkenden Abwandlungen des Originaltextes in v. 6 („nunc palam sunt vincula mea quae patior in Christo"), v. 8 („est enim mihi vere vita in Christo"), v. 13 („gaudete in Christo") [4], und v. 14 („estote firmi in sensu Christi").

(3) Der allein etwas Eigentümliches enthaltende Abschnitt v. 4 und 5 warnt vor Verführung durch die nichtige Predigt falscher Lehrer und stellt ihr zweimal die „veritas evangelii" entgegen, und zwar „quod a me praedicatur". „Veritas evangelii" ist aber ein terminus technicus bei Marcion und tritt auch in den Marcionitischen Prologen dominierend hervor, und durch den Zusatz „quod a me praedicatur" werden die anderen Evangelisten bzw. Apostel für falsch erklärt. Ganz im Sinne der Korrekturen des Meisters ist dann nach den Worten: *τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ εἰς*

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1 Nur dieser Vers ist aus Galat. übernommen (dort und hier ohne „et deum patrem"!); doch findet sich noch eine Reminiszenz an Gal. 6, 18 im 19. Vers.

2 Nur die Variante *τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν* findet sich, dagegen steht in keiner Handschrift *Χριστῷ*.

3 Die „opera Christi" sind höchstwahrscheinlich als asketische gemeint.

4 Alle Mss. bieten Phil. 3, 1 *ἐν κυρίῳ*.

προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν (Phil. 1, 12) der Satz gebildet: *καὶ νῦν ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἵνα οἱ (ὄντες) ἐξ ἐμοῦ εἰς προκοπὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ⟨ἐληλύθασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς⟩*, und damit ist ausgesprochen, daß Paulus in die gefährdete Gemeinde (die er nicht selbst kennt) seine Leute geschickt hat und von ihrem Wirken Erfolg erwartet gegenüber den Irrlehrern [1].

(4) Wieder ganz in der raffinierten Weise des Meisters ist v. 10 nach Phil. 2, 12 (*καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε, μὴ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου*) vom Fälscher der Satz gebildet: *καθὼς ἠκούσατε τὴν παρουσίαν μου, οὕτω κρατεῖτε κτλ.*, d. h. ein Doppeltes ist damit erreicht, erstlich ein Zeugnis dafür, daß Paulus der Gemeinde von Angesicht unbekannt ist, zweitens der hohe Ausdruck „Parusie" für das Auftreten des Paulus (die *ἀπουσία* hat der Fälscher wohlweislich unterschlagen). Kann man geschickter in einer Vorlage aus einer Chamade eine Fanfare machen, freilich unter gründlicher Veränderung des Wortlauts [2]?

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1 Der virtuose Einfall „*τὰ κατ' ἐμέ*" durch *οἱ (ὄντες) ἐξ ἐμοῦ* zu ersetzen, somit das *ἐληλύθασιν* wörtlich zu verstehen und nun eine Aussage über die vom Apostel nach Laodicea abgesandten Schüler und ihre Tätigkeit dort zu gewinnen, ist des Scharfsinns Marcions würdig. Vielleicht ist er es wirklich selbst, der Phil. 1, 12 schon ähnlich korrigiert hat, und der Schüler hat die Fassung des Meisters weiter verändert; leider ist uns die Textfassung Marcions für diesen Vers nicht überliefert. Die Konjektur „venerint" („venerunt") ist in Wahrheit keine Konjektur, da es ja in der Vorlage (Phil. 1, 12) steht. Ob im griechischen Original der Indikativ gestanden haben kann, überlasse ich den Sprachgelehrten.

2 Auch die Textveränderung („Wie ihr von meiner Erscheinung und Auftreten [*παρουσία*] gehört habt, so haltet fest") ist den genial-raffinierten Textveränderungen Marcions so ähnlich, daß man auch hier die Möglichkeit offen lassen muß, er selbst schon habe Phil. 2, 12 umzugestalten begonnen. Seine Textfassung auch dieser Stelle ist uns nicht überliefert. — In diesem Falle übrigens, wie in dem vorangehenden, hängt alles davon ab, daß man den Text an beiden Stellen richtig herstellt. Merkwürdigerweise ist m. W. keiner meiner Vorgänger auf die gebotenen Konjekturen „venerunt" und „praesentiam" (c. 1, 12; 2, 12) gekommen, die eigentlich gar keine Konjekturen sind; denn praesentiam mei ist graphisch von praesentia mei kaum zu unterscheiden, die Ersetzung von *ὑπακούειν* durch *ἀκούειν* sowie die Weglassung von *ἀπουσία* fordern *παρουσίαν* als Objekt (nicht *παρουσίᾳ* oder *ἐν παρουσίᾳ*), und das alte Argumentum zum Laodicenerbrief sagt ausdrücklich, daß der Apostel persön-

(5) Marcion sprach dem A. T. und den katholischen Christen, die er bekämpfte, die Verheißung, ja die Kenntnis des ewigen Lebens ab und bildete diesen Begriff zu einem Stichwort seiner Verkündigung und Kirche; in unserem Brief tritt „das ewige Leben" in v. 5 und 10 unerwartet hervor (vgl. auch v. 7 den Zusatz „perpetua" zu „salus").

Diese Beobachtungen entscheiden [1]: unser Brief ist eine Marcionitische Fälschung [2], und da sie dem Verfasser des Muratorischen Fragments bekannt ist, eine Fälschung schon des 2. Jahrhunderts — nicht von Marcion selbst, denn dieser bot den Epheserbrief als Laodicenerbrief, sondern von einem Schüler aus der Gruppe von Marcioniten, die, der katholischen Über-

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lich nicht zu diesen Adressaten gekommen ist, sie also nur von seiner Parusie gehört haben (noch deutlicher die Capitulatio). *Ἀκούειν τὴν παρουσίαν* ist übrigens so gut griechisch, wie „audire praesentiam" gut lateinisch ist. — Weil die Ausleger an diesen beiden Stellen den richtigen Text nicht erkannt haben — sie allein geben dem Briefe Farbe —, mußten sie in dem Schriftstück eine farb- und inhaltslose Stilübung sehen.

1 In ihnen ist so gut wie alles erschöpft, was der Brief Besonderes neben dem Philipperbrief enthält. Nur v. 13 die Warnung vor *αἰσχροκερδεῖς* (hängt damit etwa auch die Tilgung von *κέρδος* Phil. 1, 21 in v. 8 zusammen?) bleibt dunkel. Warfen die Marcioniten ihren katholischen Gegnern samt und sonders *αἰσχροκερδία* vor? Unmöglich ist's nicht; mit diesem Vorwurf beehrten sich die christlichen Parteien oft gegenseitig (s. die gegen die Montanistischen Führer geschleuderten Vorwürfe), und speziell der römische Bischof Zephyrin wird von Hippolyt (Refut. IX, 7) als *ἀνὴρ αἰσχροκερδής* bezeichnet. Besteht hier ein geschichtlicher Zusammenhang? — Für den Bibeltext Marcions gewinnt man aus dem Brief neue Stücke. Der Brief ist der älteste Zeuge für den Text des Philipperbriefs (neben Marcion selbst); er bestätigt aber durchweg seine Zuverlässigkeit.

2 Der „Gerichtstag" v. 3 darf nicht als Gegenargument geltend gemacht werden; Marcion hat das Gericht Röm. 2, 2 16; II Thess. 1, 9; I Kor. 5, 5; II Kor. 5, 10 stehen gelassen. Auf die *ἔργα* v. 3 und 5 als unpaulinisch und unmarcionitisch wird sich niemand mehr berufen wollen — ein alter orthodoxer Lutheraner freilich machte sich einst die Unechtheit des Schreibens an diesen *ἔργα* klar! Als charakteristisch-marcionitisch darf übrigens auch die Hervorhebung Gottes als des das Gute Wirkenden angesehen werden, vgl. v. 5. 9. 11. Lehrreich ist hier besonders v. 9 im Vergleich mit seiner Vorlage Phil. 2, 2; hier heißt es: *πληρώσατε τὴν χαράν μου, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε*, dort dagegen „faciet deus ut sitis unianimes".

lieferung folgend, ihren Laodicenerbrief nun auch als Epheserbrief betitelten und infolge davon die Adresse „Ad Laodicenos" frei hatten. Man hatte bisher keine Zeugnisse, daß die Umbildung schon im 2. Jahrhundert bei einem Teile der Marcioniten stattgefunden hat. Wir dürfen jetzt mit Bestimmtheit sagen: Die Fälschung stammt aus den Jahren 160—190 [1]. Daß sie sich Marcion selbst erlaubt hat, ist nach den Prinzipien, nach denen er seine Bibel angelegt hat, ausgeschlossen; aber der Schüler, der diese Fälschung auf dem Gewissen hat, hat sich innerhalb derselben nach der Methode gerichtet, nach welcher der Meister „Interpolationen" ausgeschieden und dicta probantia für seine Lehre aus indifferenten Stellen durch kleine einschneidende Textveränderungen zu gestalten verstanden hat.

Betrachten wir nun den Brief als ganzen: Jener Marcionit, der ihn gefälscht hat, hat augenscheinlich die Absicht gehabt, einen Paulusbrief auf Grund von Koloss. 4, 16 zu erfinden, der heimlich Marcionitische Lehren zum Ausdruck bringen und auch bei den katholischen Christen Anerkennung finden sollte. Deshalb verwendete er fast durchweg paulinische Sätze, die er dem Philipperbrief der Reihe nach entnahm — diesen Brief wählte er wahrscheinlich deshalb aus, weil man aus ihm am leichtesten als Grundlage der Fälschung eine indifferente, also Vertrauen erweckende Kompilation zusammenstellen konnte. Die spezifisch dogmatischen Sätze Marcions getraute er sich nicht in seiner Fälschung zum Ausdruck zu bringen [2]: er fürchtete wohl, sich zu verraten. Daher begnügte er sich damit, an drei Stellen die eigentümliche Auffassung Marcions in bezug auf den Apostel Paulus einzuschmuggeln, in der Hoffnung, damit bereits etwas Wesentliches für die Marcionitische Propaganda geleistet zu haben: (1) Vers 1: Paulus ist ganz selbständiger Apostel, der nichts mit den Uraposteln zu tun hat. (2) Vers 3—5: Es gibt Irrlehrer in der Kirche zu Laodicea, d. h. sie hat ein falsches Evangelium erhalten. Irrlehrer sind die, welche nicht der „veritas evangelii", die nur Paulus verkündigt hat, folgen. Paulus hat die nach Laodicea

1 Einige Jahre vor dem Muratorischen Fragment und schwerlich vor dem Tode Marcions.

2 Doch s. was oben über „Christus", die Wirksamkeit Gottes und „das ewige Leben" bemerkt ist.

gekommenen Irrlehrer durch seine Schüler („qui sunt ex me") bekämpft und hofft auf Erfolg ihrer Predigt. (3) Vers 10: Nachdem die Laodicener nun von der „Parusie" des Apostels gehört haben, sollen sie sich an die Lehre halten, die Er vertritt; dann ist ihnen das ewige Leben gewiß [1].

Der Brief hat wirklich den vom Verfasser gewünschten Erfolg gehabt [2], wenn auch nicht überall. Der Verfasser des Muratorischen Fragments, der sehr bald nach der Produktion der Fälschung geschrieben hat, hat sie durchschaut („ficta ad haeresem Marcionis"); aber er hat es doch für nötig geachtet, den Brief ausdrücklich abzuweisen. Aus seinen Worten geht deutlich hervor, daß er bereits in katholische Bibeln Eingang gewonnen hatte oder doch Eingang zu gewinnen drohte. Die Abweisung jenes einsichtigen Mannes hat aber leider nur einen partikularen Erfolg gehabt: der Brief drang doch in die lateinischen Bibeln ein und behauptete sich.

Ist er ursprünglich lateinisch abgefaßt oder griechisch? Lightfoot hat zahlreiche sprachliche Beobachtungen geltend gemacht, um ein griechisches Original zu beweisen, aber sie sind

1 Gemessen an dem Zweck, den der Verf. sich gesetzt hatte, und in Hinsicht auf den Erfolg, der ihm zuteil wurde, darf man das Schriftstück doch nicht als ungeschicktes Machwerk bezeichnen. Der Verf. kannte seine Leute, wußte, was er dem christlichen Publikum bieten durfte, und hat vorsichtig und umsichtig operiert. Was die moralische Seite betrifft, so darf man den Meister selbst nicht mit diesem Schüler belasten. Marcion war davon überzeugt, daß die Paulusbriefe von katholischen, d. h. in seinem Sinn judenchristlichen Interpolationen wimmeln, und hat es demgemäß unternommen, diese auszumerzen und den richtigen Text, so gut er es vermochte, wiederherzustellen; ganz selten nur hat er eine positive Konjektur gemacht, und Unfehlbarkeit für seine Kritik hat er nicht in Anspruch genommen. Dieser Schüler aber hat gefälscht, gefälscht wahrscheinlich im Einverständnis mit einer ganzen Gruppe seiner Glaubensgenossen! Eine Entschuldigung für dieses Verfahren kann ich von keiner Seite her finden. Nur insofern kann man vielleicht doch Marcion selbst hier „unschuldig-schuldig" nennen, als die „tägliche Gewohnheit", am Bibeltext zu ändern (s. das Zeugnis Tertullians), die sich durch sein Verfahren in seiner Kirche eingestellt hatte und einstellen mußte, allmählich zu einer schlimmen Leichtfertigkeit wurde, die zuletzt in Fälschungen überging.

2 Das ist ein Zeichen höchster Kritiklosigkeit bei den Lesern angesichts der Tatsache, daß das Schreiben fast ganz und gar ein Plagiat (nach Philipp.) ist.

m. E. alle nicht durchschlagend und können es nicht sein, weil ja fast der ganze Brief Philipperbrief-Verse wiedergibt, die schon lateinisch übersetzt waren [1], und weil vulgäres, gräzisierendes Latein(,,praesentia mei" und ähnliches) nicht für eine Übersetzung entscheidet. Durchschlagend scheinen mir allein die Erwägungen zu sein, daß der Fälscher es in so früher Zeit nicht wagen konnte, einen lateinischen Brief vorzulegen ohne das dazugehörige (angebliche) Original, und daß die Verhandlungen über den Brief bei einigen griechischen Vätern eine griechische Fassung fordern. Der Brief wird wohl gleichzeitig griechisch und lateinisch produziert worden sein; die lateinische Fassung wird schon vom Muratorischen Fragment vorausgesetzt — das ich gegen die Meinung der meisten Kritiker für ursprünglich lateinisch und sich auf eine lateinische Bibel beziehend halte — und von den oben mitgeteilten und besprochenen lateinischen ,,Argumenta" zu den paulinischen Briefen.

Von dem Verhältnis unseres Briefs zu diesen lateinischen Argumenta ist noch zu handeln.

Diese Prologe wurden von einem Marcioniten verfaßt, der den bei Marcion als Laodicenerbrief bezeichneten Epheserbrief mit der Großkirche und im Unterschied vom Meister als Epheserbrief betrachtete und bezeichnete (denn das Argumentum ist marcionitisch: ,,Ephesii sunt Asiani . hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide [das ist das Marcionitische Kennzeichen] . hos conlaudat apostolus, scribens eis ab urbe Roma de carcere per Tychicum diaconum"). Er kannte aber bereits den falschen Laodicenerbrief und hatte ihn im Kanon; denn aus dem Argumentum für den Kolosserbrief läßt sich das in den Vulgata-Mss. nicht findende Argumentum zum Laodicenerbrief rekonstruieren. Jenes lautet: ,,Colossenses et hi sicut Laudicenses sunt Asiani, et ipsi praeventi erant a pseudoapostolis, nec ad hos accessit ipse apostolus, sed et hos per epistulam recorrigit — audierant enim verbum ab Archippo qui et ministerium in eos accepit —, ergo apostolus iam ligatus scribit

1 Der Hinweis Lightfoots darauf, daß das Latein des Briefs sich nicht überall mit den bekannten lateinischen Fassungen des Briefs deckt, ist auch nicht durchschlagend, da wir den lateinisch übersetzten Philipperbrief der Marcioniten nur ganz unvollkommen kennen.

eis ab Epheso". Der Brief, auf den sich dieses Argumentum zurückbezieht und der unmittelbar vorhergegangen sein muß, kann nicht der Epheserbrief sein, auf den die betreffenden Worte nicht passen, sondern eben nur unser gefälschter Laodicenerbrief, auf den die Charakteristik in der Tat paßt. Das Argumentum muß daher in den Grundzügen so gelautet haben, wie es oben S. 129* gefaßt ist: „Laudiceni sunt Asiani, hi praeventi erant a falsis apostolis .... ad hos non accessit ipse apostolus .... hos per epistolam recorrigit". Der oben mitgeteilte Prolog zum Laod. aus einer mittelenglischen Handschrift bestätigt das; denn hier heißt es: „these ben of Asie, and among hem hadden be false apostlis". Dieser Ausdruck kommt im Brief selbst nicht vor (dort steht „vaniloquia quorundam insinuantium, ut vos avertant" usw.). Von sich aus hätte der englische Verfasser bzw. Übersetzer des Prologs gar nicht auf „falsi apostoli" kommen können, wenn er nicht das zu den anderen Argumenten gehörige Laod.-Argumentum gekannt hätte, in welchem, wie im Argumentum zu Koloss., die „pseudoapostoli" bzw. „falsi apostoli" gestanden haben [1].

Also gehören der falsche Laodicenerbrief und die Marcionitischen Argumenta zusammen. Aber man kann noch mehr sagen: Eben das, was die Argumenta mit monumentaler Einseitigkeit als sachlichen Inhalt bei allen Briefen allein hervorheben (Paulus allein der wahre Apostel, die veritas evangelii, die Urgeschichte jeder Gemeinde in Hinsicht auf die Irrlehrer, d. h. die Urapostel, und Paulus), das hat auch der Fälscher zum alleinigen Inhalt seiner Fälschung gemacht; alles übrige ist bei ihm Beiwerk. Damit treten aber diese Argumenta und der Laodicenerbrief in ein so enges Verhältnis, daß die Annahme sich aufdrängt: sie gehören auch zeitlich zusammen und sind aus derselben Schmiede (also nicht von M. selbst). Läßt sich für diese Annahme auch keine absolute Sicherheit gewinnen, so ist doch so viel gewiß, daß diese mit den Argumenten ausgestattete Marcionitische Sammlung der Paulus-

1 Man darf mit Wahrscheinlichkeit darauf rechnen, daß das alte Argumentum zu Laod. noch in einer Vulgata-Handschrift auftauchen wird.

briefe und der gefälschte Laodicenerbrief zusammen den katholischen Kirchen insinuiert worden sind, und da es für diesen Brief nach dem Zeugnis des Muratorischen Fragments feststeht, daß dies noch im 2. Jahrhundert geschehen ist, so wird auch die ganze Sammlung der Paulusbriefe damals bereits in einige Gemeinden der katholischen Kirche eingeschleppt worden sein — der Verfasser des Fragments wird doch nicht den Laodicenerbrief als isolierten vor sich gehabt (dann wäre er nicht so besorgt gewesen und hätte schwerlich ein Wort über ihn verloren), sondern ihn bereits in einer Sammlung gelesen haben; welche Sammlung aber könnte das anders sein als eben diejenige, die wir aus den Argumenten kennen? [1]

Die Entdeckung de Bruynes und Corssens hat uns gelehrt, daß die gewöhnlichen Argumenta der Paulusbriefe der Vulgata Marcionitisch sind — hier hatte das Marcionitische Propaganda-Unternehmen einen fast vollständigen Erfolg. Jetzt lernen wir, daß der Laodicenerbrief der Vulgata eine Marcionitische Fälschung ist, die zum Glück nur einen halben Erfolg in der Kirche erzielt hat, aber doch einen halben!

Weder Tertullian, noch Cyprian, noch Augustin (wohl aber Gregor der Große), noch die abendländischen Synoden, auf denen der Bibelkanon in der Zeit um 400 festgestellt worden ist, haben den Laodicenerbrief anerkannt; er wurde mit verächtlichem Schweigen von ihnen behandelt und von allen namhaften lateinischen Vätern vor Gregor. Der Verfasser des Muratorischen Fragments hat die damals erst jüngst ans Licht getretene Fälschung sofort als solche erkannt und als Marcionitisch bezeichnet, Hieronymus, den Mund voll nehmend, hat sogar von dem Brief gesagt: „ab omnibus exploditur" — dennoch hat er sich in weitesten

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1 Die „Argumenta" und der Laod.-Brief haben denselben ältesten Zeugen, den Cod. Fuldensis. — Die Blutsverwandtschaft zwischen den „Argumenta" und dem gefälschten Brief folgt außer aus den angegebenen Hauptstichworten auch aus der Parallele zwischen dem Argum. zu I Kor. und Laod., dort „philosophiae verbosa eloquentia", hier (v. 4) „quorundam vaniloquia insinuantium", dort „subvertere", hier (l. c.) „avertere". Ob die Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe seitens eines Teils der Marcioniten mit der Fälschung des Laod.-Briefs zusammenfällt oder später anzusetzen ist, ist nicht sicher zu ermitteln.

Kreisen im Abendland durchgesetzt. Das erklärt sich nur, wenn er gleich anfangs in einige Gemeinden der lateinischen katholischen Kirche gekommen ist, d. h. wenn sie damals schon die bisher noch wenig verbreitete Sammlung von Paulusbriefen zuerst von den Marcioniten erhielten (waren diese etwa sogar so verschlagen, daß sie auch unverfälschte Paulusbriefe mit ihren Argumenta und dem falschen Laodicenerbrief versahen?). Ein fait accompli war geschaffen, das sich hier und dort stärker erwies als alle kritischen Gegenversuche. Im Mittelalter war man vollends kritiklos, und selbst ein so bedeutender und verständiger Gelehrter wie Johannes von Salisb. nahm an der Fälschung keinen Anstoß, der erst Erasmus den Todesstoß versetzt hat [1].

Im Laod.-Brief begrüßen wir das einzige vollständige Schriftwerk, das uns aus der Marcionitischen Kirche ältester Zeit erhalten ist. Wir können es nur schmerzlich bedauern, daß das Schicksal uns nichts Besseres aus ihr beschert hat als diese unverschämte Kompilation. Auch hier hat der unglückliche Stifter dieser Reformkirche Unglück gehabt. Seine Bibelkritik ist nicht nach diesem Brief zu beurteilen, vielmehr aufs schwerste durch sie verfälscht.

E. Untersuchungen.

Das Urteil der Kirchenväter hat sich bewährt: Epiphanius hat recht, wenn er haer. 42, 9 sagt: *Ὁ Μαρκίων ἔχει καὶ ἐπιστολὰς παρ' αὐτῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου δέκα, αἷς μόναις κέχρηται, οὐ πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν αὐταῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἀλλὰ τινὰ αὐτῶν περιτέμνων, τινὰ δὲ ἀλλοιώσας κεφάλαια* [2].

1 Er bemerkt (zu Koloss. 4, 16): „Nihil habet Pauli praeter voculas aliquot ex caeteris eius epistolis mendicatas... Non est cuiusvis hominis Paulinum pectus effingere. Tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus. At haec, praeterquam quod brevissima est, quam friget, quam iacet!... Quanquam, quid attinet argumentari? Legat qui volet epistolam... Nullum argumentum efficacius persuaserit eam non esse Pauli quam ipsa epistola."

2 Bereits der älteste Berichterstatter, Irenäus (I, 27, 2), hat das Apostolikon M.s richtig charakterisiert: „Apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quae manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo et de eo deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, et quaecumque ex propheticis memorans apostolus docuit praenuntiantibus adventum domini". Vgl. III, 12, 12: „Epistolas Pauli decurtaverunt".

Der kritische Apparat ergibt folgendes:

(1) Marcion hat an viel zahlreicheren Stellen, als Tert. es angibt [1], in den überlieferten Text der Paulusbriefe eingegriffen.

(2) Die Eingriffe bestehen in großen Streichungen und in kleinen, aber oft sehr einschneidenden, ja sogar den Sinn des Textes an einigen Stellen in sein Gegenteil verkehrenden Korrekturen und Streichungen — größtenteils nachweisbar im Interesse seiner eigentümlichen Lehre. Große Streichungen lassen sich auf Grund des uns überlieferten lückenhaften Materials in I und II Kor., den beiden Thess., Phil. und Philem. nicht nachweisen, auch in Eph. nur das Fehlen von 1, 21; 6, 2 b. 3 und starke Verkürzungen in 5, 22 ff.; in Kol. nur das Fehlen von 1, 15 b. 16. 17 b. Dagegen fehlten in Gal. die Verse 1, 18—24 (wahrscheinlich); 2, 6—9 a (wahrscheinlich); 3, 6—9. 10 b. 11 a. 12 a. 14 a. 15—25; 4, 27—30; in Röm. 1, 17 b; 1, 19—2, 1; 3, 31—4, 25; 8, 19—22; 9, 1—33 (wahrscheinlich ganz); 10, 5—11, 32; 15; 16. Da Tert. aber in seinen Auseinandersetzungen im Lauf seiner Gegenschrift (eine Ausnahme bildet seine Polemik bei Eph.) immer sprunghafter wird (weil er sich vor Wiederholungen scheute), so kann auch in den zuletzt behandelten Briefen viel mehr bei M. gefehlt haben, als wir nachzuweisen vermögen.

Die kleineren tendenziösen Streichungen, Korrekturen und Umgestaltungen finden sich Gal. 1, 1. 7; 2, (1). 9. 10; 4, 4. 8. 21—26 (!); 5. 14; 6, 17. I Kor. 1, 18; 3, 17; 10, 11. 19; (6, 13); 15, 3. 20. 38. 45. II Kor. 1, 3; 2, 15; 3, 14; 4. 10. 11. 13; (5, 10); 7, 1. Röm. 1,16. 18; 6, 9. 19; 7, 5; 10, 3; 11, 33; 12, 19. I Thess. 2, 15; 4, 4. 16; 5, 23. II Thess. 1, 8; 2, 11. Ephes. 2, 2. (11). 14. 15. 20; 3, 9; 5, 22. 28. 31; 6, 2. 3. 4. Kol. 1, 19. 22; 2, 8; 4, 14; Phil. 1, 15. 17; 2, 7; 3, 9. Alle diese tendenziösen Auslassungen und Korrekturen lasse ich hier beiseite, da sie in der Darstellung behandelt sind.

(3) Das griechische Apostolikon M.s (Orig., Adamant., Epiph. usw.) stimmt mit seinem lateinischen (Tert.) im ganzen trefflich

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1 S. (nach Kroymanns Ausgabe) V, 1 p. 571 — V, 3 p. 575 — V, 3 p. 578 — V, 4 p. 579 — V, 4 p. 581 — V, 10 p. 607 — V, 11 p. 614 — V, 13 p. 619 — V, 14 p. 624 — V, 14 p. 625 (bis) — V, 15 p. 627 — V, 16 p. 630 — V, 17 p. 632 — V, 17 p. 636 — V, 17 p. 637 — V, 18 p. 638 — V, 18 p. 641 — V, 19 p. 643 — V, 19 p. 644 — V, 21 p. 649.

zusammen [1]; die nicht zahlreichen nachweisbaren Ausnahmen erklären sich teils aus den notwendigen Differenzen zwischen einem Original und seiner Übersetzung [2], teils aus den Veränderungen, die der M. Text in der Kirche M.s erlitten hat [3].

(4) Neben der Erkenntnis der schweren tendenziösen Eingriffe M.s in den Text ist die wichtigste Einsicht in bezug auf Natur und Art des Textes die, daß der griechische und lateinische Text M.s je ein Zwillingsbruder des bilinguen Textes D, G ist und daher ein Blutsverwandter der Itala und Vulgata (gegenüber dem afrikanischen Text), sowie der Texte, wie sie bei Tert. (in seinen übrigen Schriften) [4], Irenäus lat., Novatian, Ambrosiaster [5], Lucifer, Origenes lat., Augustin usw. vorliegen. Die Verwandtschaft mit D, G — und zwar gerade dort, wo diese zusammenstimmen [6] — ist dabei im höchsten Grade frappant;

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1 Doppelt, bez. dreifach bezeugte Korrekturen sind Gal. 1, 1; 1, 7; 1, 8; 3, 6 ff.; 4, 21 f.; 5, 14 (bis); 6, 17; I Kor. 15, 3. 4; I Thess. 4, 15—17; II Thess. 1, 6; Ephes. 2, 11; 2, 17; 5, 31. Auch die Stellen gehören hierher, bei denen M.s Text von zwei oder mehreren Zeugen als gleichlautend mit dem kanonischen bezeugt wird; ferner auch die, wo ein Zeuge eine Lücke angibt und sich die Stelle auch bei den anderen Zeugen nicht findet.

2 Zahn konnte an einigen Stellen die Auskunft gebrauchen, Tert. habe hier willkürlich übersetzt: diese Auskunft durften wir nicht anwenden; allein es macht keinen großen Unterschied, ob die Willkür bei Tert. liegt oder bei dem älteren Übersetzer, wenn eine solche überhaupt anzunehmen ist.

3 In bezug auf diese Veränderungen s. (außer den „Argumenta", der Hinzufügung von Laod. und der Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe) zu I Kor. 15, 24. 25; I Kor. 15, 38; I Kor. 15, 50(?); II Kor. 5, 10(?); Röm. 1, 24 ff.(?); Röm. 16, 25—27(!); Ephes. 3, 9. Vielleicht ist Gal. 4, 26 keine Korrektur M.s, sondern seiner Schüler.

4 Das Verhältnis, welches hier besteht, genau darzulegen, ist nicht meine Aufgabe; nur soviel sei gesagt, daß der kanonische lateinische Bibeltext der Paulusbriefe, der Tert. vorlag — denn die Annahme, daß er nur einen kanonischen griechischen Text besaß, ist hier ebenso undurchführbar, wie gegenüber den ihm vorliegenden M.-Text — aufs engste mit dem lateinischen M.-Text verwandt gewesen ist, aber doch auch (abgesehen von den Verfälschungen M.s) nicht unbedeutende Verschiedenheiten aufwies.

5 Die Verwandtschaft mit Iren. lat. u. Ambrosiaster ist besonders groß.

6 Der Marciontext steht G noch etwas näher als D und auch d, g etwas näher als D,G.

im ganzen handelt es sich um etwa 98 Stellen[1]. Somit sind der griechische und der lateinische M. Text die ältesten Zeugen für den 𝔚Text der Paulusbriefe, die wir besitzen, also die ehrwürdigsten Urkunden für diesen. Daß diese Texte auch eine nicht unbedeutende Verwandtschaft mit syr^{cu} einerseits und mit dem ältesten ägyptischen Text andrerseits aufweisen [2], kann nach dem, was wir sonst über den Einfluß des 𝔚Textes auf diese in ältester Zeit wissen, nicht auffallen. Auch auf den antiochenischen Text hat der Text, wie ihn M. vertritt, Einfluß geübt, aber einen geringeren.

(5) M. hat hiernach sein Apostolikon wahrscheinlich nicht im Pontus oder Asien rezensiert, sondern erst im Abendland. Der Text, der ihm vorlag, war also der Text der römischen Gemeinde kurz vor der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts [3].

(6) Eine sehr große Reihe von Eigentümlichkeiten der beiden M.Texte gegenüber den modernen Textrezensionen ist demgemäß nicht Marcionitisch, wie man früher irrtümlich annahm, sondern der 𝔚Text.

Auf dieser gewonnenen Grundlage aber erheben sich nunmehr zwei Fragen: (a) hat M. über die tendenziöse Umgestaltung der Paulusbriefe hinaus auch sonst den Text korrigiert und sich undogmatische Eingriffe erlaubt und — wenn diese Frage zu bejahen ist — aus welchen Motiven? (b) Welches Ver-

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1 S. im Apparat zu Gal. 1, 6(bis) 8; 2, 9; 3, 14; 5, 1. 9. 14(bis). 24; 6, 7. — I Kor. 1, 11. 18. 21. 22; 3, 2. 3. 4. 21; 4, 5; 5, 3. 4(bis); 6, 16. 20; 7, 29; 8, 4; 9, 7; 10, 3. 5(bis). 7. 9. 16; 12, 9; 14, 19. 21. 34; 15, 4. 14. 20. 39(bis). 50(bis). 51. — II Kor. 2, 16; 4, 4. 5. 6(ter). 10; 5, 3. 4(bis); 5, 10(bis); 17; 10, 18; 13, 3. 4. — Röm. 5, 8. 9; 6, 19; 8, 11(bis); 13, 9; 15; 16. — I Thess. 2, 15; 4, 3. 16. 17. — Ephes. 1, 6. 9. 12. 13; 2, 10. 11(bis). 13. 15. 19; 3, 8(bis). 9. 10; 4, 6. 25; 5, 31; 6, 11. — Kol. 2, 16. 18; 3, 4; 4, 10, 11. — Phil. 1, 14. Einige merkwürdige Bezeugungskombinationen bei starkem Hervortreten des Sinaiticus s. zu Gal. 1, 8; 5, 6. — I Kor 3, 16; 5, 4. 5; 10, 3(bis). 5; 15, 36. — II Kor. 4, 4. 5. 6. 10; 10, 18; 13, 1(bis). 4. — Röm. 6, 14; 8, 11. — Ephes. 2, 11. 15. 19; 3, 8. 9(bis); 4, 25. — Kol. 2, 18. — Phil. 3, 9.

2 Ich habe die Verwandtschaft mit letzterem (sah. boh. ℵ*) nicht regelmäßig angegeben.

3 Der 𝔚text ist dem Abendland nicht eigentümlich, aber doch am stärksten vom Abendland bezeugt. Immerhin muß die Möglichkeit offen gelassen werden, daß M. seinen Text doch schon im Orient bearbeitet hat.

hältnis besteht zwischen dem lateinischen Marciontext und dem lateinischen 𝔚Text? Hat jener diesen beeinflußt oder ist er sogar seine Grundlage? Diesen beiden Fragen ist aber noch eine weitere Frage voranzustellen, nämlich ob unter den Stellen, an welchen M. ein Zeuge für den 𝔚Text ist, sich bereits solche befinden, die spezifisch-marcionitisch sind, weil sie seine eigentümlichen häretischen Tendenzen ausprägen.

1. Der Charakter der ca. 100 Stellen, an welchen der Marciontext gegen die anderen Hauptrezensionen mit dem 𝔚Text übereinstimmt.

Alle diese Stellen sind mit sehr geringen Ausnahmen inhaltlich ganz unbedeutend, stellen eine wesentlich gleichgültige stilistische Uniform dar und sind in bezug auf die eigentümlichen dogmatischen Tendenzen M.s neutral mit Ausnahme von 10 Stellen; aber auch bei der Hälfte von diesen ist die Tendenz zweifelhaft. (1) Gal. 1, 6 fehlt bei M. und F^{gr}* Gg Tert. Cypr. Lucif. Victorin *Χριστοῦ* nach *χάριτι*, und das könnte eine dogmatische Korrektur M.s sein, der bei seinem relativen Modalismus nicht gelten lassen wollte, daß uns Gott *ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ* berufen habe; aber anderswo hat er ähnliches stehen gelassen. Man darf daher keineswegs mit Sicherheit behaupten, hier läge eine spezifisch Marcionitische LA vor. (2) Das berühmte *οὐδέ* in Gal. 2, 5 kann eine Fälschung M.s sein; allein bekanntlich wird es (> D*d Iren. Tert. Victorin. Ambrosiaster) von einer so überwältigenden Mehrheit von Zeugen (auch Gg) geboten und ist auch sachlich so viel wahrscheinlicher, daß es als die ursprüngliche LA zu gelten hat. (3) *Εὐλογίαν* mit D*Gdg Ambrosiaster, Vigilant. in Gal. 3, 14 > *ἐπαγγελίαν* kann man als dogmatische Korrektur in Anspruch nehmen; allein näher liegt es, einen Irrtum anzunehmen, da *εὐλογία* unmittelbar vorhergeht. (4) Die Einfügung von *ἐν ὑμῖν* in Gal. 5, 14 zu *ὁ νόμος πεπλήρωται* (so auch D*Gdg go Ambrosiaster etc.) ist wohl tendenziös. (5) Die Ausmerzung von *πρῶτον* neben *Ἰουδαίῳ* in Röm. 1, 16 mit BGg ist marcionitisch. (6) Daß auch in DG, wie bei M. Röm. 15 und 16 gefehlt haben, kann nicht als tendenziöser Eingriff gelten, da dieses Motiv schlechterdings nicht ausreicht, um die Streichung dieser beiden Kapitel zu erklären. (7) Die LA *τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας*

ἀποκτεινάντων in I Thess. 2, 15 mit D^{bc} syr go KL und Vätern > τοὺς προφήτας ist wahrscheinlich marcionitisch und (8) ebenso Ephes. 4, 6 das ἡμῖν in dem Satze: πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν (mit DGKLdg vulg. Firmil. etc. etc.); denn M. konnte es nicht stehen lassen, daß der gute Gott den ganzen Kosmos durchwaltet. (9) Das Fehlen von καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικί in Ephes. 5, 31 in den Mss. des Orig. und Hieron. und andere Veränderungen hier sind Einfluß M.s [1]. (10) Das Fehlen von ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον in I Kor. 15, 3 ist tendenziös.

Es sind also nur die 6 Stellen in Gal. 5,14; Röm. 1, 16; I Kor. 15,3; I Thess. 2,15 und Ephes. 4, 6; 5, 31 mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit als Marcionitische tendenziöse Korrekturen in Anspruch zu nehmen [2]. Daher: Die Übereinstimmungen des Mtextes mit dem 𝔚text sind mit wenigen

1 Bemerkenswert ist, daß die sinnlose, im Abendland stark verbreitete, im Morgenland wenig bekannte Variante I Kor. 6, 20 ἄρατε = „tollite", entstanden aus ἄρα γε, sich schon im lateinischen Text der Marcioniten, den Tert. bietet, findet. — Nicht hierher gezogen habe ich die berüchtigte Streichung des ἐν in Ephes. 3, 9, obgleich sie sich auch in ℵ* (sonst nirgends) findet; denn ich glaube nicht, daß hier Einfluß des Marcionitischen Textes — die Gedankenlosigkeit des katholischen Schreibers wäre zu groß — sondern lediglich ein Schreibversehen anzunehmen ist. Möglich ist, daß das Fehlen von τοῦ θεοῦ nach ὀργή (Röm. 1, 18) in der Minusk. 47 (sonst nirgends) auf Einwirkung des Mtextes beruht; aber auch hier kann ein Zufall obwalten.

2 Dazu kommen einige andere Stellen in einigen Handschriften, die den Verdacht erregen, Marcionitisch zu sein; aber der 𝔚text fehlt hier, und so ist eine sichere Entscheidung unmöglich. Ich denke an ἐν Ῥώμῃ in Röm. 1 und ein paar verwandte Fälle. — Überblickt man den Mtext, so fällt auf, daß er an 19 Stellen den Jesus-Namen nicht liest, wo derselbe höchstwahrscheinlich im Rechte ist (Gal. 2, 4; 5. 6, 24; 6, 17; I Kor. 3, 11; 5, 5; II Kor. 4, 10(bis). 11; Röm. 2, 16; 3, 21; 6, 3; 8, 11; I Thess. 2, 15; 5, 23; Ephes. 2, 10. 13. 20; Phil. 3, 8); man könnte daher dem M. eine gewisse Abneigung gegen diesen Namen vorwerfen. Allein unter den 19 Stellen sind nur wenige, an denen M. mit der Streichung allein steht; sie findet sich auch sonst bei andern abendländischen Zeugen (einmal auch bei B allein; s. Röm. 3, 21). Daher ist es, wenn man hier überhaupt eine Tendenz annehmen will, wahrscheinlicher, diese schon dem 𝔚text selbst zuzuschreiben; denn das liegt hier näher als die Annahme einer Einwirkung des Mtextes auf den 𝔚text. Übrigens fehlt umgekehrt bei M. Χριστός neben Ἰησοῦς I Kor. 1, 3 (mit A). Man läßt wohl besser diese Beobachtung als undurchsichtig ganz beiseite.

Ausnahmen als stilistische usw. Eigentümlichkeiten des 𝔚textes zu betrachten, an denen der Mtext teilnimmt. Nachträglicher Einfluß dieses Textes auf jenen und auf die Überlieferung überhaupt fehlte nicht ganz, war aber, soweit das hier vorliegende Material Schlüsse zuläßt, gering (s. weiteres darüber unten) [1].

2. Der Charakter der bei Marcion allein sich findenden Varianten, abgesehen von den dogmatisch-tendenziösen Eingriffen.

Die große Menge der dem M. eigentümlichen LLAA ist durch seine dogmatische Tendenz hervorgerufen. Aber abgesehen von

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1 Eine schöne textkritische Frucht der Untersuchung des 𝔚textes im Zusammenhang mit dem Marciontext ist die Wiederherstellung der richtigen LA in I Kor. 14, 33 f. Die Ausleger befanden sich hier in größter Schwierigkeit, obschon sie es sich nicht recht eingestanden; denn der überlieferte Text gibt (1) nur dann in v. 33 a eine Begründung zu den Worten: *Πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται*, wenn man ein kaum entbehrliches Mittelglied ergänzt, und er duldet 33 b so wenig neben 33 a, daß man entweder zu dem verzweifelten Mittel griff, die Worte wider alle Wahrscheinlichkeit zu v. 34 zu ziehen oder sie durch *διδάσκω* oder *διατάσσομαι* zu ergänzen (so zahlreiche, aber nicht ausschlaggebende Zeugen). Aber alles wird mit einem Schlage klar, wenn man mit Marcion-Tert. (IV, 4) und Ambrosiaster *ὁ θεός* in v. 33 nicht liest. Dann lauten die Worte: *Πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης, ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων* Wie oft findet sich in der späteren Literatur von Jakobus und Hermas an *πνεύματα (πνεῦμα, δαιμόνιον) ἀκαταστασίας* oder *ἀκατάστατα* und umgekehrt *εἰρήνης* und *εἰρηνικά*! Sie sind hier gemeint. Paulus sagt: „Die Geister der Propheten sind den Propheten untertan, weil sie, wie in allen Gemeinden und so auch in Korinth, nicht Geister der Aufsässigkeit sind, sondern Geister des Friedens". Jede Schwierigkeit ist gehoben, denn Gedanke und Ausdruck sind nun glatt; aber nur Marcion (Tert.) und Ambrosiaster haben die richtige LA. bewahrt! Das sehr alte Eindringen von *ὁ θεός* aber erklärt sich aufs einfachste aus dem Zusammenwirken von *ἐστιν* und der geläufigen Wendung: *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης*, an die man sich erinnerte oder die von selbst in die Feder eines der frühesten Kopisten floß. Näheres s. in meiner Abh. in den Sitzungsber. der

ihnen finden sich etwa 100 Stellen [1], an welchen M. singuläre LLAA bietet, die dogmatisch fast oder total indifferent sind. Bei ihrer Beurteilung hat man sich zu erinnern, daß Tert.s Angaben neben wörtlich genauen Zitaten in zwar guten, aber nicht immer bis ins einzelste korrekten Referaten bestehen, daß Epiphanius bei der Wiedergabe von Marciontexten, die er anführt, um aus ihnen zu erweisen, daß sie die katholische Lehre bezeugen, nicht immer sorgfältig gewesen ist [2], und daß Adamantius seine Zitate aus zweiter Hand hat. Dazu kommt noch die Möglichkeit, daß M. an der einen oder anderen Stelle allein den Originaltext bewahrt haben kann, der bei allen übrigen Zeugen verloren gegangen ist. Ist er doch für den Text der Paulusbriefe unser ältester Zeuge. Wir werden daher annehmen müssen, daß von den c. 100 singulären und doch nicht dogmatisch-tendenziösen Varianten M.s wahrscheinlich eine beträchtliche Zahl ausschiede, wenn wir M.s Originaltext noch besäßen, und daß umgekehrt vielleicht einige Marcionitische Varianten den Originaltext enthalten (gegen die anderen abendländischen Zeugen).

Versucht man nun diese Stellen nach Kategorien zu ordnen, so ergibt sich, daß weitaus die größere Hälfte der Varianten in solchen bestehen, die sich ihrer Art nach von den Varianten nicht unterscheiden, welche die Überlieferung überhaupt bietet. Es handelt sich (1) um Wortstellungen im Satz, (2) um Tempusverschiedenheiten (3) um Vertauschung von Sing. und Plural (*οὐρανός* > *οὐρανοί* usw.), (4) um Vertauschung von Synonymen oder Auslassung eines Gliedes in einer Reihe von Synonymen (*κύριος* > *θεός* usw.), (5) von Präpositionen (*πρός* > *εἰς*, *διά*

Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1919 S. 527 ff.: „Über I Kor 14, 32 ff. und Röm. 16, 25 ff. nach der ältesten Überlieferung und der Marcionitischen Bibel".

1 Gal. 1, 7(bis). 8; 2, 2. 20; in 3, 10—12. 34; 4, 3. 8 f. 24 f.; 6, 7. 6. 17. — I Kor. 1, 11. 18. 28; 2, 16; 3, 2. 3. 16. 17. 19; 4, 15; 6, 11. 13; 8, 5. 8 f.; 10, 5. 6; 12, 28; 15, 20. 22. 25. 29. 31. 38. 50. — II Kor. 2, 16; 3, 16; 18 (quinquies); 4, 4. 7(ter). 11. 16; 5, 1(bis). 4(bis). 17; 10, 18. — Röm. 1, 18; 3, 21; 5, 1. 9. 21(bis); 6, 19. 20; 7, 7(bis). 25(bis); 8, 5. 9; 11, 5; 13, 19. — I Thess. 4, 15. 16; 5, 23. — II Thess. 1, 6 (bis); 2, 4. — Ephes. 1, 9. 13; 2, 2. 11. 13 (ter). 16. 17. 19; 5, 19. 23. 29; 6, 11. — Kol. 1, 5. 24; 2, 16 f. — Phil. 1, 18; 2, 7; 3, 7. 9.

2 Weil es ihm hier sozusagen nur auf das Stichwort ankam; sorgfältiger ist er, wenn er Marcionitische Textkorrekturen verzeichnet (s. o.).

> ἐν usw.), (6) von Partikeln (ἀλλά > καί, οὖν > δέ, οὔτε > οὐδέ usw.), resp. um Einschiebung oder Auslassung von solchen, (7) um Einschiebung oder Auslassung von Pronomina (αὐτοῦ usw.) und um ähnliche Dinge. Nach Ausscheidung dieser nahezu gleichgültigen Fälle soll eine kurze Übersicht zeigen, was hier noch übrig bleibt:

Im Galaterbrief 1, 7 a Verstärkung des Gedankens durch ein eingeschobenes πάντως und 1, 8 durch ein eingeschobenes ἄλλως; vermutlich ist auch ὑμᾶς θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ für θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ als Verstärkung zu beurteilen. 2. 2 logische Verbesserung des Gedankens: ἔδραμον ἢ τρέχω > τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. 2, 20 Verstärkung des Gedankens durch die Aussage „der Gottessohn, der mich erkauft hat" statt „der Gottessohn, der mich geliebt hat". 3,10 ὑπὸ νόμον für ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ist eine Verdeutlichung. 4, 3 Undurchsichtige Voranstellung der aus 3, 15 stammenden Worte: ⟨ἔτι⟩ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω, vor die Worte: ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι, das sonst nicht bezeugte ἔτι ist stilistische Hinzufügung. 4, 24 f. Undurchsichtige Einschiebung von Ephes. 1, 21 an dieser Stelle. 6, 17 Logische Präzisierung des Gedankens durch Einschiebung von εἰκῇ in den Satz: κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω. Zu 4, 24 f. noch ein Wort: Diese Stelle ist deshalb so merkwürdig, weil sich hier neben einem einschneidenden tendenziösen Eingriff noch zwei Maßnahmen finden, die sonst bei M. beispiellos sind, nämlich außer dem eben berührten Einschub aus dem Epheserbrief noch der andere freigestaltete Einschub: εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν. Der Versuch, M. selbst von diesen Einschüben zu entlasten, ist möglich; aber nicht ausgeschlossen bleibt, daß M. als Textkritiker sich an einer Stelle etwas erlaubt hat, was er sich sonst nie gestattet hat. Nur wenn er diese Stelle für einen besonderen Zweck brauchen wollte, läßt sich diese Ausgestaltung verstehen. War sie, die so scharf den Gegensatz der beiden „Ostensiones" hervorhebt (die Veranstaltung der Knechtschaft, die vom Sinai zur Synagoge geführt hat, und die überirdische Veranstaltung, die zur heiligen Kirche, unsrer Mutter, geführt hat), vielleicht dazu bestimmt, bei der Aufnahme in die Marcionitische Kirche als heilige Formel zu dienen?

Im I Korintherbrief 1, 11 ἤκουσται > ἐδηλώθη undurchsichtig; doch ist mir fraglich, ob hier überhaupt eine Variante anzunehmen ist. 1, 18 Logische Verbesserung des Gegensatzes μωρία > δύναμις durch die Fassung μωρία > δύναμις καὶ σοφία. 1, 28 Verstärkung des Gedankens durch Einschiebung von τὰ ἐλάχιστα zwischen τὰ ἀγενῆ und τὰ ἐξουθενημένα (wohl in Rücksicht auf I Kor. 15, 9). 3, 3 Tilgung der Worte καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε (undurchsichtig). In 3, 20 (s. auch 2, 16) scheint M. den korrekten LXXText eingesetzt zu haben, oder es ist vielmehr eine Eigentümlichkeit des ℳTextes hier zu konstatieren (s. Lietzmann, Römerbrief [2] S. 15). 6, 13 Zusatz ὡς ὁ ναὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῷ ναῷ, der für M. so unwahrscheinlich ist, daß man vermuten muß, er habe hier einen ursprünglichen Satz konserviert, der sehr frühe verloren gegangen ist. 15, 20 M. schreibt Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάναι > Χρ. ἐγήγερται. Daß er statt „Erweckt werden" bei Christus „Auferstehen" setzt, ist auch sonst zu belegen und tendenziös (s. u.); warum er aber nicht einfach Χρ. ἀνέστη geschrieben hat, ist dunkel. 15, 25 u. 29 lasse ich beiseite, da mir nicht ganz sicher ist, daß er wirklich πάντας dort und ὅλως hier ausgelassen hat; hat er sie ausgelassen — sie sind nicht notwendig —, so hat er die hier vorliegenden Verstärkungen des Gedankens für überflüssig erachtet, während er anderseits unterstreicht (s. o.).

Im II. Korintherbrief 3, 18. An diesem Verse muß M. besonders viel gelegen haben. Ich stelle die beiden Fassungen nebeneinander:

Originaltext:	Marcion:
Ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.	Ἡμεῖς ἤδη ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὸν Χριστὸν κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης τοῦ κυρίου εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνευμάτων.

Die Veränderungen dürfen als logische Verbesserungen bezeichnet werden; so läßt sich die Auslassung von πάντες, das eingeschobene ἤδη (s. z. Röm, 3, 21; 8, 9), die Vertauschung der Herrlichkeit Christi mit Christus, die Präzisierung der δόξα durch τοῦ κυρίου, um die genaue Korrespondenz mit dem Schluß herzustellen und die Vertauschung von πνεύματος mit πνευμάτων

verstehen. — Der pedantische Zusatz *τοῦ σώματος* 5,4 zu *ἐν τῷ σκήνει* dient zur Verdeutlichung des Sinns.

Im Römerbrief 1, 18 ist wiederum *πᾶσαν* ausgelassen (s. zu I Kor. 15, 25; II Kor. 3, 18); es konnte als pleonastisch, wie I Kor. 15, 25, wegfallen. Bei der Verbindung von 3, 21 mit 5, 1 hat M. das Einst und Jetzt scharf hervorgehoben: *τότε νόμος, νυνὶ δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* und zu *διὰ πίστεως* zur Sicherstellung des Begriffs *τοῦ Χριστοῦ* hinzugefügt. 5, 21 ist *αἰώνιον* weggelassen; der Gegensatz von Tod und Leben wird so straffer. In 8, 9 ist *νῦν* im Interesse der Präzision hinzugesetzt (s. o.).

Im I Thessalonicherbrief 4, 16 ist *ἐσχάτη* zu *σάλπιγξ* hinzugefügt aus Pedanterie. 5, 23 ist die Hinzufügung von *καὶ σωτῆρος* zu *τοῦ κυρίου* bemerkenswert; M. legte also in einer feierlichen Formel darauf Gewicht, daß dieser Begriff nicht fehlte.

Im Epheserbrief 1, 13: hat nach *εὐαγγέλιον* bei M. *τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν* wirklich gefehlt? man begreift nicht, warum er es ausgelassen haben sollte; wollte er etwa verkürzen? 2, 14 f. *τὸ μεσότειχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ* hat M. verändert zu *τ. μεσ. τῆς ἔχθρας ἐν σαρκὶ λύσας*. Hier liegt sicher eine Verkürzung vor. 6, 11 wenn M. wirklich *ἐν ᾗ στῶμεν* > *πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς στῆναι* geschrieben hat, so ist der Grund der Änderung undurchsichtig.

Im Philipperbrief 1, 18 ist *οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει*, wenn M. so geschrieben hat, eine bloße stilistische Korrektur. In 3, 7 ist *νῦν*, in 3, 9 *ἤδη* hinzugefügt, s. ähnliches oben.

Man sieht, daß sich aus diesen nicht zahlreichen Varianten generelle Motive schwerlich gewinnen lassen. Hat M. auch — im besten Fall — an ein paar Stellen unterstrichen, an ein paar Stellen logische Verbesserungen angebracht, an anderen die Gedanken verstärkende Zeitpartikeln hinzugefügt usw., so sind doch diese Stellen, gemessen an dem Umfang der Texte, so wenig zahlreich, daß man von bestimmten Absichten, die ihn in erheblichem Grade bestimmt haben, nicht sprechen darf. Die Untersuchung endet also hier negativ, d. h. es läßt sich über die Tatsachen hinaus, daß M.s Text im Griechischen und im Lateinischen der ℳÜberlieferung angehört, und daß er aus dogmatischen Tendenzen an den Texten korrigiert hat, nichts Bestimmtes über seine Absichten sonst ermitteln. Wahrscheinlich hat er überhaupt solche nicht gehabt, mag er auch hie und da einmal, da er

überhaupt korrigierte, eine „Verbesserung" angebracht haben — Diorthosen, wie sie sich auch sonst Textkritiker damals gestattet haben. Doch kann ein großer Teil von ihnen schon dem 𝔚Texte angehört haben, den er zugrunde legte, wenn wir das auch nicht mehr nachzuweisen vermögen[1]. Daß er irgendwo an den angeführten Stellen den Urtext bewahrt hat, ist, soviel ich sehe, nicht wahrscheinlich zu machen; es sei denn etwa in I Kor. 6, 13. — Fremde Stoffe hat er nirgendwo eingemischt.

3. Welches Verhältnis besteht zwischen dem lateinischen Marcion-Text und dem lateinischen 𝔚Text? Hat jener diesen beeinflußt? Ist er sogar seine Grundlage?

Es sind oben (S. 154*) sechs Stellen nachgewiesen worden (dazu Röm. 16, 25—27), an denen Lesarten M.s — daß sie solche sind, zeigt ihre Tendenz — in der Überlieferung des 𝔚Textes zu finden sind[2]. Da der griechische und lateinische M.Text selbst zur 𝔚Überlieferung gehört, so erhebt sich die Frage, ob nicht der lateinische M Text die erste Übersetzung der Paulusbriefe ins Lateinische ist, auf welcher die katholische Übersetzung (𝔐lat.) fußt. A priori ist das sehr wohl möglich; denn das Bedürfnis einer lateinischen Übersetzung der Paulusbriefe muß bei des Griechischen unkundigen Marcioniten stärker gewesen

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1 Zahn schreibt (a. a. O. I S. 649): „. . . Harmlose Verbesserungen (an mehreren Stellen) zeugen von dem Streben nach strafferem, bald nach unmißverständlicherem Ausdruck. Vor allem aber ist unverkennbar das Streben nach Verkürzung der großen Briefsammlung . . . Er liebte nicht die Wiederholung. Er hatte auch kein Interesse an den äußerlichen Geschichten und persönlichen Verhältnissen, auf welche Paulus in seinen Briefen einzugehen veranlaßt war." Für solche Verallgemeinerungen bietet der uns erhaltene Marcion-Text keine genügende Unterlage. Zahn nimmt u. a. an, daß M. den Namen des Apollo aus den Briefen gestrichen habe: „Was ging die Gemeinden des 2. Jahrhunderts Apollo an?" Allein es ist mehr als unsicher, daß Apollo's Name überall in I Kor. gestrichen war. Wohl aber scheint M. den Barnabas Galat. 2, 1. 9 entfernt zu haben, damit er nicht als wahrhaftiger Apostel neben Paulus erscheine.

2 Über sie hinaus auch in anderen Stellen, wo man aber nur mutmaßen kann, daß hier der M-Text vorliegt.

sein als in der lateinischen Großkirche. Daher meinte Lietzmann[1], das Problem, das hier vorliegt „finde seine Lösung vielleicht am einfachsten durch die Annahme, daß in der Mitte oder zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts, als die amtliche römische Kirche noch griechisch sprach, Marcionitische Prediger für ihre Lehre auch in der lateinisch sprechenden Bevölkerung Roms Jünger zu werben suchten und zu diesem ihren Propagandazweck zuerst den ihnen besonders am Herzen liegenden Paulustext ins Lateinische übersetzten; diese Übersetzung hat dann die katholische Kirche übernommen und ihrem Texte angeglichen, aber doch nicht überall die Spuren des Ursprungs verwischen können".

Diese Hypothese wird, so scheint es, durch die Tatsache gestützt, daß die Marcionitischen Prologe (Argumente) in die katholischen Mss. gekommen sind, und daß es katholische Handschriften mit Röm. 16, 25—27 und anderen Marcionitischen Lesarten gibt. Aus dem Vorhandensein der Prologe läßt sich indes keineswegs ein zwingendes oder auch nur wahrscheinliches Argument für die Priorität des lateinischen MTextes vor dem katholischen 𝔚Text gewinnen; wie steht es mit dem Gewicht der Marcionitischen Lesarten?

Da 𝔚graec. die Voraussetzung von Marciongraec. ist, so dürfen die dogmatisch indifferenten LLAA, die sie gemeinsam haben, hier nicht in Betracht kommen. Dann bleiben also nur Gal. 5, 14; Röm. 1, 16; I Kor. 15, 3; I Thess. 2, 15; Ephes, 4, 6; 5, 31; Röm. 16, 25—27. Auf weiteres Marcionitisches Gut hat Lietzmann (a. a. O.) aufmerksam gemacht; er verweist auf Röm. 5, 6; 14, 10; I Kor. 5, 8 sowie auf Ephes. 1, 1; Röm. 1, 7. 15 und Röm. 15. 16.

Bei I Kor. 5, 8 handelt es sich nach Lietzmann selbst (S. 33) nur um eine Möglichkeit: Röm. 1, 20 hat das Abendland πονηρία zu πορνεία umgestaltet. Dadurch sieht sich L. erinnert daß I Kor. 5, 8 der Kod. G dieselbe Umwandlung bietet; da nun Tert. (adv. Marc. V, 7)von I Kor. 5, 5 sofort zu 6, 13 übergeht mit den Worten: „Avertens autem nos a fornicatione manifestat carnis resurrectionem", so ließe sich vermuten, daß M. in I Kor. 5, 8 — der Vers ist uns für M. nicht überliefert — πορνείας für πονηρίας gelesen hat und dies also eine Marcionitische Lesart sei. Allein

1 Römerbrief [2], S. 14 f.

selbst wenn diese Kombination Vertrauen verdiente — Tert.s Satz ist doch bereits dadurch gedeckt, daß der ganze Abschnitt I Kor. 5, 1—7 von der Hurerei handelt —, so wäre es sehr vorschnell, die Lesart als Marcionitische zu bezeichnen. Sie hat vielmehr als eine Lesart des ℳTextes zu gelten, da sie dogmatisch indifferent ist. Wohin kämen wir, wenn wir alle Sonderlesarten des WTextes dem M. als Urheber zuwiesen!

Nicht verständlich ist mir, inwiefern *ἔτι γάρ* Röm. 5, 6 eine Marcionitische Lesart sein soll, da Lietzmann selbst sie als die ursprüngliche verteidigt (S. 56).

Röm. 14, 10 hält L. den Richterstuhl Gottes für die ursprüngliche Lesart, „Christi" für Korrektur. Allein er selbst macht darauf aufmerksam, daß *Χριστοῦ* sich schon bei Polykarp (ep. 6, 2) findet; also hat die Lesart mit Marcion nichts zu tun (der DGText hat sie nicht).

Diese drei Stellen müssen somit für unsern Zweck als unbrauchbar zurückgewiesen werden; die Fragen aber, die sich an Ephes. 1, 1; Röm. 1, 7. 15 und Röm. 15. 16 (dazu 16, 25—27 besonders) anschließen, hängen aufs engste zusammen. Es steht nach der Angabe Tert.s fest, daß M. den Epheserbrief als Laodicenerbrief in seinem Kanon hatte (s. o. zu Laod. 1 S. 114*). Wenn Tert. das so ausdrückt: „Marcion et titulum aliquando interpolare gestit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator", so muß man sowohl quasi als auch den Hohn hier völlig verkennen, wenn man aus dieser Bemerkung schließen will (so Zahn), Tert. bezeuge hier dem M., er habe auf Grund einer kritischen Untersuchung — die also Tert. bei ihm gelesen hat — diese Änderung vorgenommen [1]. Der Satz ist vielmehr sachlich völlig belanglos — der „so sorgfältige Forscher" hat die Zahl der Briefe angetastet, die Briefe selbst

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1 Welches Schwergewicht Zahn an Tert.s ironischen Ausdruck hängt, zeigt u. a. S. 625 (Bd. I) seines Werks: „Wenn Tert. sagt, M. habe sich auch in diesem Punkte als einen sehr sorgfältigen Forscher beweisen wollen [aber das sagt Tert. gar nicht], so müssen wir schließen, daß er für seine auf Herstellung einer Bibel gerichtete Tätigkeit überhaupt diesen Anspruch erhoben hat. An diesem einen Beispiel aber, das in hellem Tageslicht liegt [nein, das aus dem Nichts geschaffen ist], erkennen wir auch, daß der Gegenstand der Kritik und der Forschung M.s und die Grundlage seines Aufbaus die vor ihm in der Kirche vorhandene Bibel war".

verfälscht und an einer Stelle nicht einmal die Titel verschont! [1] — und wenn er fehlte, wüßten wir nicht weniger. Aber deshalb darf auch das Wort „titulus" nicht gepreßt und nicht behauptet werden, Tert. werfe dem M. nur vor, daß er die Überschrift geändert hat, während er ihm eine Korrektur in c. 1, 1 nicht zur Last lege, eine solche also hier ausschlösse. Er macht vielmehr nur zur Überschrift seine Bemerkung und geht dann sofort zu 1, 9 f. über. Da wir aber hier keine weiteren Zeugnisse besitzen, so bleibt es völlig im Dunklen, ob M. in 1, 1 *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ πιστοῖς* oder schon *τ. ἁγ. τ. οὖσιν κ. πιστοῖς* (sei es mit, sei es ohne, *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*) gefunden hat. Hat er ersteres gefunden, so war in der Briefsammlung, die er durchkorrigierte, noch der ursprüngliche Text vorhanden; denn es ist mir nicht zweifelhaft, daß *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ* die ursprüngliche Lesart ist [2]. In diesem Falle ist es ihm leider nicht geglückt, die richtige Adresse wieder zur Anerkennung in der Christenheit zu bringen. Hat er aber schon den korrigierten Text in 1, 1 vorgefunden, so ist mit zwei Möglichkeiten zu rechnen: entweder stand bereits in der Aufschrift „An die Epheser", dann hat er das als Irrtum korrigiert, oder es stand überhaupt keine Ortsbezeichnung im c. 1, 1, dann hat er Laodicea eingesetzt, weil er eine alte (richtige) Überlieferung besaß, oder den beraubt vorgefundenen Text von 1, 1 unverändert gelassen. Da sich aber nirgendwo bei ihm historisch-kritische Erwägungen nachweisen lassen [3], so ist die erste Möglichkeit m. E. recht unwahrscheinlich.

M. hat aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wiedergegeben, was er vorfand: in der Aufschrift *Πρὸς Λαοδικέας* und in 1, 1 entweder *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ* oder den schon dieser Worte beraubten Text. Die Hypothese aber, daß er selbst die Beraubung vorgenommen, schwebt völlig in der Luft. Mag sich die Ausmerzung in c. 1, 1 daraus erklären, daß die Laodicener-Gemeinde sich zeitweilig durch innere Verwahrlosung so gut wie aufgelöst hatte (s. Offenb. Joh. 3),

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1 Es mag sein, daß Tert. an Kol. 4, 16 gedacht hat, als er M. bei seiner angeblichen Umadressierung des Epheserbriefs den „diligentissimus explorator" nannte; aber auch das ist nicht sicher, da Tert. es nicht sagt.

2 S. meine Abhandlung in den Sitzungsberichten der Preuß. Akademie „Die Adresse des Epheserbriefs des Paulus" 1910, S. 696 ff.

3 Weiteres darüber s. später.

und man deshalb keinen Paulusbrief an sie zu lesen wünschte, oder mag sie aus der Absicht entsprungen sein, den Brief zu einem katholischen zu machen — in beiden Fällen liegt nicht der geringste Grund vor, M. dafür verantwortlich zu machen. Dazu: es ist doch sehr unwahrscheinlich, weil beispiellos, daß eine Text-Korrektur Marcions eine solche Verbreitung erlangt hat wie die Fassung: *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς* in der alten Kirche.

Aber hat nicht auch Röm. 1, 7. 15 „*ἐν Ῥώμῃ*" in Marcionitischen Bibeln gefehlt, steht diese Ausmerzung nicht mit der von „*ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*" in einem innern Zusammenhang, und ist nicht er für diese Auslassung verantwortlich? Nun, zunächst sind uns die Texte dieser Verse bei M. überhaupt nicht überliefert. Das Fehlen von *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* in ihnen (bezw. ihre Ersetzung durch andere Worte) ist für 1, 7 bezeugt durch Orig. G (d Cod. Fuld. der Vulgata, Ambrosiaster, diese nur indirekt), für 1, 15 allein durch G. Nun ist gewiß die Überlieferung des 𝔚Textes in G dem Marcion-Text am nächsten verwandt, und es hat daher eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß auch bei M. *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* gefehlt hat. Allein in dem Verhältnis der beiden Texte (s. o. S. 154* f.) gilt die Regel, daß gemeinsame Lesarten solange als solche zu betrachten sind, bei denen M. dem anderen Text gefolgt ist, bis nicht das Umgekehrte erwiesen ist. Da dies hier nicht erwiesen werden kann, so ist zu urteilen, daß, wenn *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* bei M. gefehlt hat, er einfach, wie in vielen Dutzenden von Fällen, der G Rezension des 𝔚Textes gefolgt ist, welche die Worte nicht bot.

Es erübrigt das wichtigste Problem, das Fehlen von Röm. 15. 16 bei Marcion. Aus dogmatisch-tendenziösen Motiven kann M. diese Kapitel nicht gestrichen haben [1]; warum fehlten sie also bei ihm? Alles, was bis vor kurzem über dies Problem geäußert worden ist, war ganz unbefriedigend; erst Corssen hat hier Licht gebracht, indem er gezeigt hat, daß die Kapitel in der DG Überlieferung des 𝔚Textes gefehlt haben; sie sind also gar nicht vor M.s Augen gekommen; mithin hat nicht er sie gestrichen oder etwa durch Zufall ein verstümmeltes

1 Einige Anstöße, die c. 15 bot, hätte Marcion leicht beseitigen können.

Exemplar in die Hand bekommen [1]. Aber könnte er es nicht doch gewesen sein, und die DGÜberlieferung wäre erst durch ihn zur Streichung veranlaßt worden? Dann müßte man bei M. ein spezifisches Motiv nachweisen können; ein solches aber läßt sich nicht ermitteln; denn er hatte bei seinen Streichungen nur ein dogmatisch-tendenziöses Interesse [2]. Aber wird das Problem nicht einfach zurückgeschoben, wenn man es der Rezension DG aufbürdet? Nein; denn hier ist es auf einen Boden versetzt, auf dem eine Lösung leichter ist, ja auf dem man sich sogar bei einem Non liquet zu beruhigen vermag. In bezug auf M. hat unsere Untersuchung gezeigt, daß (von einigen Diorthosen abgesehen, die auch nicht sicher sein Eigentum sind) seine Textkorrekturen auf dem dogmatisch-tendenziösen Motiv beruhen und daß man bei ihm daher Nebenabsichten nicht annehmen darf; dagegen läßt der breite Boden der großen Kirche für die Annahme der verschiedensten Möglichkeiten Raum. Er fällt nicht in den Rahmen unserer Aufgabe, die wahrscheinlichste herauszusuchen. Er mögen Röm. 1, 8. 15; Ephes. 1, 1 und das Fehlen von Röm. 15. 16 ein gemeinsames Problem bilden, und aus dem Gemeinsamen mag das Motiv zu den hier erfolgten Streichungen abstrahiert werden [3]; aber das gehört nicht in die Marcion-Forschung, sondern in die allgemeine Geschichte des Bibeltextes in der Kirche.

Ein Wort ist noch nötig über die Verse Röm. 16, 25—27, die ein ganz selbständiges Stück bilden und deren Textgeschichte ich als bekannt voraussetzen darf. M. hat sie nicht geboten und nicht gekannt; aber sie sind offenbar streng Marcionitisch und nur durch 2 (3) Zusätze mühsam und unzureichend katholisiert. Ich setze die Zusätze in Klammern:

Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου [καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ oder *καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. Χρ.], κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν [διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν] κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς*

1 S. Lietzmann, Römerbrief 2. Aufl. S. 125.

2 Selbst an den zahlreichen Grüßen kann er sich nicht gestoßen haben, da er Kol. 4, 10 ff. beibehalten hat.

3 Ich selbst bekenne, keine befriedigende Lösung zu wissen. Das Motiv, die Briefe durch Streichungen des Lokalen und Partikularen zu „katholisieren" genügt nicht.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη [γνωρισθέντος], μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα κτλ.

Die „prophetischen Schriften" können schlechterdings nur das A. T. bezeichnen (gegen die Ausleger, die hier in verständlicher Verlegenheit an christliche Prophetenschriften denken), aber ebenso gewiß ist, daß die alttestamentlichen Propheten neben νῦν unmöglich stehen können; denn dieses νῦν zeigt unwidersprechlich die christliche Epoche an. Dazu kommt, daß γνωρισθέντος neben φανερωθέντος eine Überladung ist. Ferner ist καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰ. Χρ. nach κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου nahezu unerträglich [1]. Endlich sowohl das absolute κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου als auch die Vorstellung, daß erst jetzt das bisher unbekannte Heil offenbart worden ist, sind Marcionitisch. Also haben wir hier den Fall, daß spätere Marcioniten dem Römerbrief einen Schluß gegeben haben und daß dieser Schluß in die kirchliche Überlieferung gekommen ist, jedoch mit Korrekturen, da er sonst unerträglich war. S. meine Abhandlung in d. Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1919 S. 527 ff., in denen der Marcionitische Charakter dieser Verse und die Annahme katholischer Interpolationen genau begründet sind.

Einige Marcionitische Lesarten sind wirklich in die Überlieferung des katholischen Textes gelangt, aber es sind nur wenige nachweisbar. Die überwältigende Mehrzahl der LLAA, die als Marcionitisch in Anspruch genommen werden können, sind vielmehr LLAA des 𝔐textes, zu welchem der Marciontext Graec. und Lat. selbst gehören [2]. Auf die Hypothese aber, in der Marcionitischen Kirche seien die Paulusbriefe zuerst ins Lateinische

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1 Auf die Varianten berufe ich mich nicht, da sie m. E. den überlieferten Text voraussetzen.

2 Hiernach erledigt sich die Bemerkung Zahns (a. a. O. I S. 638): „Angesichts der unversöhnlichen Feindschaft der Kirche gegen M. ist es ganz undenkbar, daß der unermüdlich als ketzerische Fälschung verurteilte Text M.s auf die Gestaltung des kirchlichen Textes einen positiven Einfluß geübt hat." Richtig aber ist seine Erkenntnis in bezug auf die große Mehrzahl der Fälle, „daß alle Textgestaltungen, welche dem Unkundigen als Eigentümlichkeiten der Bibel M.s erscheinen, welche aber zugleich durch katholische Handschriften, Übersetzungen und Schriftsteller bezeugt . . . sind, von M. nicht geschaffen, sondern . . . herübergenommen worden sind" (nämlich aus dem 𝔐Text). Man muß nur hin-

übersetzt worden und die katholische Kirche habe diese Übersetzung rezipiert und nach dem ursprünglichen griechischen Text zurückkorrigiert, wird man durch keine Beobachtung geführt. Sie unterliegt auch dem Bedenken, daß eine solche Rekorrektur ein sehr schwieriges und mühsames Unternehmen gewesen wäre [1]. Doch bleibt die Hypothese als eine bloße Möglichkeit bestehen, und vielleicht untersucht jemand in Zukunft die Frage, ob etwa die lateinische Übersetzung der von M. ausgeschiedenen Abschnitte der Paulusbriefe und die Übersetzung der Pastoralbriefe ins Lateinische beachtenswerte Unterschiede von der Übersetzung der Teile aufweist, die M. und der Kirche gemeinsam sind. Diese Teile repräsentieren den Text, wie er — wahrscheinlich in Rom — kurz vor der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts gelesen wurde; es ist ihnen daher größere Beachtung zu schenken — das gilt namentlich vom Römerbrief —, als dies bisher geschieht.

Die Frage liegt nahe (s. Zahn, a. a. O. I. S. 648), ob M. etwa mehrere Handschriften für seine neue „gereinigte" Ausgabe hinzugezogen hat. Man muß a priori, so scheint es, annehmen, daß er das getan hat; denn er muß doch wohl nach „unverfälschten" Handschriften gesucht haben. Aber da er solche nicht fand und nicht finden konnte, ist es sehr wohl möglich, daß er sich mit einer Handschrift begnügt hat. Jedenfalls läßt sich der Gebrauch mehrerer Handschriften nicht nachweisen, und jede Spur fehlt, daß er neben dem Texte auch noch einen andern hinzugezogen hat. Auch legt weder sein weltlicher Beruf noch sein reformatorischer Zweck die Annahme nahe, daß er als technischer Philolog gearbeitet hat, wenn auch einzelne Textänderungen in der schlagenden Kürze, in der sie seine dogmatische Tendenz zum Ausdruck bringen, virtuos sind. Seine tendenziösen Korrekturen sind oben (in dem Hauptteil) so eingehend behandelt worden, daß sich eine Untersuchung hier erübrigt.

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zufügen, daß dies auch sehr wahrscheinlich für eine Gruppe von Fällen gilt, in denen sich zufällig in den uns erhaltenen Zeugen des Textes die Variante nicht findet, die man bei M. liest.

1 Aber wie ausgezeichnet wäre es geglückt, wenn der lateinische Text der Paulusbriefe, also auch die Vulgata, ein korrigierter Marcion-Text wäre.

4. Die Reihenfolge der Paulusbriefe bei Marcion.

Die Reihenfolge Gal., Kor., Röm., Thess., Ephes., Kol., Phil., Philem.[1] ist einzigartig[2]. Wie ist sie zu erklären? In der Tübinger Schule glaubte man einst, an ihr einen äußeren Beweis für die Unechtheit der Briefe Thess. bis Philem. zu besitzen; denn in dieser Reihenfolge stünden zuerst die 4 echten Briefe (in chronologischer Reihenfolge), dann (wiederum in chronologischer Reihenfolge) die unechten. Daran wird heute niemand mehr denken. Zahn hält die Reihenfolge ebenfalls für chronologisch, aber als ganze, indem er in bezug auf Thess. annimmt, M. habe sich entweder eine falsche Meinung über den Ursprung dieser Briefe gebildet oder er habe Thess. ihrer geringeren Bedeutung wegen an den Schluß der ersten Abteilung (woher diese Scheidung?) gestellt, „wodurch er dann den Vorteil hatte, daß gleich an der Spitze seines Apostolikons der für ihn vor allen anderen wichtige Galaterbrief stand". Wie man aber hier auch erklären möge, gewiß sei, daß die Ordnung der Briefe aufs neue beweise, „daß M. in Dingen, welche für ihn dogmatisch indifferent waren, historischen Erwägungen folgte" (Bd. I S. 623; II S. 346 f.). Allein der Riß, der in diese Betrachtung durch die falsche Stellung von Thess. kommt, bleibt bestehen, und von chronologischen Studien M.s in bezug auf die Briefe wissen wir nichts. Mir scheint sich die Reihenfolge anders zu erklären: Den Galaterbrief hat M. aus sachlichen Gründen vorangestellt; er war ihm die Magna Charta seines Christentums und erfüllte ihm das Bedürfnis, das die große Kirche durch die Rezeption der Apostelgeschichte befriedigte. Aus Tert. IV, 3 und V, 2 erkennen wir noch aufs deutlichste, daß für M. alle anderen Paulusbriefe im Schatten des Gal. gestanden haben. Die übrigen Briefe aber ordnete M., wie es scheint, einfach nach

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1 Nach Epiph. (also für die cyprisch-palästinensischen Marcioniten): Philem., Phil. Jener Brief sollte wohl zu dem mit ihm geschichtlich zusammengehörigen Kol. gestellt werden. Zahn (Kanonsgesch. I S. 623) denkt an die Möglichkeit, daß dies die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge sei (gegen Tert.s Angabe), obgleich sie später bezeugt ist, weil er die ganze Reihenfolge für eine chronologische hält.

2 S. über die Reihenfolge der paulinischen Briefe die große Untersuchung von Zahn, a. a. O. II, S. 344 ff.; dazu I, S. 456. 623. 836.

der Größe. Ich setze die Stichen des Euthalius hinzu und in Klammern die Buchstabenzahl der Briefe [1], Gal., I u. II Kor. 1460 (54 536), Röm. 920 (35 266), I u. II Thess. 299 (11 479), Ephes. 312 (11 932), Kol. 208 (7745), Phil. 208 (7975). Philem. 37 (1567). Hier fällt nur auf, daß I und II Thess. vor Ephes. stehen; allein es waren zwei Briefe, und der Raum, den sie mitsamt Titel und Schlußstrich beanspruchten, war daher größer als der für Ephes. nötige. So wird man annehmen dürfen, daß die Länge der Briefe das Prinzip ihrer Anordnung bei M. gewesen ist [2]. Eine „historische" Betrachtung kommt also nicht in Frage.

5. Hatte das Marcionitische Apostolikon schon eine Capitulatio? [3]

Corssen hat in seiner anregenden Abhandlung „Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Römerbriefs" (Ztschr. f. d. NTliche Wissensch. 10. Bd. S. 21 ff. 25 ff.) zuerst auf Spuren ältester Capitulatio der Texte in der abendländischen Kirche (bei Tert.) hingewiesen. Mit Recht legt er Gewicht auf Tert. V, 7, wo der Abschnitt I Kor. 10, 6—11 als ein Kapitel für sich erscheint („denique et in clausula praefationi apostolus respondet"). Geht man nun von dieser Stelle aus vorwärts, so stößt man in V, 8, wo Tert. zu I Kor. 12, 1 ff. übergeht, auf die zusammenfassende Bezeichnung „Nunc de spiritalibus", ohne weiteren Zusatz; Tert. fährt in einem neuen Satz fort: „Dico haec quoque in Christo a creatore promissa". Zwei Seiten weiter, noch in demselben Kapitel, heißt es dann beim Übergang zu c. 13: „De dilectione quoque omnibus charismatibus praeponenda apostolus instruxit"; Tert. läßt dann das ganze 13. Kap. beiseite, bringt also nur diese Überschrift. Aber auch wenn man von c. 10, 6 ff. rückwärts geht, stößt man V, 7 beim Übergang zu I Kor. 7, 1 ff. auf die Bemerkung: „Sequitur de nuptiis (congredi, quas Marcion ... prohibet"). Andere Spuren habe ich nicht gefunden. Schon für Tert. reichen sie nicht

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1 S. die Tabelle bei Zahn, a. a. O. I, S. 76. Die Buchstabenzahl hat natürlich nicht die Bedeutung wie die antike Stichenberechnung.

2 Kol. und Phil. konnte man nach der Stichenzahl beliebig ordnen.

3 S. dazu de Bruyne, Rev. Bénéd. 1911 p. 9 f. des Separatabzugs (sonst S. 141 f.).

aus, um seinem Bibeltext eine Capitulatio zuzusprechen, wenn sie nicht durch andere Beobachtungen ergänzt werden (was jedoch der Fall ist); um Marcion aber eine solche beizulegen, bzw. dem von ihm bearbeiteten ℜText, dazu sind sie ungenügend. Doch erhalten sie vielleicht eine schwache Beweiskraft, wenn man auf das Marcionitische Evangelium blickt; denn hier stößt man bei Tert. und Epiph., wo sie zur Perikope vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus übergehen, auf folgende Beobachtung: Tert. schreibt (IV, 34): „Subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis", und Epiph., Schol. 44: *Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὅτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.* Soll man hier annehmen, daß beide sich auf eine „Überschrift" beziehen, die im Evangelium M.s stand? Vgl. auch Tert. IV, 19 zu Luk. 8, 4 ff.: „De parabolis".

6. Marcion und die Pastoralbriefe.

In bezug auf M.s Verhältnis zu diesen Briefen wissen wir nur, daß M. sie nicht in seiner Paulinischen Briefsammlung hatte (s. Tert. V, 1. 21; Epiph.; vgl. Pseudotert. sub. „Cerdo"), daß aber eine Gruppe späterer Marcioniten sie aufgenommen hat (s. den Prolog zu Tit., oben S. 129* ff.)[1]. Daraus läßt sich mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit schließen, daß kein ausdrückliches Verbot M.s, diese Briefe zu rezipieren, in seiner Kirche bekannt war, d. h. daß er sich in den „Antithesen" oder sonstwo nicht über sie geäußert hat. Das wird auch durch Tert. bestätigt, der es sich gewiß nicht hätte entgehen lassen, wenn er bei M. ein (verwerfendes) Urteil über die Briefe gefunden hätte[2]. Hieraus läßt

1 Auch die Marcioniten, mit denen es Chrysostomus zu tun gehabt hat, haben sich die Pastoralbriefe (aber gewiß mit Korrekturen) gefallen lassen; s. Chrysost. zu II Tim. 1, 18: „Die Marcioniten folgern aus den Worten: *δῴη ὁ κύριος παρὰ κυρίου*, daß es zwei Herren gebe".

2 Er bemerkt aber zu ihnen beim Philemonbrief lediglich dies (V, 21): „Soli huic epistolae brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet [das ist natürlich eine höchst subjektive und unrichtige Erklärung Tert.s ohne jeden Wert]. miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem litteras factas receperit, quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. adfectavit, opinor, etiam

sich weiter folgern, daß die Briefe überhaupt nicht in M.s Gesichtskreis getreten sind [1]; denn er hätte schwerlich über sie in den Antithesen schweigen können, wenn er sie in mehreren oder auch nur in einer Sammlung der Paulusbriefe gefunden hätte. Da indessen dieser Schluß schon nicht mehr ganz sicher ist, mag man ihn ablehnen und sich lediglich mit der Einsicht begnügen, daß die Pastoralbriefe bei M. gefehlt haben.

Ganz anders urteilt Zahn [2]. Er behauptet, Tert. habe von sich aus gar nicht auf den Gedanken kommen können, die Briefe seien von M. wegen ihres privaten Charakters ausgeschlossen worden; demnach müsse M. selbst den Grundsatz ausgesprochen „und den Ausschluß der Briefe unter anderem damit gerechtfertigt haben, daß nur, was Paulus den Gemeinden geschrieben habe, der Gemeinde zur Erbauung zu dienen geeignet sei". Tert.s Bemerkung „wäre eine ebenso unerklärliche Albernheit, wenn er den bei M. vorausgesetzten Grundsatz aus der Luft gegriffen hätte, wie sie schlagend ist, wenn M. wirklich gegen die Aufnahme der Briefe unter anderem ihren Charakter als Privatschreiben geltend gemacht hätte". Was aber den Philemonbrief betrifft, „so konnte M. antworten, er sei allerdings ein Gemeindebrief, da er laut v. 2 zugleich an die im Hause Philemons sich versammelnde Gemeinde gerichtet sei" . . . [3] „Für bewiesen halte ich [lediglich auf Grund des Vorstehenden], daß M. die Pastoralbriefe nicht nur gekannt, sondern auch ihren Ausschluß von seiner Bibel zu rechtfertigen für nötig gehalten hat; daß sie also in der kirchlichen Bibel seiner Zeit enthalten waren. Weiter

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numerum epistolarum interpolare" [das ist natürlich ebenso eine Unterschiebung].

1 Damit ist nicht gesagt, daß sie noch nicht vorhanden waren, wie Corssen, a. a. O. S. 100, mit Recht bemerkt.

2 Bd. I, S. 634 ff.

3 Doch besteht Zahn nicht auf dieser Begründung der Rezeption des Briefs durch M. Er gibt S. 637 noch eine andere: „Der Philemonbrief behandelte eine Frage von hoher sittlicher Bedeutung für die alte Kirche, die Frage der Stellung der christlichen Gesellschaft zur Sklaverei oder vielmehr der Sklaven in der christlichen Gesellschaft(?). M. bewährte seinen praktischen Sinn(?), indem er ihn aufnahm". Aber bleibt nicht trotz dieser fragwürdigen Begründung bestehen, daß wer den Philemonbrief aus solch einem Grunde, trotzdem er ein Privatschreiben war, aufnahm, die Pastoralbriefe erst recht aufnehmen mußte?

ergibt sich aber auch, daß M. nicht die paulinische Herkunft der Pastoralbriefe beanstandet hat. Hätte er sie für unecht gehalten, so hätte er auch diese seine Überzeugung und nicht den feineren und viel anfechtbareren Grund für ihre Ausschließung geltend gemacht, welchen wir beiläufig durch Tert. erfahren."

Dies alles hat Zahn aus dem einen Satze herausgelesen: „Miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem litteras factas receperit, quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit". Das ist noch viel mehr, als was er bei dem Titel des Laodicenerbriefs aus den beiden Worten „diligentissimus explorator" gefolgert hat. Ich darf es dem Leser überlassen, ob er sich durch die Beweisführung überzeugt sieht, und bemerke meinerseits nur, daß das, was Tert. gesagt hat, schlechthin das Nächstliegende war, was man hier bemerken konnte. Die Privatschreiben des Paulus im Kanon waren zu Tert.s Zeit und auch später noch ein Problem, und wer da hörte, daß irgendwo die Pastoralbriefe verworfen werden, der mußte sofort auf den Gedanken kommen, das sei geschehen, weil sie nicht an Gemeinden gerichtet seien.

7. Marcion und die Apostelgeschichte und die Apokalypse Johannis. Hat Marcion schon das katholische Apostolikon, bestehend aus Akt., I Petr., I und II Joh., Judas, 13 Paul., Apok. vorgefunden?

In dem Bericht Pseudotertullians über „Cerdo" — der Bericht (c. 6) gehört zu „Marcion" — heißt es: „Apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistolas sumit, Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin quasi falsa reicit". Diese Worte in einem sonst kurzen Referat können schwerlich anders verstanden werden, als daß sich bei M. Äußerungen über diese beiden Bücher, bzw. ein ausdrückliches Verwerfungsurteil, gefunden haben; denn warum nennt er nicht auch Judas, I Petr., I Joh.? Sie brauchte M. nicht mehr ausdrücklich zu verwerfen, nachdem er die Urapostel in Bausch und Bogen als falsche Apostel bezeichnet hatte; aber über das „Offenbarungsbuch", wenn es in seine Hände gekommen war, mußte er sich äußern, denn es machte den Anspruch, maßgebende christliche Prophetie zu sein, und

die Apostelgeschichte warf seine ganze dogmatisch-historische Konstruktion um, wenn er sie nicht ausdrücklich ablehnte, falls er Kenntnis von ihr genommen. Daß beides geschehen ist, bezeugt eben Hippolyt, die Quelle Pseudotert.s [1].

Von hier aus gewinnen aber auch einige Stellen bei Tert. eine größere Bedeutung, die es an sich noch zweifelhaft erscheinen lassen, ob Tert. die Verwerfung der beiden Bücher bei M. nur folgert oder auf Grund von Äußerungen M.s konstatiert. Von M.s Verhältnis zu Judas, I Petr., I Joh. spricht er niemals — eben weil er direkte Äußerungen über diese Briefe nicht fand —, aber in bezug auf die Apok. schreibt er III, 14: „Nam et apostolus Ioannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ... Quodsi Ioannem agnitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum". III, 24 setzt sich Tert. mit M. über die Verheißung Christi und das 1000 jährige Reich auseinander; in diesem Zusammenhang bringt er einen Ausspruch M.s: „Vester Christus pristinum statum Iudaeis pollicetur ex restitutione terrae". IV, 5 heißt es: „Habemus et Ioannis alumnas ecclesias; nam etsi Apocalypsin eius Marcion respuat", etc. Ähnlich in bezug auf die Apostelgeschichte, s. de praescr. 22: „Probantibus Actis Apostolorum descensum spiritus sancti. quam scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec spiritus sancti esse possunt". Adv. Marc. V, 2: „Quodsi et ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis iam apparet". Auf Grund des positiven Zeugnisses Hippolyts darf man diese Stellen wohl anführen: M. hat die Apok. und die Akta als falsche, d. h. als Bücher des Judengotts verworfen.

Folgt aber daraus, daß ihm schon das katholische Apostolikon von 18 (19) Schriften vorgelegen hat? Durchaus nicht; vielmehr ist es im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich, daß ihm eine solche Sammlung oder überhaupt irgend eine Sammlung dieser Art mit autoritativem Ansehen vorlag. Die Antithesen haben sich, wie in der Darstellung gezeigt worden, eingehend über Christus, die Urapostel und Paulus ausgesprochen. Hätte sich nun M. bei der Polemik gegen die katholische Überlieferung bereits einer kanonischen Schriftensammlung gegenüber gesehen (einem Apostolikon), so hätte er ganz anders polemisieren müssen, nämlich

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1 Ich habe früher diese Stelle übersehen, bzw. ihre Bedeutung nicht richtig geschätzt.

nicht nur — wie er immer tut — gegen das AT, sondern auch gegen das NT der Kirche. Von einem NT der Kirche ist aber niemals die Rede: das ist entscheidend[1]. Auch konnte er nicht so einfach und ohne Begründung drei von den 13 Briefen des Paulus streichen, wenn ihm eine Sammlung von 13 Briefen vorlag. Ferner, wir wissen, daß die älteste kirchliche Reihenfolge der Paulusbriefe sehr anders aussah als die Marcionitische, die ganz singulär geblieben ist. Warum schuf er überhaupt diese Reihenfolge, wenn es eine ältere der 13 Briefe bereits gab, statt sich mit der Voranstellung des Galaterbriefs zu begnügen? Und so lassen sich noch viele Fragen stellen, die alle zu dem Ergebnis führen, daß dem M. kein katholisches Apostolikon vorlag, daß vielmehr sein Apostolikon das früheste ist: Die Paulusbriefe liefen vermutlich noch für sich (vielleicht auch noch in kleineren Gruppen), Apok. und Akt. als einzelne in den Gemeinden um, als er sein Apostolikon schuf. Mit ihm hat er als erster in der Christenheit den Begriff eines festbegrenzten Apostolikons verwirklicht.

8. Das Marcionitische Ersatzbuch für die Apostelgeschichte. Marcionitische Psalmen.

Der Polemiker gegen die mesopotamischen Marcioniten um das J. 400, Maruta, Bischof von Maipherkat (s. Beil. VI), bestätigt im Umriß die Marcionitische Bibel nach Umfang und Art, fügt aber noch hinzu: „Das Buch der *Πράξεις* haben sie vollständig

1 Es steht also bei M. in bezug auf das NT wie bei Justin (Dial. c. Tryph.), nur war M. in einer vorteilhaften Lage, Justin in einer sehr unbequemen. Auch Justin kennt zwei „Bünde“, aber nicht zwei Bundesurkunden, vielmehr besitzt nur der ältere Bund eine schriftliche Bundesurkunde. Wie viel leichter hätte es Justin gehabt, wenn er den Juden gegenüber auf eine schriftliche Urkunde des zweiten Bundes hätte verweisen können! Statt dessen muß er sich mit der mühsamen Feststellung begnügen, daß die alte schriftliche Bundesurkunde, richtig verstanden, auch die Urkunde des neuen Bundes ist. Umgekehrt war es für M. sehr willkommen, daß er noch kein kirchliches NT sich gegenüber sah und daher das AT als „die“ schriftliche Urkunde der Kirche ansehen konnte. Daß er das getan hat, ist offenbar; denn die kirchlichen Evangelien und Briefe behandelt er nie als eine Einheit; also betrachtete er sie als einzelne Stücke.

aus der Mitte geräumt und statt seiner ein anderes Buch (der *Πράξεις*?) eingeschoben, das sie Sākā = „Summa" (der Araber bietet: „Liber propositi finis") nennen, so daß es sei gemäß ihren Meinungen und Lehren." Auch nach diesen Worten liegt die Annahme nahe, daß die Ausstoßung der Apostelgesch. ausdrücklich begründet war; das Buch aber, welches sie an ihrer Stelle hatten, können doch wohl nur die „Antithesen" sein; denn diese haben auch nach Tert. eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Uraposteln enthalten, ja wahrscheinlich in ihrer Einleitung. Darüber hinaus aber sind die Antithesen wirklich ein „Ersatz" für die Apostelgeschichte; denn mit dieser begründete die Kirche die Konkordanz zwischen dem Alten und dem Neuen Bund und zwischen den Uraposteln und Paulus; mit den Antithesen aber begründete M. die Diskordanz zwischen diesen Größen. Nicht durchsichtig — auch ist die Überlieferung zwiespältig — ist der Titel, mit welchem die Antithesen hier erscheinen; man hat sich an den Syrer zu halten, und es ist wohl kein wirklicher Buchtitel gemeint, sondern das Buch soll seinem Inhalt und seiner Bedeutung nach als „Summa" bezeichnet werden. Das paßt auf die Antithesen sehr gut. Das kanonische (bzw. semikanonische) Ansehen des Buches in der Marcionitischen Kirche läßt sich auch sonst nachweisen. Daß es aber hier ausdrücklich bezeugt ist, ist von Wichtigkeit.

Maruta bezeugt aber auch noch Marcionitische Hymnen bzw. Psalmen: „Hymnen (Psalmen), die sie bei den Gebeten rezitieren, haben sie sich andere als die Davids erdichtet". Diese Mitteilung trifft mit einer dunklen Stelle am Schluß des Muratorischen Fragments zusammen, wo es heißt: „Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Mitiadis (? ich halte noch immer „Tatiani" für die wahrscheinlichste LA) nihil in totum recipimus, qui etiam novum psalmorum librum Marcioni conscripserunt". Nach dieser Stelle wußte dieser Autor ebenso wie Maruta, daß die Marcioniten nicht-davidische Psalmen — Maruta sagt ausdrücklich: in ihren Gottesdiensten; aber das brauchte nicht erst gesagt zu werden — singen. Diese Tatsache steht also für die Zeit um d. J. 400 und d. J. 200 fest; aber nach Maruta sind diese Psalmen Marcionitischen Ursprungs, nach dem Fragment stammen sie von Valentin und anderen Gnostikern. Da Marcion um 200 als der schlimmste Ketzer galt, so sollten Valentin und die anderen durch die Ver-

bindung mit M. diskreditiert werden. Augenscheinlich war eine Gefahr vorhanden (die M. gegenüber nicht bestand), daß in den katholischen Kirchen Werke von jenen gelesen wurden, und um diese Gefahr zu beschwören, macht der Verf. des Fragments darauf aufmerksam, daß sie dem Erzketzer nahestehen. Daß sie ein neues Psalmbuch für „Marcion", d. h. „ad haeresem Marcionis" geschrieben haben, ist freilich auf alle Fälle eine starke Übertreibung; vielleicht aber ist irgend ein wirklicher Kern in der Mitteilung enthalten. Uns muß die Tatsache, daß es in den Kirchen Marcions nicht-davidische Psalmen gegeben hat, genügen.

Beilage IV: Das Evangelium Marcions.

A. Einleitung.

Wie für das Apostolikon M.s sind auch für das Evangelium Tertullian, Epiphanius und Adamantius die Hauptquellen. Die Ausbeute, welche die Angaben anderer Zeugen gewähren (von Hippolyt und Origenes an bis zum Armenier Esnik) [1], ist nicht groß.

Die Grundsätze, nach denen Tertullian und Epiphanius sich mit dem Evangelium M.s befaßt haben, sind dieselben wie bei dem Apostolikon: sie wollen zeigen, daß auch nach dem Evangelium M.s, trotz aller Verfälschung, Christus der Sohn des Weltschöpfers und dieser der wahre Gott ist. Hieraus folgt, daß die Stellen, welche sie in M.s Evangelium übergehen, sehr wohl in diesem Evangelium gestanden haben können, sei es unverfälscht, sei es verfälscht; denn wenn sie auch beide in einigen besonders gravierenden Fällen oder beiläufig angeben, diese oder jene Stelle habe M. ausgelassen oder verfälscht, so ist das nach dem Plane, den sie verfolgen, nur eine Zugabe. Bei Tert. sind übrigens solche Bemerkungen bei der Behandlung des Ev.s M.s viel seltener als bei der des Apostolikons; ohne es zu wollen, bringt er uns aber in seinen Zitaten und Referaten an vielen Stellen Kunde vom Text M.s. Das, was in der Einleitung zum Apostolikon über die Zeugen ausgeführt worden ist, gilt auch hier; doch sind noch einige besondere Bemerkungen notwendig. Rekonstruiert worden ist das Evangelium M.s im letzten Jahrhundert öfters; aber die Rekonstruktionen nach Hahn (Das Ev. M.s in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt, 1823), der sich das grundlegende Verdienst um das Werk erworben hat,

1 Noch im Fihrist (Flügel, Mani S. 85) liest man: „M. verfaßte ein Buch, das er Evangelium nannte, und seine Schüler eine Anzahl andere, die Gott allein zu finden weiß“.

waren durch die Tendenzkritik ungünstig bestimmt, wenn auch Volkmar in anerkennenswerter Weise sich von ihr befreite (1850.52). Da er aber viel Subjektives einmischte und auch die Quellen nicht vollständig übersah, so hat erst Zahn in seiner Kanonsgeschichte (1892) der Aufgabe wesentlich genügt. Daß aber auch diese Herstellung in materieller und formeller Hinsicht noch nicht abschließend ist, wird der nachstehende neue Versuch hoffentlich erweisen.

1. Tertullian.

Stofflich wissen wir über das Ev. M.s durch Tert. (IV. Buch, 3. Bearbeitung) viel mehr als über das Apostolik. [1], weil er die meisten Perikopen dort berührt, während er hier ganze Kapitel überspringt; aber was die Textgestalt im einzelnen betrifft, so läßt sich diese in der Regel bei den Briefen viel sicherer ermitteln als beim Ev. [2]. Tert. beschränkt sich bei diesem sehr viel häufiger auf kurze Referate und gegen Ende des Werks verzichtet er fast ganz auf wörtliche Mitteilungen. Doch hat er sich auch bei den Referaten in anerkennenswerter Gewissenhaftigkeit an M.s Text gehalten, wie das Zeugnis der Nebenreferenten an nicht wenigen Stellen beweist. So bleibt er auch für das Ev. wie für das Apostol. unsere Hauptquelle. Die Energie, mit der er seinem Gegner nachgeht, und der Fleiß sind bewunderungswürdig und geben dem Werk, das auch noch um einen Grad frischer geschrieben ist als das V. Buch, einen Ehrenplatz in der altkirchlichen Literatur. —

In welcher Sprache lag das Ev. M.s Tertullian vor? Nachdem bei dem Apostol. erwiesen worden ist, daß er es lateinisch gelesen hat, ist es an sich höchst wahrscheinlich, daß auch hier seine Vorlage lateinisch war; denn hatten die Marcioniten in

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1 Ausgearbeitet wurde das IV. Buch (3. Edit.) wahrscheinlich in einem Zuge mit Buch I—III um das J. 207/8; s. meine Chronologie II S. 281 ff.

2 Es kommt hinzu, daß die Überlieferung der Evangelien überhaupt viel mannigfaltiger und unsicherer ist als die der Briefe, vor allem weil von der ältesten Zeit an der Text des einen Evangeliums auf den des anderen eingewirkt hat (besonders der des Matth. auf die übrigen Synoptiker).

Rom und Karthago bereits die paulinischen Briefe in lateinischer Übersetzung, so werden sie das Ev. erst recht in dieser Sprache gelesen haben. Die Beweisführung ist aber hier etwas schwieriger, da, wie bemerkt, Tert. größtenteils nur Referate gibt, bei denen die Sprachenfrage nur selten aufgeworfen werden kann, zumal die lateinische Übersetzung, wie alle alten Übersetzungen, sich aufs engste an das Original angeschlossen haben wird. Dennoch läßt sich auch hier der Beweis erbringen; denn (1) der Apparat wird zeigen, daß Tert. nicht nur durchweg oder fast durchweg mit dem 𝔚Text geht, wie er durch D Itala Vulgata bezeugt ist, sondern an einer beträchtlichen Anzahl von Stellen auch mit dem lateinischen 𝔚Text ohne D. In allen diesen Fällen müßte Tert. zufällig bei seiner eigenen Übersetzung — denn er soll ja nach dem Urteil aller bisherigen Kritiker aus dem Stegreif selbst übersetzt haben — mit Itala-Codd. bzw. Vulg. zusammengetroffen sein.

(2) Daß das Latein des Bibeltextes auch hier nicht sein eigenes Latein ist, sondern ein fremdes, läßt sich trotz des Referat-Charakters seiner Mitteilungen an einigen Stellen noch zeigen. Man liest hier dasselbe Latein wie im Apostol., z. B.: „Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ipse ego sum" (IV, 43), oder „„Quoniam'[1], inquit, recipistis advocationem vestram'" (Luk. 6, 24 = *ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν*, IV, 15), oder IV, 18 „Ecce ego mitto angelum .... qui praeparet viam tuam" (c. 7, 27; praeparet = praeparabit; es gibt hier nur die LA *κατασκευάσει;* ganz sicher ist aber praeparet nicht überliefert) oder IV, 19 „Ab eo, qui non habet, etiam quod habere se putat auferetur ei" (Luk. 8, 18) oder IV, 21 „Qui mei confusus fuerit" (Luk. 9, 26) oder IV, 26 „adpropinquavit in vos regnum dei" (Luk. 11, 20) oder IV, 33 „Si in mamona iniusto fideles non extitistis" (Luk. 16, 11) und dergl.

(3) Schlagender aber sind die Stellen, an welchen er den ihm überlieferten Bibeltext zuerst bringt, dann aber ihn in seiner

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1 „Quoniam" ist hier wie beim Bibeltext des Apostol. verräterisch. M. bietet nach Tert. Luk. 6, 20 zweimal: „Beati pauperes [‚mendici' setzt Tert. ein], quoniam illorum est Dei regnum"; aber wenn Tert. den Spruch von sich aus zitiert, schreibt er „quod" oder „enim" (s. de fuga 12; de pat. 11).

Sprache wiedergibt. Luk. 6, 24 hatte er (s. o.) durch „recipistis advocationem vestram" (IV, 15) wiedergegeben; aber das war ihm denn doch des Guten in wörtlicher Wiedergabe zuviel, und so leitete er es mit den Worten ein: „divites solatio iuvantur". In IV, 11 zu Luk. 5, 36 will er zeigen, daß Jesu' Art, „similitudines" zu geben, samt dem Wort selbst ATlich sei; infolgedessen zitiert er den Spruch Ps. 77, 2: „aperiam in parabolam os meum", und fügt hinzu: „id est similitudinem". Also bot ihm sein Text den Spruch Luk. 5, 36 nicht: „ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ παραβολήν, sondern „dicebat autem et similitudinem"; sonst hätte er selbst das Wort „parabola" beibehalten, das er ja so oft braucht, und sich, den Beweis ersparen können. In IV, 21 gibt er den Text (Luk. 9, 24): „qui voluerit animam salvam facere", aber er selbst ersetzt das dann durch „servare". Besonders schlagend ist IV, 23 die Wiedergabe von Luk. 9, 41; hier bietet er: „O genitura incredula, quousque ero apud vos?" Dieses stümpernd wörtliche und in der gebildeten Sprache hier unstatthafte „genitura" (= γενέα) ersetzt er aber sofort, indem er zehn Zeilen darauf gut lateinisch schreibt und auch sonst verbessert: „O natio incredula, quamdiu ero vobiscum". Man beachte endlich auch, daß sein Text ihm überall „beati" (= μακάριοι) bot, daß ihm aber dieses durch die Kirche geadelte profane Wort noch nicht ganz genehm war; er ersetzt es durch „felices", wenn er selbst spricht (s. IV, 25 zu Luk. 10, 23 und IV, 26 zu Luk. 11, 28).

Nun glaubt man aber, an einer Stelle nachweisen zu können, daß der Text dem Tert. griechisch vorgelegen habe. Zu Luk. 6,20 schreibt Tert. (IV, 14): „ ‚Beati mendici' — sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli quod in Graeco est — ‚quoniam illorum est dei regnum.' " Genau betrachtet aber ist es auch an dieser Stelle viel wahrscheinlicher, daß er einen lateinischen Text vor sich hatte, der ihm nicht „mendicus", sondern, wie alle lateinischen Zeugen, „pauper" bot. Da er aber um der ATlichen Weissagung willen (Ps. 81, 3 f.; 71, 4; 71, 12 ff.; Ps. 9, 18 ff.; 112, 5 ff.; I Kön. 2, 8; Jes. 3, 14 f.; 10, 1 f.; alle diese Stellen zitiert er und in allen steht „mendicus") auf „mendicus" herauskommen wollte, so führte er von sich aus dieses Wort hier ein als das nach dem ihm geläufigen griechischen Original zutreffende Wort. Übersetzte er dagegen selber frei, so brauchte er keine Umstände zu

machen, sondern konnte einfach ohne Begründung schreiben: „Beati mendici[1]."

Somit darf man sich auf diese Stelle nicht berufen, und es muß daher anerkannt werden, daß dem Tert. wie das Marcionitische Apostol., so auch das Evang. bereits in lateinischer Sprache vorgelegen hat.

Tert.s Widerlegung M.s in diesem Buch ist gewiß ein Originalwerk; allein durch Vergleichung einiger Stellen mit solchen bei Irenäus, Origenes, Ephraem und Epiphanius ergibt sich, daß Tert. schon eine Streitschrift gegen M. gekannt haben muß, die bereits Gegenausführungen zu den Marcionitischen Auslegungen des Ev.s enthalten hat. Leider aber ist die Zahl dieser Stellen so gering und das Zusammentreffen auf so kurze Sätzchen beschränkt, daß sich Schlüsse in bezug auf diese ältere Streitschrift nicht ziehen lassen.

2. Adamantius.

Nach dem oben S. 56* ff. über diesen Zeugen Ausgeführten bedarf es hier keiner weiteren Untersuchung. Daß sein Zeugnis in der Regel von geringerem Belang ist als das des Tert. und Epiphanius, gilt auch hier, da er nicht aus M. selbst, sondern aus Gegenschriften geschöpft hat; auch bleibt es an mehreren Stellen unsicher, ob sie überhaupt aus M.s Evang. stammen. Dazu kommt, daß Zitate aus einem Synoptiker stets unsicherer sind als die aus den Briefen. Daß der Grundtext und die lateinische Übersetzung Rufins öfters erheblich auseinandergehen, erhöht noch die Schwierigkeiten der Verwertung. Die Zitate aus dem 2. Dialog sind, wie bei dem Apostol., die zuverlässigsten. An einigen Stellen muß man zu der Entscheidung kommen, daß der Marcionitische Text selbst Veränderungen erlitten hat.

1 Wie sich Tert.s eigene Zitate des Lukas-Ev. und der Paulusbriefe zu denen aus der lateinischen Marcionitischen Bibel verhalten, ist hier nicht zu untersuchen. Wenn sich meine auf unvollständiger Durchsicht beruhende Vermutung bestätigen sollte, daß Tert.s Zitate in den letzten Schriften den Marcionitischen näher stehen als die in den früheren, daß aber diese wie jene nicht dem textus Africanus, sondern dem Italus angehören, wäre eine wichtige Einsicht für die Geschichte des lateinischen Bibeltextes gewonnen.

3. Epiphanius.

Das Zeugnis des Epiphanius (s. o. S. 64* ff.) ist für das Evang. noch wichtiger als für das Apostol., denn er hat 78 (77) Stellen ausgezogen (dort nur 40). Von diesen 78 Stellen enthalten 35 Angaben über Änderungen M.s am Text, sei es durch Auslassungen, sei es durch Korrekturen. Da Tert. beim Evang. sehr viel seltener als beim Apostol. Auslassungen vermerkt hat, so sind diese Angaben des Epiph. von unschätzbarem Wert; ohne sie wäre unsere Kenntnis des Marcionitischen Verfahrens sehr viel dürftiger. Die übrigen Auszüge — sie sind meistens umfangreicher als die vorigen — hatte sich Epiph. gemacht, um die Lehren M.s aus ihrer Grundlage zu widerlegen; aber auch sie sind für die Feststellung des Textes nicht unwichtig. Flüchtigkeiten und Mißverständnisse fehlen nicht, weil Epiph. das Material schon geraume Zeit vor der Abfassung des Panarion gesammelt hatte und es selbst bei der nachträglichen Verwertung nicht überall mehr verstand. Was hier zu berichtigen war, ist durch Zahn und Holl geschehen. Auch das kommt vor, daß er M. Fälschungen vorwirft, wo dieser doch nur einen auch sonst bezeugten Text geboten hat. Über die Auszüge aus der Marcionitischen Bibel hinaus bietet Epiph. auch in dem großen Kapitel gegen M. sonst noch einiges Material für die Feststellung des Marcionitischen Ev. Textes; es ist aus älteren Streitschriften geflossen. Näheres läßt sich leider nicht sagen.

4.

Sicher ist, daß Irenäus die Bibel Marcions gekannt hat (Iren. I, 27), und dasselbe gilt von Origenes (wohl auch von Hippolyt) und von Isidor von Pelusium (s. ep. I, 371). Dagegen ist es mindestens zweifelhaft, ob Adamantius selbst das Evangelium M.s in Händen gehabt hat oder nur seine Vorgänger, die er ausschreibt; Hieronymus kannte es nicht. Wie lange es sich nach Theodorets Zeit noch erhalten hat, der in seiner Diözese eine sehr große Anzahl von Exemplaren vernichtete, wissen wir nicht. Im Reiche führten die kaiserlichen Gebote, die Codices der Häretiker seien zu verbrennen (s. Arcad. et Honor. ann. 398; Theodos. Codex XVI, 5, 14), allmählich den Untergang herbei. Doch wird sich das Evangelium so lange erhalten haben, wie die Sekte selbst.

5.

Daß das Evangelium auch ins Syrische übersetzt war, folgt aus der Verbreitung der Marcionitischen Kirche im Osten. Eingesehen haben es Ephraem und oberflächlich der Verf. der syrischen (armenisch-erhaltenen) antimarcionitischen Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn. Er weiß, daß es mit der Zeit des Pilatus begonnen hat, ferner daß Stellen aus Johannes in ihm nicht gestanden haben, und daß sich Luk. 5, 34 in dem Ev. fand. Aber dem Text dieses Spruchs gibt er, wie die katholischen Syrer ihn lasen *(μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς . . . ποιῆσαι)* und nicht wie M. ihn las *(μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοί)*. Hier wie sonst sind Schäfers' Behauptungen (S. 208 ff.) nicht stichhaltig, dieser syrische Polemiker habe seine Zitate z. T. nach M.s Bibel gegeben [1]. Ich habe die evangelischen Zitate, die in der Schrift vorkommen, durchgesehen und bin nirgends auf Textfassungen gestoßen, die Marcionitisch sind oder sein könnten. Zitiert er doch auch (S. 38f). das Gleichnis von den schlimmen Weingärtnern (Luk. 20, 9 ff.), das M. sicher gestrichen hatte. Interessant ist, daß er das bekannte Apokryphon [2]: *Ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός* [3], *ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς* (so, und nicht wie sonst: *τῆς βασιλείας*), zitiert (S. 79); aber hier behauptet auch Schäfers nicht, daß es aus M.s Ev. stammt.

Aus Ephraem läßt sich nur eine geringe Ausbeute für den Text gewinnen.

Wie beim Apostolikon, so hat man auch beim Evangelium keine Gewähr, daß alle Korrekturen von Marcion selbst stammen; selbst die Fassung, wie sie bei Tert. vorliegt, kann schon Korrekturen der Schüler enthalten.

B. *ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.*

III, 1 a *Ἐν τῷ ιε' ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου*
IV, 31 *κατῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Χριστὸς[Ἰησοῦς]?) (ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ?)*

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1 Schäfers hält Luk. 5, 34 *μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς . . . ποιῆσαι νηστεύειν* für den Marcionitischen Text; denn Tert. zitiere nicht genau; allein der 𝔚Text, mit dem M. so häufig zusammengeht (bzw. zu dem M.s Text gehört) liest *μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ νηστεύειν.*

2 S. Texte u. Unters. Bd. 42 H. 3 S. 20, H. 4 S. 41.

3 Daß auch hier *πυρός* steht, entscheidet nicht (gegen Schäfers) gegen die Konjektur *πατρός*, die sich aufdrängt.

εἰς Καφαρναούμ, (πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας [Ἰουδαίας]?) καὶ ἦν διδάσκων (αὐτοὺς?) ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· IV, 32 *ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.* 33—35 Die Geschichte von der Heilung des Dämonischen; aber erhalten sind nur die

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Titel: Er lautete wahrscheinlich so einfach. Das ergibt sich daraus, daß (1) Tert. (IV, 2) ausdrücklich sagt, M. habe seinem Evangelium keinen Autornamen gegeben, auch nicht den des Paulus, (2) der Marcionit Megethius auf die Frage nach dem Verfasser des Evangeliums antwortete „Christus", aber in die Enge getrieben, nun Paulus für den Verfasser ausgibt (Adamant., Dial. I, 8; so auch das Carmen adv. Marc. II, 29), (3) der Marcionit Markus Christus als Verfasser nennt (l. c. II, 13 f.), (4) Epiphanius (haer. 42, 10; Holl Bd. II, S. 106) bemerkt, er habe die beiden Bücher M.s in der Hand gehabt, *τό τε παρ' αὐτῷ λεγόμενον ‚Εὐαγγέλιον' καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ‚Ἀποστολικὸν' καλούμενον*, (4) der Fihrist (s. Flügel, Mani S. 160) erzählt: „M. verfaßte ein Buch, welches er ‚Evangelium' nannte." Darnach ist es nur möglich, nicht wahrscheinlich, daß „*τοῦ Χριστοῦ*" neben *Εὐαγγέλιον* gestanden hat. Vielleicht trat es in einigen Exemplaren später hinzu. — R. Harris meint gewiß mit Unrecht, daß das Jubelwort über das Evangelium hierher gehört und nicht zu den Antithesen.

Daß die ganze Geburtsgeschichte Jesu (inkl. der Beschneidung IV, 7 usw.) von M. gestrichen war, sagt Tert. wiederholt; daß das Vorwort und alle Abschnitte in Luk. 1, 2 gefehlt haben, aber auch die Genealogien und die Taufe Jesu, bemerkt Epiphanius (42, 11, S. 107, vgl. zu dem Fehlen der Genealogien auch Isidor v. Pelusium, ep. I 371); daß die Versuchungsgeschichte fehlte, folgt aus Tert. adv. Marc. V, 6 und aus Epiph. haer. 42, 11, S. 147 f. [Ganz allgemein sagt das Carmen adv. Marc., das Evangelium M.s sei „sine principio" (II, 26)]. An dieser Stelle gibt Epiph. den Anfang des Evangeliums M.s urkundlich: ‚*Ἐν τῷ ιε' ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος*', leider bricht er mit *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* ab. Den Anfang bezeugen mit Fortführungen, in denen aber nur referiert wird, Irenäus (I, 27, 2: „*Iesum autem ab eo patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem deum, venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris*"; daß der Kaisername bei M. stand, geht deutlicher aus Iren. IV, 6, 1 hervor), Tertullian (I, 19: „*Anno XV. Tiberii Christus Iesus de caelo manare dignatus est, spiritus salutaris Marcionis*", vgl. I, 15: „*Quale est, ut dominus anno XV. Tiberii Caesaris revelatus sit?*" IV, 7: „*Anno XV. principatus Tiberii proponit eum* (vorher „*Christum*") *descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris, in quod de suo ante descenderat* [darauf noch einmal „*Galilaea*" und mehrmals „*de caelo*"] ..... *de caelo statim in synagogam*" ... dann als Zitat: „*venit in synagogam*"), Hippol. (Philos. VII, 31: *χωρὶς γεννήσεως ἔτει ιε' τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κατεληλυθότα αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν ... διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς* — das hat Hipp. nicht von Iren., sondern aus einer

Worte: *τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς. οἶδα τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ ... ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.* Über die Verse 36. 37 (Der Eindruck dieser Heilung) und 38. 39 (Heilung der Schwiegermutter des Petrus) ist nichts bekannt. Hierauf folgte IV, 16—30: Das Auftreten in Nazareth (*ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ναζαρέθ,*

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anderen Quelle), Origenes (Comm. in Tit., T. V p. 283 ff. . . . . „*non de virgine natum, sed XXX annorum virum eum apparuisse in Iudaea*"), Adamantius (Dial. II, 3: *ἔτει ιε' Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου κατῆλθεν.* II, 19: *ἐπὶ Τιβερίου κατελθὼν ἐφάνη ἐν Καφαρναούμ*), Ephraem (Evang., Concord. Expos. p. 130: „*Nec coeperat docere extra synagogam, sed in synagoga*") und ein Anonymus (Syr. M.s Brit. Mus. Add. 17 215, vgl. Academy 21. Okt. 1893): „*Marcion said, that our Lord was not born of woman, but stole the place of the creator and cam down and appeared first between Ierusalem and Iericho, like a son of man in form and in image and in likeness, yet without our body*"). Woher die Kunde stammt, Jesus sei zuerst zwischen Jerusalem und Jericho erschienen, habe ich nicht ermitteln können. Nach den gegebenen Texten ist *ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου* wahrscheinlich und auch *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, da Tert. diese Worte paraphrasiert; das „*utique*" bezieht sich wohl nicht auf „*de caelo*", sondern auf „creatoris". Zu beachten ist, daß M. die Datierungen nach den jüdischen Größen getilgt hat. Da Adamantius nur Kapernaum nennt, Tert. Galiläa hinzufügt, Irenäus und Orig. Judäa bringen und der Anonymus letztere LA stützt, so scheint gefolgert werden zu müssen, daß M. nur Kapernaum bot; allein möglich ist, daß Adamantius den Text bei Kapernaum abbrach, und dann hat „Judäa" mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit als Galiläa. Es kann auch in der Erklärung (Antithesen) gestanden haben. *Ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν* (Luk. 4, 31) ist für M. unbezeugt. Daß Christus aus seinem Himmel durch den des Weltschöpfers auf die Erde gekommen ist, bemerkt Tert. nach M. öfters (s. z. B. IV, 22: „*quia et ipse per caelum creatoris viam ruperat*"). Da dies nur in einer Auslegung M.s gestanden haben kann, so muß es auch offen bleiben, ob *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* im Eingang des Ev.s gestanden hat. Doch hat M. in Luk. 21, 27 auch *ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν* eingesetzt. Endlich, im Ev. hatte M. sicher nur *κατῆλθεν* (dies Wort auch durch Esnik bezeugt: „Da stieg Jesus zum zweiten Mal herab"); aber in einer beigegebenen Erklärung, bezw. in den Antithesen, muß auch *ἐφάνη* gestanden haben; denn es ist durch Irenäus, Tert., Orig. und Adamantius bezeugt. — Daß Pilatus im Eingang des Evangeliums genannt war, bezeugt auch der unbekannte Syrer.

Cap. IV, 32 Tert. IV, 7: „*Stupebant autem omnes ad doctrinam eius, quoniam in potestate erat sermo eius.*" *δὲ πάντες* sonst zweimal bezeugt > *καί* (doch ist *δέ* nicht sicher) — IV, 13 wiederholt Tert. den Spruch, aber nach Matth. (Mark.): „*Obstupescebant in doctrina eius; erat enim docens tamquam virtutem habens*".

ὅπου ἦν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, spätere Marcioniten setzten dafür „Bethsaida"); aber es war verkürzt und enthielt wahrscheinlich nur die Mitteilung, daß Jesus dort durch eine Predigt die Juden erzürnt habe, sowie den Parabelspruch (v. 23): *ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν*, hierauf folgte der Versuch, Jesum vom Berg herabzustürzen (*ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν . . . ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως τῆς ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους*) und die Worte (v. 30): *διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο*. Daran schloß sich v. 40—43 (Der Bericht über die

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Cap. IV, 34 Tert. IV, 7: „*Quid nobis et tibi est, Iesu? venisti perdere nos; scio qui sis, sanctus dei . . . increpuit illum Iesus.*" *ἔα* fehlt mit D a b c e f ff² l q cop. — *Ναζαρηνέ* tendenziös gestrichen — *οἶδα* mit adv. Prax. 26 > *οἶδά σε*.

Cap. IV, 16—30: Tertullian IV, 7. 8. und Ephraem, Evang. Concord. Exp. p. 129, bezeugen diese Perikope für M., zugleich aber auch ihre Verkürzung. Aus Tert. folgt die merkwürdige Umstellung; aus Cod. D läßt sich IV, 16 die Fassung M.s mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit feststellen; denn in D ist hier ein Teil des Textes M.s erhalten, der durch Auslassung von *τεθραμμένος* und *αὐτῷ* in v. 16 einen ganz anderen Sinn erhält: *Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ναζαρὲθ, ὅπου ἦν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ⟨εἰςῆλθεν⟩* (*αὐτῷ* fehlt auch in e a c d, und e läßt auch *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός* aus und liest wie D *ἐλθὼν δέ* für *καὶ ἦλθεν*) *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴς συναγωγήν*. Ein Kabinettsstück der Textkritik M.s, s. R. Harris, Study of Cod. Bezae, in d. Texts a. Studies II, 1 p. 232; Plummer, Comm. on the Luke, 1896, p. 119. Nach M. durfte ja Jesus nicht in Nazareth erzogen sein und durfte auch nicht nach seiner Gewohnheit die Synagoge besuchen; Ephraem (nicht ganz klar überliefert): „*Ex cultu eorum probatur, quod de deo eorum ad eos locutus est, secus enim extra synagogas eum praedicare oportuit. ingressus est in Bethsaida* [Korrektur späterer Marcioniten, die jede Verbindung Jesu mit Nazareth abschneiden wollten] *ad Iudaeos et nihil aliud in medium protulit, quod ad ipsum dixerunt, nisi hoc unum ‚Medice, cura te ipsum'. Et assumpserunt eum et foras duxerunt ad praecipitium montis. non est veresimile, quod hoc verbum Christi ad iram eos excitavit. at si de creatore ad eos locutus esset, et ideo ei hoc responsum dedissent et eduxissent eum, ut eum detruderent, cur alio in loco evangelista talia non indicat?*" Tert. IV, 8: „*Et tamen apud Nazareth quoque nihil novi notatur praedicasse, dum alio merito unius proverbii* [Kroymann tilgt diese beiden Worte] *eiectus refertur*" . . . „*manus ei iniectas*" . . . „*detentus et captus et ad praecipitium usque protractus*" . . . „*per medios evasit*". Hiernach hat M. den Inhalt der Predigt nicht angegeben, sondern seinerseits aus dem üblen Erfolg geschlossen, daß sie sich gegen den Judengott gerichtet haben müsse. Daß der v. 27 hier fehlte und damit auch vieles andere, folgt aus der Fassung v. c. 17, 17 f. (s. dort). Die Perikope bezeugt für M. auch Hieron., Contra Johannem Hierosol. 34.

große Heilandstätigkeit und daß das Volk ihm selbst in die Wüste nachkam); erhalten ist ein Referat über v. 40. 41., dabei *ἐξήρχετο δαιμόνια κράζοντα· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν.* Aus v. 42 *ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔρημον .. κατεῖχον αὐτόν*, aus v. 43 *Δεῖ με καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις (ἑτέραις?) πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

C. V. M. bot alle Erzählungen dieses Kapitels; aber im einzelnen ist nur weniges bekannt. v. 3 *Σίμων.* 9 Zittern des

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Kap. IV, 40—44: Tert. IV, 8: „*Mox tetigit alios, quibus manus imponens beneficia medicinarum conferebat... a daemoniis liberare... spiritus nequam excedebant vociferantes: ‚Tu es filius dei‘ ... sed proinde increpabantur et iubebantur tacere... In solitudinem procedit... detentus a turbis ‚Oportet me‘, inquit, ‚et aliis civitatibus adnuntiare regnum dei‘* “. 41 *σύ* mit zahlreichen Lateinern > *ὅτι σύ* — Zahn nimmt das Fehlen von 41 fin. (*ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι*) als selbstverständlich an; ich sehe keinen Grund hierfür — 43 *ἄλλαις (?)* mit D d e (*εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις*) > *ἑτέραις* — *δεῖ με* mit BD, vielen Codd. Lat., vulg. > *με δεῖ.* Die Eröffnung des Satzes durch *δεῖ με* ist sonst unbezeugt; aber die Lateiner haben es wenigstens vor *εὐαγγελίσασθαι*, während die Stellung sonst: *ὅτι καὶ τ. ἑτερ. πολ. εὐαγγ. με δεῖ τ. βασ. τ. θεοῦ.*

Cap. V: Tert. IV, 9: v. 1—10: „*Piscatura... in apostolos sumeret Simonem et filios Zebedaei* ... (10) *dicens Petro trepidanti de copiosa indagine piscium: ‚Ne time, abhinc enim homines eris capiens.‘* 11 *denique ‚relictis‘ nauclis secuti sunt eum‘* ... 12—14 „*leprosi purgatio*“ ... 13 „*tetigit leprosum*“ 14 „*vetuit divulgare ... ‚vade, ostende te sacerdoti et offer munus quod praecepit Moses, ut sit vobis in testimonium‘* “. Tert. (IV, 10) v. 17—26: „*curatur et paralyticus, et quidem in coetu, spectante populo*“. 21 „‚*quis dimittet* (bald darauf: „*non posse hominem delicta dimittere*“) *peccata nisi solus deus?‘* “ 24 „*filius hominis*“ ... „*peccata dimittere eius est*“ (bald darauf „*habere eum potestatem dimittendi delicta*“; ausdrücklich bemerkt Tert., daß hier zum erstenmal im Ev. Jesus „Menschensohn“ heißt) ... „‚*exurge et tolle grabbatum tuum‘* “. Tert. (IV, 11) v. 27—32: „*Publicanum adlectum a domino*“ ... 29. 30 „*ethnicos et publicanos quos adlegebat*“ ... 31 „*medicum sanis non esse necessarium, sed male habentibus*“. 33—35 „*Unde autem et Iohannes venit in medium? subito Christus, subito Iohannes*“ (also war bisher von ihm im Ev. nicht die Rede) ... „*discipulos Christi manducantes et bibentes ... discipuli Johannis adsidue ieiunantes et orantes*“. 34 „*humiliter reddens rationem, quod non possent ieiunare filii sponsi, quamdiu cum eis esset sponsus, postea vero ieiunaturos promittens, cum ablatus ab eis sponsus esset, nec discipulos defendit, sed potius excusavit*“ ... 36—38 „*errasti in illa etiam domini pronuntiatione, qua videtur nova et vetera discernere. inflatus es utribus veteribus et excerebratus es novo vino,*

gewaltigen Fischzugs wegen. 10 *υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου . . . μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν.* 11 *ἀφέντες ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.* 12 *ἀνὴρ λεπρός.* 13 *ἥψατο.* 14 *ἄπελθε δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ*

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atque ita veteri, i. e. priori evangelio, pannum haereticae novitatis adsuisti" . . . „*vinum novum is non committit in veteres utres, qui nec veteres utres habuerit, et novum additamentum nemo inicit veteri vestimento, nisi cui non defuerit et vetus vestimentum*" . . . nachträglich: „*in hoc dirigebat similitudinem*". Im folgenden führt er aus, „*similitudo*" sei gleich „*parabola*", d. h. das Wort, welches in Ps. 77, 2 stehe; also hatte Tert. den Text lateinisch vor sich (s. o. S. 180*).

Epiphan.: Schol. 1: ,*Ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, καθὼς προσέταξε Μωϋσῆς· ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν·* — *ἀνθ' οὗ εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ· ,εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς·*, (Luk. 5, 14). Schol. 2: ,*Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·* (Luk. 5, 24). S. 95 (c. 2): ,*Οὐ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιοὺς οὐδὲ ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αἴρει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει. μεῖζον γὰρ σχίσμα γενήσεται*' (nach Hippolyts Syntagma, vgl. Filastr. haer. 45: „*Nemo pannum rudem mittit in vestimentum vetus neque vinum novum in utres veteres, alioquin rumpuntur utres et effunditur vinum*").

Adamant II, 16: *Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν ὁ σωτήρ· ,Βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται'. τὸ καινὸν οὐκ ἔστι πλήρωμα τοῦ παλαιοῦ· πάλιν γὰρ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ· ,Οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ·* (Rufin: „*Dicit enim salvator quia ‚Si mittatur vinum novum in utres novos, utraque conservabuntur'. et iterum*: „*Nemo assuit assumentum panni rudis ad vestimentum vetus*' ". Gleich darauf noch einmal: ,*Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπιβάλλει ἀπὸ ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ·* (Rufin: „*Nemo assuit pannum rudem ad vestimentum vetus*").

10 *γάρ* mit D e > fehlt.

12 *λεπρός* mit D d (*leprosus*) > *πλήρης λέπρας.* Zahn (Neue kirchl. Zeitschr. 1910 S. 512 f.) hat entdeckt, daß in einer lateinischen Predigt eines Arianers in einem Palimpsest von Bobbio (Mailand, Ambros. C. 73 inf., s. Mai, Script. Vet. Nova Coll. III, 2 p. 204 f.) auf M.s Auslegung dieser Perikope angespielt wird: „Erubescat Marcio, qui de hoc loco fantasmatis et putativi corporis adsumit defensionem: ‚Quia fantasmatis habuit corpus, ideo inquinari non potuit'. sed felix qui nos mundat, ipse non inquinatur". S. zu dieser Perikope auch das Fragment aus dem 6. Buch der Hypotyposen des Clemens (Stählin III H. S. 199), wo in v. 14 weder *ὑμῖν* noch *αὐτοῖς* steht.

14 *ἄπελθε* mit D a ital. vulg. > *ἀπελθὼν (δεῖξον).*

14 *τὸ δῶρον* mit Matth. Cod. X b c arm > fehlt (Epiph. wirft dem M. in der Refutatio Streichung vor; aber nach Tert. hatte er es; es ist wohl ein nachträgliches Versehen des Epiph. anzunehmen) — *περὶ τοῦ καθα-*

προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον (περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου?) ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ᾖ ὑμῖν ⟨τοῦτο⟩ εἰς μαρτύριον. 17 „coetus". 18 *παραλελυμένος.* 21 . . *δύναται ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός.* 24 *ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρον τὸν κράββατόν σου.* 27 *τελώνης.* 29. 30 *μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν.* 31 *οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.* 33 *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου πυκνὰ νηστεύουσιν καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται.* (Christi Jünger) *ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν.* 34 *μὴ δύνανται νηστεύειν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἐφ' ὅσον μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν ὁ νύμφιος.* 35 *ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νύμφιος . . . νηστεύσουσιν.* 36 *παραβολήν.* Der nun folgende Spruch von den Schläuchen und dem Gewand (in dieser sonst nicht bezeugten Reihenfolge) ist im Wortlaut genau nicht mehr festzustellen; sicher aber ist, daß M. *νέους*

ρισμοῦ σου fehlte vielleicht in Tert.s Exemplar, aber in dem des Epiphanius stand es — *ἵνα ᾖ εἰς* mit D a b c e f ff² g¹·² l q Ambros. > *εἰς* — *ὑμῖν* die vorigen ohne f g¹·² > *αὐτοῖς*. Da eben diese Zeugen *τοῦτο* („*istud*") (Stellung wechselnd) hinzufügen, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß dies Wort bei Tert. ausgefallen ist, da es ja auch Epiph. für M. bietet. Dagegen las Epiph. bei M. *εἰς* nicht.

24 *ἆρον* mit ℵD a b c f ff² g¹ l q vulg. > *ἆρας* — *τὸν κράβαττον* mit D c cop. *τὸ κλινίδιον*. Nach den Acta Archel. 44, deren Antithesen wahrscheinlich Marcionitische sind, hat sich das an einem Sabbat abgespielt.

30 „*Ethnici et publicani*" Tert. > *τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί*, aber das ist freies Referat.

33 Ist es nicht eine spätere Marcionitische LA, daß in D e statt *ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πί ουσιν* steht: *οὐδὲν τούτων ποιοῦσιν?* Auf 33—35 bei M. spielt auch Ephraem an; s. Lied 47, 2 f. gegen die Ketzer.

34 *μὴ δύνανται* mit ℵ*D a b c e ff² g¹ aeth. Matth. Mark. > *μὴ δύνασθε* (M. las *ποιῆσαι* nicht, mit denselben Zeugen) — *ἐφ' ὅσον* mit D e und Matth. > *ἐν ᾧ*. Als von M. gelesen wird dieser Spruch auch beglaubigt von einem unbekannten syrischen Schriftsteller (S c h ä f e r s , Eine altsyrische, antimarcionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn usw., 1917, S. 59 f.).

36—38 Vgl. noch Tert. III, 15: „*Quomodo docet novam plagulam non adsui veteri vestimento, nec vinum novum veteribus utribus credi?*" — 38 *βάλλουσιν* mit ℵ*D a b c e f ff² g¹ l q > *βλητέον*. Die Fassung des Doppelspruchs ist durch Matth. beeinflußt. Z a h n restituiert: *Οὐ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς, (ἀλλὰ) βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους, καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται· (καὶ) οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ· εἰ δὲ μήγε καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αἴρει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει· μεῖζον γὰρ σχίσμα γενήσεται.* Auch Ephraem, Sermo 44, bezeugt den Spruch für M.

statt *καινούς* gelesen hat, wahrscheinlich, daß der Satz *καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται* fehlte und daß er in v. 38 *βάλλουσιν* las. 39 fehlte.

C. VI: 1—5 M. bot die Geschichte vom Ährenausraufen. Genau feststellen läßt sich nur 1 *ἐν σαββάτῳ . . ἐπείνασαν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔτιλλον τοὺς στάχυας ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσὶν (εἰργάσαντο βρῶσιν?).* 2 *Φαρισαῖοι.* 3 *ὁ Χριστός. . . οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησε Δαυίδ; . . . καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες.* 4 *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν (καὶ εἰργάσατο βρῶσιν?).* 6—11 Der Mann mit der verdorrten Hand. 6 *χεὶρ ξηρά.* 7 *παρετηροῦντο . . . Φαρισαῖοι* (das Folgende wesentlich identisch). 9 *(ἐπερωτῶ) εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν (τῷ σαββάτῳ?) ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ μή; ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;* 5 *(καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι) κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου.* 12 Er geht zum

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39 Wird für M. nicht bezeugt; der Vers muß gefehlt haben, wie er auch in D a b c e ff2* l und, wie es scheint, auch bei Euseb. gefehlt hat. Er ist echt und von Marcion gestrichen, und dies ist in die abendländische Überlieferung eingedrungen.

C. VI: Tert. IV, 12 bezeugt, daß v. 1 ff. erhalten war: „*Esurierant discipuli sabbato spicas decerptas manibus effrixerant, cibum operati ferias ruperunt. excusat illos Christus et reus est sabbati laesi; accusant Pharisaei . . . quasi de exemplo David, introgressi sabbatis templum et operati cibum audenter fractis panibus propositionis . . . David comitesque eius cum discipulis suis aequat in culpa et in venia*". Zweimal „*operati cibum*". Daher scheint dieser Ausdruck (s. Joh. 6, 27) bei M. gestanden zu haben. Lukas selbst dachte an eine sakramentale Handlung, und dies hat M. richtig verstanden und verstärkt. Das „Hungern" steht nur Matth. 12, 1—3. *Χριστός* mit Codd. Afric. > *Ἰησοῦς*—Epiph., Schol. 21: *οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυίδ; . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ*— *τί* sonst zweimal bezeugt > *ὅ* — 4 *ὡς* vor *εἰσῆλθεν* scheint mit BD gefehlt zu haben — „*sabbatis*" bei Tert. ist ein leicht verständliches Versehen — 5 Epiph. Schol. 3: *κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου.* Dieser Vers steht in D erst nach v. 10; dort erst hatte ihn auch M.; denn Tert. zitiert ihn nach v. 9: „*dominus sabbati dictus*" — *ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρ.* vorangestellt mit ADLR etc. ital. vulg. > ℵB.

6 f. Tert. IV, 12: „*Manum aridam curans . . . Observant Pharisaei, si medicinas sabbatis ageret, ut accusarent eum*".

9 L. c.: „*Interrogat, licetne sabbatis benefacere an non? animam liberare an perdere?*" — *μή* allein > *κακοποιῆσαι* (ob Tert. nicht willkürlich verkürzt hat?).

12 Tert. (IV, 13): „*Ascendit in montem et illic pernoctat in oratione et utique auditur a patre*". Die sonst allein überlieferte LA ist *τοῦ θεοῦ* (Tert. mag hier nur referieren).

Gebet ins Gebirge: *εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι ... διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ πατρός (τοῦ θεοῦ?).*

13—19 Apostelwahl und Zudrang des Volkes. 13 *ἐκλεξάμενος δώδεκα . . ἀποστόλους.* 14 *Σίμωνα ... ὠνόμασεν Πέτρον.* 16 *Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης.* 17 *κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς ... πλῆθος (πολὺ) ἀπὸ τῆς (παραλίου?) Τύρου καὶ ἄλλων τε χωρῶν (πόλεων?) καὶ τῆς περαίας ἐληλυθότων.* 19 *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτει ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ.*

20—23 Die Seligpreisungen. 20 *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* 21 *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες, ὅτι χορτασθή-*

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13 L. c.: „*Cur autem duodecim apostolos elegit?*" — 14 L. c.: „*Mutat et Petro nomen de Simone*" — 16 so Epiphan., Schol. 4 wörtlich — 17 Epiphan., Schol. 4: *ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ‚κατέβη μετ' αὐτῶν' ἔχει ‚κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς'* (sonst unbezeugt > *μετ' αὐτῶν;* auf die altlateinisch bezeugte LA *κατέβη* ist vielleicht kein Gewicht zu legen) — „*Conveniunt a Tyro et ex aliis regionibus multitudo, etiam transmarina*". Der am stärksten bezeugte Text lautet: *πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς παραλίου Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος οἳ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι κτλ.* (so auch vulg.); aber ℵ* bietet *τοῦ λαοῦ* nicht und fügt zu *Ἱεροσ·* hinzu *καὶ περαίας.* D bietet statt der Worte *καὶ Ἱερουσ.* bis *ἦλθον* vielmehr *καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων ἐληλυθότων,* die Codd. a b c ff.[2] l q fügen wie ℵ* „*trans fretum*" hinzu; arm.: „*et ex alia regione*". M.s Text lautete daher wahrscheinlich wie oben. — 19 Epiph., Schol. 5 wörtlich. Daraus, daß Epiphanius sofort 20 a folgen läßt, folgt nicht, daß 19 b gefehlt hat.

20 Tert. IV, 14: „*Venio nunc ad ordinarias sententias eius, per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit, ad edictum, ut ita dixerim, Christi: ‚Beati mendici' — sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli quod in Graeco est — ‚quoniam illorum est dei regnum'* ". Hieraus folgt, daß Tert. einen Bibeltext, der „*mendici*" bot, nicht kannte („*pauperes*" hieß es allgemein), daß er aber (s. seine Ausführung im folgenden) auf das präzise „*mendici*" Gewicht legte (um der Weissagung willen) und es daher hier einführte. Bei der zweiten, sonst identischen Zitierung des Spruchs sagt Tert. nicht „dei", sondern „caelorum" — *αὐτῶν* mit Matth. (Luk.: *ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασ. τ ϑ.).*

21. L. c.: „*Beati esurientes, quoniam saturabuntur*" (zweimal; das zweitemal „*qui esuriunt*"); beeinflußt durch Matth. (Luk.: *μακ. οἱ πειν. νῦν, ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε) — πειν.* mit c l > *πειν. νῦν* — *χορτασθήσονται* mit ℵ*X b e ff[2] g[1] l q arm Ambros. > *χορτασθήσεσθε* — Tert., l. c. . . „*beati plorantes, quia ridebunt*" (an der zweiten Stelle: „*qui plorant*" und „*quoniam*"); auch hier fehlt *νῦν* (fast ohne sonstige Zeugen) und *γελάσουσιν* mit e g[1] arm Orig. Euseb. > *γελάσετε.*

σονται. μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες, ὅτι γελάσουσιν. 22 μακάριοι ἔσεσθε, ὅταν ὑμᾶς μισήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὀνειδίσουσιν καὶ ἐκβαλοῦσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, 23[b] κατὰ ταῦτα (ταὐτὰ?) ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν (ὑμῶν).

24—26 Die Wehes. 24 οὐαὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν. 25 οὐαὶ οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι, ὅτι πεινάσετε, οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε. 26 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.

27—38 Die neuen Gebote. 27 Ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω, τοῖς ἀκούουσιν·

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22 l. c.: „*Beati eritis, cum vos odio habebunt homines et exprobrabunt et eicient nomen vestrum velut nequam propter filium hominis*“ — ἔσεσθε sonst unbezeugt > ἔστε — Stellung von ὑμᾶς sonst unbezeugt — ἀφορίσουσιν ὑμᾶς fehlt (unbezeugt) — das Futur. mit DXP Δ > den Conjunct. — ὀνειδ. vor ἐκβαλ. mit der Mehrzahl und e f g vulg. > D a b c ff[2] l q Cypr. — Über ein eigenartiges Zitat des Clemens Alex., Strom. IV, 6, 41, das früher hierher gezogen wurde, s. die am Schluß stehende Untersuchung zum Ev. des M. (letzter Absatz).

23 Da Tert. hier genau dem Texte folgt, aber 23 a ausläßt, fehlte es, und das folgt auch aus der Tendenz Marcions (χάρητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τ. ἡμέρᾳ κ. σκιρτήσατε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ) — Tert. IV, 15: „‚*secundum haec*‘, *inquit*, ‚*faciebant prophetis patres eorum*‘“. Wörtlich bei Epiph., Schol. 6 (ταὐτά), aber ὑμῶν für αὐτῶν. — Ob γάρ mit D a ff[2] l Ambros. gefehlt hat?

24—26 Tert. IV, 15: „*Demutat in maledictionem* . . . ‚*vae*‘ *enim dicit* . . . *Quomodo non eiusdem sit divites reprobare, qui supra mendicos probarit?* . . . *sed accidentia vitia divitiis illa in evangelio quoque* ‚*Vae divitibus*‘ *adscribunt*, ‚*quoniam*‘, *inquit*, ‚*recepistis advocationem vestram*‘“. Ob πλήν und ὑμῖν gefehlt haben, bleibt ungewiß; die Stelle wird zweimal zitiert — 25 l. c.: „*Ingerit* ‚*vae*‘ *etiam* ‚*saturatis, quia esurient, etiam ridentibus nunc, quia lugebunt*‘“. Das erste „nunc“ vor „saturatis“ fehlte mit sehr vielen Zeugen (ital. vulg.). Tert. gibt hier nur ein Referat; doch fehlt auch in X καὶ κλαύσετε. — 26 Tert. IV, 15: „*Vae, cum vobis benedixerint homines secundum haec faciebant et pseudoprophetis patres illorum*“. Οὐαί mit der Mehrzahl und vulg. > οὐαὶ ὑμῖν D Δ und nicht wenige Zeugen — ὑμᾶς vorangestellt mit B e q tol., nach καλῶς die meisten (auch D und ital.), nach εἴπωσιν ℵAHL — οἱ mit DF[w] L usw. > πάντες οἱ die Mehrzahl, ital., vulg. — ταῦτα mit vielen Zeugen und der größeren Zahl der Ital. Codd. > τὰ αὐτά BD a c e usw. — ἐποίουν mit D ital. vulg. > γὰρ ἐποίουν — καί mit b Iren. > fehlt — ψευδοπροφήταις mit der größten Mehrheit > προφήταις ℵ[1] (bzw. ℵ[ca]) 243 f g[1] l vulg.

27. 28 Tert. IV, 16: „‚*Sed vobis dico*‘, *inquit*, ‚*qui auditis: diligite inimicos vestros et benedicite eos, qui vos oderunt, et orate pro eis, qui vos*

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, 28 *καὶ προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς*. 29 *ἐάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες (πρόσθες?) αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἐάν τίς σου ἄρῃ τὸν χιτῶνα, πρόσθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον*. 30 *παντὶ (τῷ?) αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου* (30 b ist unbezeugt). 31 *καὶ καθὼς ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι θέλετε*

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calumniantur.' " Das Zitat in dieser Verkürzung gleich darauf noch einmal (als Referat); also war wirklich Glied zwei und drei (so Lukas) in eines zusammengezogen. Daß Tert. in der Auslegung auch von „*maledicunt*" spricht, beruht auf Erinnerung an den katholischen Text (so auch IV, 27) — 27 *καί* mit Justin — 28 *καί* mit Justin ff² — Megethius (bei Adam., Dial. I, 12) innerhalb einer Marcionitischen Antithese: *ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς* (nach Matth.).

29 a Tert., l. c.: „*alteram amplius maxillam offerri iubens et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi*" ... „*mandans alterius quoque maxillae oblationem*" ... „*maxillam praebendi et non modo non retinendi tunicam, sed et amplius et pallium concedendi*". Megeth., l. c. I, 15 innerhalb einer Marcionitischen Antithese (vorangeht: *ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος*): *ἐάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην*. Eben diese Antithese gibt auch Tert. wieder; er schreibt: „„*Novam plane patientiam docet Christus, etiam vicem iniuriae cohibens permissam a creatore, oculum exigente pro oculo et dentem pro dente, contra ipse alteram amplius*'" usw. (s. o.). Dann aber ist die Annahme unvermeidlich, daß M. einen aus Luk. und Matth. gemischten Text befolgt hat (Luk.: *τῷ τύπτοντί σε εἰς τὸν σιαγόνα*, Matth.: *ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα*, Luk.: *πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην*, Matth.: *στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην*) — *ἐάν τις* sonst unbezeugt > *ὅστις* — *εἰς τήν* mit ℵ* D Clem. Orig. ital. vulg. > *ἐπὶ τήν* — *ῥαπίσῃ* sonst unbezeugt > *ῥαπίζει* — *παράθες* sonst unbezeugt > *πάρεχε*, aber wahrscheinlich ist, wie 29 b, *πρόσθες* zu lesen; denn Tert. schreibt: „*amplius offeri*" (s. u.) — *αὐτῷ* mit D, vielen Ital.-Codd., Ambros. > fehlt.

29 b Megeth., l. c. I, 18 innerhalb einer Marcionitischen Antithese: *ἐάν τίς σου ἄρῃ τὸ ἱμάτιον, πρόσθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα* (aber Rufin: „*Si tibi quis aufert tunicam, da ei et pallium*"); also auch hier ein aus Luk. und Matth. gemischter, freigestalteter Text; wie bei Tert. (oben) ist übrigens die Stellung von *χιτῶνα* und *ἱμάτιον* vertauscht (daher ist der Rufintext vorzuziehen); so Matth. und für Luk. nur durch Clemens bezeugt. Der Eingang (Matth.: *καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι*, Luk.: *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου*) hat nur an Clemens einen Zeugen (*καὶ ἐὰν ἄρῃ σού τις τὸν χιτῶνα*) — *πρόσθες* sonst unbezeugt.

30 Tert. IV, 16: „„*Omni petenti te dato*'" — 31 l. c.: „*et sicut vobis fieri vultis ab hominibus, ita et vos facite illis*. Singulär (nach der „goldenen Regel"), Luk.: *καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ*

παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς. (32. 33 unbezeugt). 34 *καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία χάρις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν* (34 b unbezeugt). 35 Nur die Worte *καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς.* 36 *γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ᾤκτειρεν ὑμᾶς (οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν?).* 37 *μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· μὴ καταδικάζετε, ἵνα μὴ καταδικασθῆτε· ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε.* 38 *δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλόν, πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν. τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

39 Blinde Blindenleiter: Anspielung. 40 Der Schüler nicht über dem Meister: *οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδασκάλου* (sonst nichts). 41. 42 Balken und Splitter: Anspielung. 43. Der schlechte

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ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως (in D e Iren. Clem. fehlt letzteres). 32. 33 Eine Anspielung ist vielleicht in IV, 16 (*„denique hac inconvenientia voluntatis et facti agunt ethnici nondum a deo instructi“* [*ethnici* = *ἁμαρτωλοί*]) zu sehen. — 34 Tert. IV, 17: *„‚Et si feneraveritis a quibus speratis vos recepturos, quae gratia est vobis?‘“* — *ἀπολαβεῖν* mit D und der Mehrzahl > *λαβεῖν* ℵ BL usw. — *ὑμῖν* nach *χάρις* mit D, der Mehrzahl der Itala Codd., vulg. — 35 l. c.: *„‚et eritis filii dei‘“* (allein > *ὑψίστου*), *„‚quia ipse‘, inquit, ‚suavis est adversus ingratos et malos‘“* — 36 l. c. *„‚Estote‘, inquit, ‚misericordes, sicut pater vester misertus est vestri‘“* (gleich darauf: *„‚quia et ipse misericors sit‘“*). Hier ist die Entscheidung schwierig; die erste Fassung ist sonst unbezeugt; die zweite ist die Lukanische — 37. 38 l. c.: *„‚Nolite iudicare, ne iudicemini; nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini; dimittite et dimittemini; date et dabitur vobis. mensuram bonam, pressam et fluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum; eadem qua mensi eritis mensura remetietur vobis‘“* — 37 ohne *καί* am Anfang mit D ital. vulg. und ohne *καί* vor *μὴ καταδικ.* mit denselben und noch zahlreicheren Zeugen — *ἵνα* beide Male mit DG*Λ* a c e f Cypr. Ambros., bzw. mit D a c e ff² Cypr. (aus Matth.) > *καὶ οὐ* — 38 *σεσαλευμένον* fehlt mit wenigen Zeugen — *πεπιεσμένον καί* mit zahlreichen Zeugen, der Minderzahl der Itala Codd. und vulg. > *πεπιεσ.* — Adam., Dial. II, 5: *ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν* (aber Rufin: *„Qua mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis“*; Dial. I, 15: *ᾧ μετρ. μέτρῳ, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν*, Rufin: *„Qua mensura metieritis, eadem remetietur vobis“*) — *τῷ αὐτῷ* mit g²; *γάρ* fehlt hier mit a b l q arm.

39 Tert. IV, 17: *„Caecus caecum ducit in foveam“* — 40 l. c.: *„‚Non est discipulus super magistrum‘“* — 41. 42 l. c.: *„eximat et de oculo suo trabem haereticus; tunc in oculo Christiani si quam putat stipulam revincat.“* 43, 44 l. c.: *„proinde ut arbor bona non proferat malum fructum . . . nec mala bonum“*. II, 27: *„et quia et Marcion defendit arborem bonam malos quoque fructus non licere producere“*. Hippol. (s. Filastr. h. 45:

und der gute Baum (in dieser Reihenfolge und nicht *ποιεῖν*, sondern *προενεγκεῖν* und *προενέγκαι* im Text, der Tert. und Adamantius vorlag; der, welcher Hippolyt vorlag, lautete wie der kanonische Lukastext: *οὔκ ἐστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν, οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν)*. 44 (Disteln und Feigen): nicht bezeugt. 45 Der gute und schlechte Schatz: Anspielung. 46 *τί με* (unsicher) *καλεῖτε (καλεῖς?) κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε (ποιεῖς?) ἃ λέγω;* 47—49 (Das Haus auf dem Fels und das Haus ohne Fundament): unbezeugt.

C. VII 1—10 Der Knecht des Hauptmanns: Anspielung, dann 9 *λέγω ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην (τοσαύτην) πίστιν οὐδέποτε (οὐδὲ) ἐν τῷ*

„Non est arbor bona quae facit malum fructum, neque arbor mala quae facit bonum fructum". Pseudotert. 17: *„Omnis arbor bona bonos fructus facit, mala autem malos"*). Orig., de princip. II, 5, 4: *„Iterum ad scripturae nos revocant (Marcionitae) verba, proferentes illam suam famosissimam quaestionem; aiunt namque: Scriptum est quia ‚non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere; ex fructu enim arbor cognoscitur'"*. Vgl. Comm. Ser. 117 in Matth.., T V p. 23; Comm. III, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 195: *„Non, ut haeretici deum legis accusant, mala radix est lex et mala arbor, per quam peccati venit agnitio, quia non dixit, ex lege agnitio peccati, sed per legem"* (Nach Matth. 7, 18 u. 12, 33). Adam., Dial. I, 28: *Οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς κακοὺς ἐνέγκαι* (gleich darauf wiederholt, aber *προενεγκεῖν* und *σαπροὺς προενέγκαι)*; die sonst nur einmal bezeugte Umstellung ist für M. verständlich, weil ihm (s. Orig.) der schlechte Baum das Gesetz, resp. der Weltschöpfer ist; das sonst nicht bezeugte *προφέρειν (προσφέρειν* im Matth. Text schwach bezeugt) wird durch Tert. bestätigt. Als sicher darf angenommen werden, daß M. oder seine Vorlage sich auch hier vom Matth. Text hat beeinflussen lassen — *οὐδέ* (so bei Hippolyt) mit ACD und den meisten Itala-Codd., vulg > *οὐδὲ πάλιν*.

45 Tert. IV, 17: *„nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit."* Dial. I, 28 gehört nicht hierher, da der Spruch hier nach Matth. zitiert ist (nur *προφέρει* stammt aus Luk.).

46 Tert. IV, 17: *„Quid ⟨me⟩ vocatis* (Mss. *vocas*) *‚Domine, domine', et non facitis quae dico."* Daß Tert. *„me"* gelesen hat, zeigt die folgende Ausführung; daß *„vocatis"* zu lesen ist, folgt mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit aus *„facitis"*.

Cap. VII, 9 Tert. IV, 18: *„Proinde ⟨in⟩ extollenda fide centurionis incredibile, si is professus est talem se fidem nec in Israele invenisse, ad quem non pertinebat fides Israelis."* Epiph., Schol. 7 wie oben (aber *τοιαύτην* in der Refutatio, was jedoch unerheblich, da durch den Zusammenhang gefordert; es trifft also zufällig mit *„talem"* bei Tert. zusammen,

'Ισραὴλ εὗρον. 11—17 Der Jüngling von Nain: Anspielung, 16 *ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν . . . μέγας προφήτης προῆλθεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.* 18—28 Der Täufer und Jesus: Anspie-

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welches dieser wirklich bei M. gelesen hat; denn er wiederholt es noch dreimal; es ist sonst unbezeugt. Tert. hat aber auch mit D *οὐδέποτε* gelesen; denn bei einer Wiederholung schreibt er: „*talem fidem nec in Israele umquam fuisse.*" Die Nachstellung von *οὐδ. ἐν τ. 'Ισραὴλ* (Tert. u. Epiph.) findet sich auch in D e, die es sogar nach *εὗρον* stellen, wo es auch Tert. gefunden haben kann. Der Text bei Epiph. ist also bereits dem kanonischen wieder angenähert. — In der Wiederholung gibt Epiph. ein *δέ* nach *λέγω* nicht wieder, und es kann auch nur durch ein Versehen bei der ersten Einführung entstanden sein.

11 ff. Tert. l. c.: „*Resuscitavit et mortuum filium viduae*" — 16 „*Magnus prophetes prodiit in nobis et respexit deus populum suum*" — *prodiit* sonst unbezeugt > *ἠγέρθη*, M. wollte einem Mißverständnis vorbeugen und zugleich, wie auch sonst, das Passiv bei Jesus vermeiden. Daß das *ὅτι* nach *καί* bei Tert. fehlt, ist unerheblich. Auf 16 a findet sich bei ihm noch eine leichte Anspielung „*in tanto documento mortui resuscitati creatorem adhuc orantes*" (= *ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν*).

18—28 Tert. IV. 18 (v. 19): „ ‚*Tu es qui venis, an alium exspectamus?*' " In Dial. I, 26 ist v. 19 nach Matth. zitiert. Tert. IV, 18 gibt als eine Bemerkung M.s: „ ‚*Scandalizatur Iohannes auditis virtutibus Christi ut alterius*' "; indessen kann (?) Tert. diesen auf Matth. 11, 3 fußenden Satz frei formuliert haben. 22 Esnik (Schmid S. 176): „Heile ihre Aussätzigen, belebe ihre Toten, mache sehen ihre Blinden und verrichte große Heilungen unter ihnen umsonst." Epiph., Schol. 8 zu Luk. 7, 23: *Παρηλλαγμένον τό· ‚Μακάριος ὃς οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί. εἶχε γὰρ ὡς πρὸς 'Ιωάννην* (Richtig Holl: „Epiph. meint nur, daß M. das Wort verkehrt gedeutet habe [gegen Zahn]; in der Refutatio hat er seine eigene Bemerkung nicht mehr verstanden") — *μακάριος* ohne *ἐστιν* sonst unbezeugt — *οὐ* sonst unbezeugt > *ἐάν* — 24. 26 Tert. IV, 18: „*si et testimonium Iohanni perhibet . . . quid existis videre in solitudinem?* (die Wortstellung ungewöhnlich) *propheten eum confirmans, immo et supra ut angelum,*" 27 „*ingerens etiam scriptum super illo: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparet* (= „*praeparabit*") *viam tuam*". (Ob M. *ἔμπροσθέν σου* gelesen hat, ist fraglich, da es Tert. nicht bietet und es auch in D a l fehlt). Epiph., Schol. 9 von *αὐτός* bis *σου* (primum). Dial. II, 18 den ganzen 27. Vers (aber *οὗτος* für *αὐτός*, letzteres ist sonst unbezeugt) — „*ego*" fehlt bei Epiph. und Adam. (mit ℵ D ital., vulg.) — 28 Tert. IV, 18: „*praecursor . . . maior is quidem omnibus natis mulierum, sed non ideo subiectus ei, qui minor fuerit in regno dei quasi alterius sit dei regnum, in quo modicus quis maior erit Iohanne, alterius Iohannes, qui omnibus natis mulierum maior sit. . . . Creatori competit et Iohannem ipsius esse,*

lungen 19 *σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν;* 22 s. u. 23 *μακάριος ὃς οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί* (im Text selbst von M. auf den Täufer gedeutet, aber wie?). 24 *(ἤρξατο λέγειν) περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί ἐξεληλύθατε θεάσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον;* 26 *προφήτην, ναὶ καὶ περισσότερον.* 27 *αὐτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ (ἐγὼ) ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.* 28 *μείζων πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννης ἐστίν· ὁ (δὲ) μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* (ob *τοῦ θεοῦ?*) *μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.* 29—35 (Das Verhalten des Volks und der Pharisäer zum Täufer und zu Jesus; der Unterschied zwischen beiden in der Lebensweise; die spielenden Kinder) scheint gefehlt zu haben; es mußte dem M. anstößig sein, und Tert. hätte es schwerlich übergangen, wenn er es bei M. gefunden hätte. 36—50. Die große Sünderin: Anspielungen 36 b *καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη.* 37 *γυνὴ ἁμαρτωλός.* 38 *στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει.* 44 *αὕτη τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει.* 50 *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.* Referat bei Tertull., s. u.

C. VIII, 2. 3 *γυναῖκες . . . γυνὴ ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρώδου, αἵτινες καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν.* 4—15 Das Gleichnis vom

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maiorem natis mulierum, et Christum vel quemque modicum, qui maior Iohanne futurus sit in regno, aeque creatoris, et qui sit maior tanto propheta". Hiernach hat M. nicht nur „omnibus" geboten, sondern auch *μείζων πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννης ἐστίν.* So wird es deutlich, daß er nicht größer ist als der, der n i c h t von einem Weibe geboren ist; denn nur zu den Geborenen wird er in Vergleich gesetzt. Dieser Text ist sonst unbezeugt.

36—50 Bei Epiph. (Schol. 10 u. 11) v. 36 b. 38, 44 b (ob z. T. verkürzt?), bei Tert. v. 50 b, sonst folgendes Referat: „*Diximus de remissa peccatorum. illius autem peccatricis feminae argumentum eo pertinebit, ut cum pedes domini osculis figeret, lacrimis inundaret, crinibus detergeret, unguento perduceret, solidi corporis veritatem . . . tractaverit. Peccatricis paenitentia meruit veniam . . . Ab eo audit: ‚Fides tua te salvam fecit.'*"

Cap. VIII, 2, 3 Tert. IV, 19: „*Quod divites Christo mulieres adhaerebant, quae et de facultatibus suis ministrabant ei, inter quas et uxor regis procuratoris*" — *καί* mit D und zahlreichen Itala-Codd. > fehlt — *αὐτῷ* mit ℵ AL a b l g > *αὐτοῖς* — *αὐτῶν* mit ℵ* D > *αὐταῖς* — aus „*regis*" folgt wohl, daß Tert. „*Ἡρώδου*" gelesen; auf seine Wortstellung ist hier kein Gewicht zu legen.

4—15 Tert., l. c. 4: „*de parabolis*" — 8 „*qui habet aures audiat*"

Sämann 4 *παραβολή*. 8 *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω* — 16 f. Das Licht, das nicht bedeckt werden soll, Anspielung: *λύχνον ... καλύπτει ... κρυπτὸν φανερὸν γενήσεται*. 18 *βλέπετε πῶς ἀκούετε· ὃς (γὰρ) ἂν ἔχῃ δοθήσεται (αὐτῷ)· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ, καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. 19—21 Die Mutter und Brüder Jesu: 19 fehlte. 20 f. *(ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι) ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου (ἑστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν σε θέλοντες) ... τίς μοι μήτηρ καὶ τίνες μοι ἀδελφοί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τοὺς λόγους μου ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτούς*. 22—25 Stillung des Sturms. Anspielungen: 22 *διέλθωμεν ... εἰς τὸ πέραν*. 23 *πλε-*

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das ist die bei Luk. völlig unbezeugte Fassung des Matth.: Lukas: *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω*.

16 Tert., l. c.: „*Lucernam negat abscondi solere* ... 17 *omnia de occulto in apertum repromittit*" — 18 „*videte quomodo audiatis*" — *οὖν* fehlt mit a b c ff l q syr$^{c:ur}$ (die Textänderung, die Z a h n hier sonst noch annimmt, trifft nicht zu) — „*ei qui habet dabitur; ab eo autem, qui non habet, etiam quod habere se putat auferetur ei.*" Man braucht nicht anzunehmen, daß Tert. anders gelesen hat als oben steht; nur sein „*autem*" ist sonst unbezeugt.

19—21 Tert., l. c.: „*Venimus ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. ‚Ipse', inquiunt, ‚contestatur se non esse natum dicendo: Quae mihi mater et qui mihi fratres', nisi qui audiunt verba mea et faciunt ea.*" Da Tert. v. 19 übergeht und Epiph., Schol. 12 bemerkt: *Οὐκ εἶχεν „ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ", ἀλλὰ μόνον „ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου"*, so fehlte v. 19, fand sich aber v. 20. Die Umgestaltung des 20 f. Verses ergibt sich sicher aus den Wiederholungen Tert.s hier und in de carne 7. Die starke Beeinflussung durch Matth. ist ebenso offenbar wie die Substituierung der Worte Christi für die Worte Gottes (Lukas hat geschrieben: *μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες*, er kennt also die schroffe Frage nicht). Auch Hieron. zu Matth. 12, 49 f. bemerkt: Iuxta Marcionem (Iesus) matrem negavit, ut natus de phantasmate putaretur."

22—25 Tert. IV, 20: „*Quis autem iste est, qui ventis et mari imperat?*" ... „*agnorant substantiae auctorem suum, quae famulis quoque eius obaudire consueverant*" (25); „*praedicatio marinae expeditionis*" ... „*transfretat*" (22) ... „*undae freti*" (23) ... „*ad minas eius eliditur mare*" ... „*cum ventis, quibus inquietabatur*" (24). Epiph., Schol. 13: *Πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν . ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ* (23. 24) — 24 *ἐγερθείς* mt AD usw. Matth. > *διεγερθείς* — *θαλάσσῃ* mit Matth. und Mark. > *τ. κλύδωνι τ. ὕδατος* — 25 Tert. „*autem*", aber das ist unerheblich (ebenso die Wortstellung gleich darauf) — *θαλάσσῃ* mit Matth. und Mark. (für Luk. unbezeugt).

όντων (δὲ) αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν. 24 *ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ .... ἐπαύσαντο.* 25 *τίς (ἄρα) οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃς τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ;* 26—39 Der Dämonische und die Herde von Säuen, Anspielungen. 27 *δαιμόνια.* 28 *Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ* (wahrscheinlich fehlte *τοῦ ὑψίστου). μή με βασανίσῃς.* 30 ... *ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· τί σοί ἐστιν ὄνομα; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· λεγεών .... δαιμόνια πολλά.* 31 *παρεκάλουν (αὐτὸν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιτάξῃ αὐτοῖς) εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον (ἀπελθεῖν).* Vermutlich standen statt 32—33 oder statt 32—37 (die Säuegeschichte) nur die Worte: „Sie erlangten es". 40 bis 42[1], 49—56 Jairusgeschichte: Keine Spur ist von ihr bezeugt. 42 b—48 *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, συνέπνιγον αὐτὸν οἱ ὄχλοι. καὶ γυνὴ ἁψαμένη αὐτοῦ ἰάθη τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τίς μου ἥψατο· καὶ πάλιν· ἥψατό μού τις. καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,* dazu .... 43 *ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος* ... 44 *ἥψατο* ... *τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ* ... 45 *οἱ μαθηταί* .... 48 *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.*

26—39 Tert. IV, 20: „*Invenis in uno homine multitudinem daemonum legionem se professam ... cuius autem dei filium Iesum legio testata est? sine dubio cuius tormenta et abyssum noverant et timebant ... non depeterent ab alio, veniam scil. abyssi creatoris. denique impetraverunt ... ipse quem adcognoverunt daemones, Iesum, iudicis et ultoris dei filium*". Adamant., Dial. I, 17: *Πῶς πυνθάνεται ὁ Χριστὸς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιδαίμονος λέγων· τί σοί ἐστιν ὄνομα; ὁ δέ, φησίν, εἶπε· λεγεών* — 28 *τοῦ ὑψίστου* fehlte wahrscheinlich, weil Tert. sonst nicht so fragen konnte wie oben — 30 *ἐστιν ὄνομα* mit vielen Zeugen > *ὄνομά ἐστιν* ℵ BD u. Itala. — Ob nicht Marcion die Säue-Geschichte getilgt hat? Wahrscheinlich, da sie ihm anstößig sein mußte und da Tert. einfach sagt: „*denique impetraverunt*".

42—46 Epiph., Schol. 14 (von 42 b—46 *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*) aber gewiß in Verkürzung. Tert. IV, 20: „*Tangitur a femina, quae sanguine fluitabat, et nescivit a qua; ‚quis me', inquit, ‚tetigit'. etiam excusantibus discipulis perseverat in ignorantiae voce: ‚tetigit me aliquis', idque de argumento adfirmat: ‚sensi enim virtutem ex me profectam'* " ... „*fides tua te salvam fecit*"; nachgebracht: „*tangitur vestimentum eius*" — 42 Epiph.: „*Ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς*" *καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν* „*ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν*", *ἵνα μὴ ἑτέρως αὐτὸν σχηματίσῃ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἀκολουθίαν.* Die Stelle ist nicht ganz deutlich; wahrscheinlich hat M. das hier singuläre *αὐτούς* geboten und nicht *αὐτόν.* — 44 *τοῦ ἱματίου* mit D a ff[2] l > *τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου* — 45 *τίς μου ἥψατο* mit D a c q Orig. (mit Mark. *τίς μου ἥψατο τῶν ἱματίων;*) > *τίς ὁ ἁψάμενός μου* — *οἱ μαθηταί* mit Mark. (bei Luk. unbezeugt) > *ὁ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* (auch das „*excusare*" Tert.s stimmt mehr mit Mark. 5, 31) — 46 *καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων* (sonst

C. IX, 1—6 Aussendung der 12 Jünger: 1 *Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς ιβ', ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν,* 2 *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι.* 3 Anspielung, s. u. 5 Anspielung: *μὴ δέχεσθαι . . . τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὑποτινάσσειν εἰς μαρτύριον.* 6 *ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.*

7—17 Herodes über Johannes und Jesus. Speisung der 5000. Anspielungen: 7 *Ἡρώδης . . . Ἰωάννης ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν,* 8 *ὑπό τινων Ἠλείας . . . εἷς τις τῶν ἀρχαίων προφητῶν* (oder *προφήτης τῶν ἀρχαίων*). 12 *ἐν ἐρήμῳ.* 13 *φαγεῖν.* 14 *ἄνδρες πεντακισχίλιοι.* 16 (*τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους κ. τ. δύο ἰχθύας*) . . . *ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ' αὐτούς* (spätere LA *εὐχαριστεῖ*). 17 *τὸ περισσεῦσαν.*

18—26 Der Tag von Cäsarea, die Leidensankündigung,

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων) nur Epiph., das einstimmig für Luk. bezeugte *ἐγώ* fehlt bei Tert. und Epiph. — *ἐξελθοῦσαν* mit vielen Zeugen und Mark. > *ἐξεληλυθυῖαν* mit ℵ BL, die Wortstellung bei Tert. hier und in v. 48 ist ohne Bedeutung.

Cap. IX, 1. 2 Adamant., Dial. II, 12 wörtlich (aber nur Rufin bietet *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* mit einigen Majuskeln, den Syrern, c und mehreren Vulg.-Codd.); Tert. IV, 21: „*Dimittit discipulos ad praedicandum dei regnum.*" 3 Tert., l. c.: „*prohibet eos victui aut vestitui quid in viam ferre*". 5 Tert., l. c.: „*cum iubet pulverem excutere de pedibus in eos, a quibus excepti non fuissent, et hoc in testimonium mandat fieri*" — 6 Dial. II, 12 wie oben — *πόλεις καὶ κώμας* > mit b c l q syr^{cu} syr^{sch} sah arm (z. T. in Umstellung) *τὰς κώμας* (DdX nur *πόλεις*).

7—9 Tert. IV, 21: „. . . *illa opinio omnium, quia Christum Iesum alii Iohannem alii Heliam alii unum aliquem ex veteribus prophetis Herodi adseverabant*" . . . „(*Iohannes*) *non utique ob hoc suscitatus, ut alium deum post resurrectionem praedicaret*", — „*omnium*" ist auffallend (Luk. *τινων*) — 8 *εἷς τις τ. ἀρχ. προφητῶν* sonst unbezeugt (Matth. und Mark. *εἷς*, Luk. *τις* [aber *εἷς* A und viele Majuskeln b c f ff^2 g^1 l q syr^{cu}; alle: *προφήτης τ. ἀρχαίων*) — 10 ff. Bei Tert., l. c. nur: „*Pascit populum in solitudine*" und „*quinque milia hominum*" . . . „*pabuli exiguitatem non tantum sufficere, verum enim exuberare*"; die bei Tert. folgenden ATlichen Zitate zeigen, daß er v. 17 bei M. gelesen hat. Epiph., Schol. 15 zu v. 16 wie oben (aber in 2. Aufführung *εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς*); Dial. II, 20: *ὁ κύριος ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖ* (diese LA nach Matth. 15, 36; Mark. 8, 6) — 16 *ἐπ' αὐτούς* mit D a ff^2 g$^{1\cdot 2}$ l q syr^{cu} > *αὐτούς*.

18—21 Tert. IV, 21: „*Petrus interroganti domino pro omnibus respondit: ‚Tu es Christus*'" (so auch IV, 22) . . . „*silentium indicens*" . . . „*prae-*

Seelen-Verlust und -Gewinn: 18 *ἐπηρώτησεν ... τίνα με λέγουσιν εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;* 19 *λέγουσιν (αὐτῷ) οἱ μαθηταί· (ὅλλοι) Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι προφήτης τις τῶν ἀρχαίων (ὁ ἀρχαῖος) ἀνέστη.* 20 *εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς (πρὸς αὐτούς)· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με (λέγετε εἶναι); ἀποκριθεὶς (δὲ) Πέτρος εἶπε· τὸν Χριστόν (σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός).* 21 *παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ λέγειν τοῦτο.* 22 *(λέγων)· δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι (σταυρωθῆναι:* ist wahrscheinlicher) *καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι.* 23 (Kreuz auf sich nehmen) unbezeugt. 24 *ὃς (γὰρ ἐὰν) θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀπολέσῃ αὐτὴν ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, σώσει αὐτήν.* 25 (Was hülfe es dem Menschen usw.) unbezeugt. 26 *ὃς (γὰρ) ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με, κἀγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι αὐτόν.* 26 b und 27 (Kommen des Menschensohns in Herrlichkeit; es stehen etliche hier usw.): unbezeugt und wahrscheinlich getilgt.

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cepit ne cui hoc dicerent". Dial. II, 13 wie oben (18 von *τίνα με* bis 20 *Χριστός*); 18 *εἶναι* nur bei Rufin — *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* mit ein paar Zeugen u. Matth. > *οἱ ὄχλοι* Luk. — *τὸν υἱὸν τ ἀνθρ.* mit Matth. > Luk. fehlt — 19 *αὐτῷ* nur Rufin — *λέγουσιν οἱ μαθηταί* sonst nicht bezeugt > *οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν* — das erste *ἄλλοι* nur bei Rufin > den Luk.text — *ὁ ἀρχαῖος* nur Rufin — 20 *πρὸς αὐτούς* nur Rufin — *με λέγετε εἶναι* Rufin mit allen Luk.-Zeugen > fehlt im griech. Dialog — *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος* mit Matth. und Mark. und zahlreichen Lukas-Zeugen, auch A D a c f g^1 q l vulg. Ambr. > *Πέτρος δὲ ἀποκρ.* — *δέ* fehlt bei Rufin, l vulg. sah — *τοῦ θεοῦ* nach *Χρ.* fehlt mit a syr^{cu}; ob die urspr. LA des Dialogs *τὸν Χριστόν* war (mit den Griechen und dem Luk.Text) oder *σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός* (mit Rufin, syr^{cu} und Matth.), ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden; es scheint aber Rufin in dem ganzen Zitat der zuverlässigere Zeuge zu sein, und dann folgt, daß auch hier M. schon einen durch Matth. (Mark.) bestimmten Text vorfand. Im allgemeinen muß man sich aber auch hier erinnern, daß die Zitate im Dial. nicht dieselbe Sicherheit bieten wie die bei Tert. und auch bei Epiphan.

22—26 Tert., l. c.: „*Oportet filium hominis multa pati et reprobari a presbyteris et scribis et sacerdotibus et interfici et post tertium diem resurgere*" (22). Epiph., Schol. 16: *λέγων, δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι* — 22 *λέγων* sonst unbezeugt > *εἰπὼν ὅτι* (aber vielleicht ist darauf nichts zu geben) — *γραμμ. κ. ἀρχ.* mit syr^{cu} > *ἀρχ κ. γραμμ.* — *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμ.* mit D a b c e ff^2 l q und Mark. > *τῇ τρ. ἡμ.* — *ἀναστῆναι* mit Tert. und Mark. ACD usw. > *ἐγερθῆναι* mit Epiph., Matth. und Luk. Dial. V, 12 bietet den

28—36 Verklärung: 28 Anspielung: „Drei Jünger", *(ἀνέβη) εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, 29 *καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξαστράπτων*. 30 *καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνέστησαν* (spätere Marcioniten: *συνελάλουν*, wie Luk.) *αὐτῷ, Ἠλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ αὐτοῦ*. 31 fehlte. 32 *συνεστῶτας* . . . 33 *ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι* . . . *ὁ Πέτρος* . . . *καλόν ἐστιν ὧδε ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ ποιήσωμεν ὧδε σκηνὰς τρεῖς, μίαν σοὶ καὶ Μωσεῖ μίαν καὶ Ἠλίᾳ μίαν, μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει*. 34 *ἐγένετο νεφέλη καὶ ἐπεσκίαζεν αὐτούς*. 35 *φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης* wahrscheinlicher). *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε*. 36 nicht bezeugt.

ganzen 22. Vers, wird aber von Zahn abgelehnt; er hat die Reihenfolge *ἀρχ.*, *γραμμ.*, ferner *σταυρωθῆναι* mit Justin und Irenäus (und *ἀναστῆναι)*. Da der Mark.text nachweisbar hier auf den Marciontext eingewirkt hat, ist *σταυρωθῆναι* nicht einfach zu verwerfen. — 24 Tert. IV, 21: „‚*Qui voluerit*', *inquit*, ‚*animam suam salvam facere perdet illam, et qui perdiderit eam propter me salvam faciet eam*' ". Nicht geboten sind hier (ohne andere Zeugen) *γὰρ ἐάν* und *οὗτος (σώσει)* — *καὶ ὅς* (sonst unbezeugt) > *ὃς δέ* — Luk. schreibt *ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*: doch schreibt Tert. einige Zeilen später: „*qui animam suam propter deum perdit, servat illam*"; indessen kommt das schwerlich in Betracht — 26 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Qui confusus*', *inquit*, ‚*mei fuerit, et ego confundar eius*' ". Dieser Vers ist nicht nur verkürzt, sondern auch verändert, und 26 b und 27 fehlen ganz; die Veränderung macht den Ausfall bei M. wahrscheinlich, der aus sachlichen Gründen noch wahrscheinlicher wird (v. 26 bei Luk.: *ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς (λόγους), τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων*, sodann wird v. 27 einigen der hier Stehenden das Erleben der Parusie zugesagt — eine Anerkennung der Urapostel bzw. der Judenchristen, die M. nicht bestehen lassen konnte).

28—36 Tert. IV, 22: „*In montem secedit*" . . . „*illum* [*Christum*] *cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspici pateris*" . . . „*tres de discentibus adsumit*" . . . „*vox solita de caelo*" . . . „*hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite* (diese Worte wiederholt) . . . *in colloquio* [*scil. Moyses et Helias*] *ostenduntur* . . . „*cum illis loqui, qui eum fuerant locuti*" . . . „*in consortio claritatis*" . . . „*claritas Christi* . . . *sub eodem ambitu nubis*" . . . „*Petrus suggerit consilium: bonum est hic nos esse et faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi et Moysi unum et Heliae unum* . . . *nesciens quid diceret*" . . . „*nesciens quid diceret Petrus*" . . . „*ostensis cum illo Moyse et Helia in claritatis praerogativa atque ita dimissis* . . . *etiam vestitus eius refulsit*" . . . „*Nam etsi Marcion noluit eum* [*Moysen*] *conloquentem domino ostensum, sed stantem, tamen et stans os ad os stabat et faciem ad faciem* — ‚*cum illo*', *inquit, non extra illum* — *in gloria ipsius*". Der Widerspruch, in den Tert. den M. mit sich selbst bringt, ist offenbar: „in colloquio" mit Jesus sollen Moses und Elias auch von M. vorgestellt worden sein (nach v. 30); dann

37—43 Der dämonische Knabe; erhalten v. 40 *ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου, (καὶ) οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό.* 41 *(ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν) πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν;* 44 f. Leidensankündigung: *ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων.* 46—48: Größenstreit der Jünger; das Kind: Anspielung (s. u.).

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aber heißt es rund: „*Marcion noluit Moysen conloquentem domino ostensum*". Die Lösung des Widerspruchs kann (anders Z a h n) wahrscheinlich durch die Annahme geschehen, daß, da die zweite Äußerung ganz positiv ist, Tert. bei der ersten, beiläufigen, durch die Erinnerung an seinen eigenen Text ein Versehen begangen hat. M. hat also nicht *συνελάλουν*, sondern *συνέστησαν* (wie v. 32) geboten und v. 31, der ihm unannehmbar war, ausgelassen. Bei späteren Marcioniten findet sich *συνελάλουν αὐτῷ* wieder; denn Epiph., Schol. 17 lautet: *Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, Ἠλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ.* Doch zeigt das aus v. 31 herübergenommene *ἐν δόξῃ* (so auch Tert.), daß auch sie den v. 31 nicht lasen. — Epiphan., Schol. 18: *Ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης φωνή* (ohne *λέγουσα*, wie b c l). *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός* — 30 *δύο ἄνδρες* wenig bezeugt > *ἄνδρες δύο* — *Ἠλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς* sonst unbezeugt > *οἵτινες ἦσαν M. κ. Ἠ.* (doch fehlt in syr^{cu} *οἵτινες*) — 31 *ἐν δόξῃ* sonst unbezeugt > *(οἱ) ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ* — *αὐτοῦ* muß M. nach Tert. geschrieben haben > fehlt sonst und bei Epiph. — 33 *ὧδε ἡμᾶς* sonst fast unbezeugt > *ἡμᾶς ὧδε* — das zweite *ὧδε* sonst unbezeugt — *τρεῖς σκηνάς* mit DFw KL, mehreren Itala-Codd., vulg., syr^{cu} > *σκηνὰς τρεῖς* — die Nachstellung von *μίαν* mit ℵ syr^{cu} — 35 Dem „*de caelo*" Tert.s ist nicht zu trauen, da er hier referiert — *ὁ ἀγαπητός* > ℵBL *(ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος)* mit der Mehrzahl; dieses ist lukanisch, jenes von Matthäus.

37—43 zu v. 41: Tert. IV, 23: „*Christus . . . exclamat: ‚O genitura incredula, quousque ero apud vos? quousque sustinebo vos?*'" Gleich darauf wiederholt nach eigener Übersetzung in besserem Latein: „*O natio incredula, quamdiu ero vobiscum, quamdiu vos sustinebo?*" Epiph., Schol. 19: *Ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου· εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τό·* „*οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό*" „*καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν*"; — 40 bei Luk. heißt es: . . . . *ἵνα ἐκβάλωσιν αὐτὸ κ. οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν* (Matth. 17, 16 *οὐκ ἠδυν. αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι*) — 41 *πρὸς αὐτούς* sonst unbezeugt und tendenziös von M. hinzugesetzt (ob es Tert. gelesen hat?) — *καὶ διεστραμμένη* nach *ἄπιστος* fehlt (sonst nur wenige Zeugen bei Luk.) wie bei Mark. 9, 19 — *ἕως πότε* secundum mit wenigen Zeugen > *καί* (auch hier s. Mark. 9, 19). Auf das Fehlen der Worte *ἕως* bis *ὑμᾶς* bei Epiph. ist nichts zu geben.

44 Epiph., Schol. 20 wie oben.

46—48 Tert. (l c.) bringt hier eine Antithese M.s, die er wörtlich mitteilt: „*Ecce Christus diligit parvulos, tales docens esse debere qui semper*

49. 50 Jener, der in Jesu Namen Dämonen austrieb: unbezeugt. 50—56 Reise durch Samarien nach Jerusalem; die Jünger wollen eine samaritanische Stadt verbrannt sehen. Anspielung, s. u. (es ist wahrscheinlich, daß die „Zusätze" in v. 54. 55 Marcionitisch sind: *ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν ... οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς* und ebenso der v. 56: *ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι).* 57—60 Nachfolge Jesu. Anspielungen: 57 *ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ.* 58 Er weist ihn zurück. 59 *θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου.* 60 *ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἑαυτῶν, σὺ δὲ ἄπελθε καὶ διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* 61 *ἀποτάξασθαι τοῖς (εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου).* 62 *βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.*

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maiores velint esse, creator autem ursos pueris immisit, ulciscens Heliseum propheten convicia ab eis passum' ". Tert. fährt fort: „*Satis impudens Antithesis*".

50—56 Tert. IV, 23, neue Antithese M.s: „ „*Repraesentat creator ignium plagam Helia postulante in illo pseudopropheta*'. *agnosco iudicis severitatem, e contrario Christi* ⟨*lenitatem increpantis*⟩ *eandem animadversionem destinantes discipulos super illum viculum Samaritanum*";vgl. IV, 29: „(*Christus*) *discipulos, ne ignem postularent inhumanissimo viculo, coërcuerat*". V. 54 (*ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν*) u. 55 (*καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἴδατε* [vgl. das *οὐκ οἴδασιν* 23, 34] *οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς*) finden sich und zwar v. 54 in D a b c f g AC und den meisten Majuskeln (aber nicht ℵ BL vulg.) cop syr (aber nicht syr^{cur}) aeth go Basil. Chrys.; v. 55 in D, zahlreichen Majuskeln, a b c e f g^2 q vulg go cop syr arm aeth u. vielen KKVV. Da die Stücke höchstwahrscheinlich bei M. standen (das erste gewiß) und ausgezeichnet zu seiner Lehre passen, so sind sie von ihm hinzugefügt und nun in die katholischen Mss. gedrungen. Wahrscheinlich gilt dies auch von 56, den mehrere Majuskeln und a b c e f g vulg copt usw. bieten,; leider fehlt uns hier der Marcion-Text; aber angesichts der überwältigenden Zahl von Zeugen gegen den Vers, kann er nicht ursprünglich sein. Wer aber sollte ihn hinzugefügt haben, wenn nicht M?

57—59 Tert. IV, 23: „*At enim humanissimus dominus cur recusat eum, qui se tam individuum illi comitem offert? si quia superbe vel ex hypocrisis, dixerat: ‚Sequar te quocumque ieris*' " .... „*Illi autem causato patris sepulturam cum respondet: ‚Sine mortui sepeliant mortuos suos, tu autem vade et adnuntia regnum dei*' " . ... „*praedicando regno dei imbuerat*" .... „*Cum vero et tertium illum prius suis valedicere parantem prohibet retro spectare*" *etc.* — 60 *ἄπελθε (καί)* mit ital., vulg. > *ἀπελθών.* Auch von Clemens Alex. (Strom. III, 4, 25) als ein von den Marcioniten angeführter Spruch zitiert. Ob sie ihn als an Philippus gerichtet bezeichnet haben, ist nicht sicher.

C. X, 1—11 Die Aussendung der 70 Jünger. 1 *ἀπέδειξεν καὶ ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα (καὶ ἀπέστειλεν);* Adamantius las bei M. *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο . . . εἰς (πᾶσαν) πόλιν.* 4 *μήτε ῥάβδον (?), μὴ ὑποδήματα . . . μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.* 5 *εἰς ἣν (δ') ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν . . . (λέγετε)· εἰρήνη (τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ).* 7 *ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.* 8 *δέχωνται . . .* 9 *(λέγετε αὐτοῖς)· ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* 10 . . . *μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς . . .* 11 *τὸν κονιορτὸν . . . ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν (εἰς ὑμᾶς?)· (εἰς μαρτύριον?) πλὴν (τοῦτο) γινώσκεσθε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,* 12—15 Die Wehe's über die Städte; unbezeugt und gewiß getilgt. 16 *ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ.* 17—20 Rückkehr der Siebzig: 19 *(δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων).*

21—24 Das große Dankbekenntnis Jesu; die Seligpreisung der Jünger: 21 *εὐχαριστῶ (σοι) καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι, κύριε τοῦ οὐ-*

Cap. X, 1 Tert. IV, 24: „*Adlegit et alios LXX apostolos super duodecim*" — *ἀπέδειξεν* mit D a e (beide *elegit*) c (l b ?) > *ἀνέδειξεν* — *ἑβδομήκοντα* > BDMR a c e l g$^{1\cdot 2}$ vulg syr^{cu} arm *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο* (so auch Dial. I, 5; II, 12: *ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ιβ' εἰσι καὶ οβ'*).

4 Tert. l. c.: Eine dritte Antithese M.s, Schluß: „ ‚*Christus nec virgam discipulis in viam ferre praescripsit*' " . . . . 1 „*in civitates mittebantur*" . . . . . 4 „*abundaturam cirumcidens*" — „*etiam calciamenta portare vetuit illos*" — „ ‚*neminem*', *inquit*, ‚*in via salutaveritis*' " — 5 „*in quam introissent domum, pacem ei dicere*" — 7 „*dignus operarius mercede sua*" — 9 „‚*regnum dei* . . . . *iubet adnuntiari adpropinquasse*" — 10 „*etiam adicit, ut eis qui illos non recepissent, dicerent:* ‚*scitote tamen adpropinquasse reqnum dei*' " . . . . 8 . . . „*eorum qui adnuntiationem eius recepissent*" — 11 „*sic et pulverem iubet excuti in illos in testificationem eieratae* (so K r o y m.; MSS. „*et haeret etiam*", bzw. *ei; heret etiam*) *terrae eorum*" . . . . „*cui rei praemittit testificationem?*" — 4 Das Referat (4 init.) hat Tert. nach c. IX, 3 gegeben (bei Luk. steht 10, 4 *μὴ πήραν*) oder hat M. selbst kontaminiert? — 5 *οἰκίαν* mit D^2 d Orig. > *οἰκίαν πρῶτον* — 9 *ἤγγικεν* mit *Γ* f^{scr} e > *ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* — 11 *εἰς μαρτύριον* ist wohl auf Rechnung Tert.s zu setzen als Reminiszenz an c. IX, 5.

12—15 Wenn M. diese Wehe's hätte stehen lassen, konnte sie Tert. im Interesse, den Christus M.s als Rächer und Richter zu erweisen, nicht übergehen — 16 Tert. IV, 24: „*Qui vos spernet, me spernet*" — 19 L. c.: „*Quis nunc dabit potestatem calcandi super colubros et scorpios?*"

21 Epiph., Schol. 22: „*Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*". *οὐκ εἶχεν δέ*· „*καὶ τῆς γῆς*" *οὔτε*, „*πάτερ*" *εἶχεν*· *ἐλέγχεται δέ*· *κάτω γὰρ εἶχεν* „*ναί, ὁ πατήρ.*" Tert. IV, 25. „ ‚*Gratias*', *inquit*, ‚*ago et confiteor, domine caeli, quod ea, quae erant abscondita sapientibus et prudentibus, revelaveris*

ρανοῦ, ὅτι ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς ἀπεκάλυψας νηπίοις· ναὶ ὁ πατήρ (ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἔμπροσθέν σου). 22 *πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, (καὶ) οὐδεὶς γινώσκει (ἔγνω?), τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.* 23 ... *μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βέλποντες ἃ βλέπετε,* 24 *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι προφῆται οὐκ ἴδαν, ἃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε.*

25 *νομικός (τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν) ... τί ποιήσας ζωὴν κληρονομήσω;* 26. 27 *(ὁ δὲ) κύριος ἀποκριθεὶς (εἶπεν)· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (γέγραπται)· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου* (also fehlten v. 26. 28; aber nach der Marcionitischen Bibel des Epiphanius war der kanonische Text wiederhergestellt: 26 *εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; ....* 28 *εἶπεν· ὀρθῶς εἶπες· τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ).* Auch die Worte (27): *καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν*, haben vielleicht gefehlt.

29—37 Der barmherzige Samariter: unbezeugt. 38—42 Maria und Martha unbezeugt.

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parvulis' " — *εὐχαριστῶ καί* sonst unbezeugt und der Deutlichkeit wegen hinzugesetzt (Epiph. verkürzt) — Das Fehlen von *σοί* sonst unbezeugt; vielleicht zufällig bei Tert. — die Streichungen von „*καὶ τῆς γῆς*" und „*πάτερ*" (mit F^w) sind tendenziös — *ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτά*, tendenziös, nur noch in einem Marcionitisch-katholischen Mischtext, Clem. Hom. XVIII, 15 > *ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ... καί;* in der Auslegung bezeugt Tert. das Passiv — (*ναὶ*) *ὁ πατήρ* bezeugt auch Tert. („*dominus caeli ... pater Christi*"). — 22 L. c.: „*Omnia sibi tradita dicit a patre. .. ,nemo scit, qui sit pater nisi filius, et qui sit filius nisi pater* [in der Wiederholung: *nemo enim scit patrem nisi filius et filium nisi pater*] *et cuicumque filius revelaverit*' ". Megethius im Dial. I, 23 in einer Marcionitischen Antithese bietet auch die Umstellung der Satzglieder (so mit zahlreichen katholischen Zeugen), sonst aber den geläufigen Text, jedoch mit *ἔγνω* > *γινώσκει)* — *πατρός* mit D a c l Justin, Iren. lat > *πατρός μου* — *ἀποκαλύψῃ* mit Justin, Marcosier bei Iren., Clem., Orig. > *βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι.* Der Vers auch bei Esnik (S c h m i d S. 189 f.).

23 Tert. IV, 25: „ ,*Beati oculi, qui vident quae videtis,* 24 *dico enim vobis, quia prophetae non viderunt quae vos videtis*' " — 24 *προφῆται* ohne *πολλοί* und ohne *καὶ βασιλεῖς*, jenes sonst nur einmal bezeugt, dieses mit D a e ff² i l Method. — *οὐκ ἴδαν* unbezeugte tendenziöse Verkürzung > *ἠθέλησαν ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἴδαν.* Auch die Nachstellung von *ἃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε* ist sonst unbezeugt. Das Fehlen der Könige wohl nach Matth.

25—28 Tert. IV, 25: „*In evangelio veritatis legis doctor dominum adgressus: ,Quid faciens', inquit, ,vitam aeternam consequar'?*" *In haere-*

C. XI, 1—4 Vater Unser. 1 (... *ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν*) *ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον* ... (*εἶπέν*) *τις τῶν μαθητῶν* (*πρὸς αὐτόν*)· *κύριε, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξεν.* 2 .... *πάτερ*, (*ἐλθάτω*) *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* (*σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς*)· *ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου*· 3 *τὸν ἄρτον σου τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, 4 (*καὶ*) *ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας* (*ἡμῶν*) .... (*καὶ*) *μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν.*

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tico ‚vita' solummodo posita est, sine „aeternae" mentione, ut doctor de ea vita videatur consuluisse, quae in lege promittitur a creatore longaeva, et dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse: ‚Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et totis viribus tuis' ". M. hat also tendenziös „*aeterna*" ausgelassen und die Worte von der Liebe Jesus selbst in den Mund gelegt. An ein „verkürztes Verfahren" Tert.s ist nicht zu denken (gegen Z a h n), da die Tendenz so offenkundig ist und da Tert. hier den Text genau ins Auge gefaßt hat. (Er bemerkt ja sonst eine Auslassung höchst selten ausdrücklich). Also war es ein schon korrigiertes Marcionitisches Exemplar, auf Grund dessen Epiph., Schol. 23 geschrieben hat: *Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ*· „*Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται*", *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν*· „*Ὀρθῶς εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ*". Die von Makarius Chrysokeph. aufbewahrte Mitteilung des Orig. zu Luk. 10, 25 ff., die Marcioniten hätten diese Perikope in ihrem Evangelium, beweist nichts gegen ihre Korrektur (gegen Z a h n) — 25 *τί* (nicht *διδάσκαλε, τί*) scheint M. mit D gelesen zu haben (*legis doctor*" mit d e) — 27 *ἐξ ὅλης τ. ψυχῆς* mit vielen Zeugen > *ἐν ὅλ. τ. ψ.* — Die Worte *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου* fehlen auch in D *Γ* a b c ff² i l q, dagegen ist das Fehlen von „*καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν*" sonst unbezeugt. Es mag eine Tendenz dahinter stecken. — 28 *εἶπες* (bei Epiph.) mit syr^cu > *ἀπεκρίθης.*

Cap. XI, 1 Tert. IV, 26: „*Cum in quodam loco orasset ... adgressus eum ex discipulis quidam: ‚Domine', inquit, ‚doce nos orare sicut et Iohannes discipulos suos docuit'* " — *et* (mit e vulg. > a b c f i l q) — *docuit* nachgestellt, sonst unbezeugt — 2 l. c.: „ *Cui dicam. ‚pater' ... a quo ‚spiritum sanctum' postulem ? ... ‚eius regnum', optabo ‚venire', quem nunquam regem gloriae audivi ? ...* 3 *quis mihi ‚dabit panem cottidianum'* ? ... 4 *quis mihi ‚delicta dimittet'* ? ... *quis „non sinet nos deduci in temptationem'* ". Orig. (e Catena Mazariniana): *ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος ἔχουσι τὴν λέξιν οὕτως*· „*Τὸν ἄρτον σου τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*" (3) — 2 *πάτερ* mit ℵ BL syrs ^in vulg. > *πάτερ ἡμῶν* — Da es nach Tert. sicher ist, daß bei M. die erste Bitte eine Bitte um d. h. Geist war, wird sie so gelautet haben, wie wir sie durch Minusc. 700 al. 604, Cod. Vatic., olim Barb. IV, 31, Gregor v. Nyssa und aus Anspielungen kennen (s. H a r n a c k, Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akad. 1904 S. 26 ff.) und wie sie oben

5—8 *καὶ εἶπεν· τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου . . . τρεῖς ἄρτους·* 7 *ἡ θύρα (κέκλεισται καὶ) τὰ παιδία μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν . . .* 8 *(εἰ καὶ) οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ, (διά γε τὴν ἀναιδίαν).*

9—13 Bezeugt durch die beiden abkürzenden Referate Tert.s und Epiph. (s. u.), 11—13 *ἐάν τινα ἐξ ὑμῶν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ἰχθύν, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;* 12 *ἢ καὶ ᾠόν, μὴ ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον;* 13 *εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ (ὄντες) οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατ ρ (ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ?) δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον.*

14—26 Dämonenaustreibung. Beelzebulrede: Nur in einem Referate Tert.s bezeugt, s. u. Tendenziöse Änderungen scheinen

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gegeben ist; *ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου:* wohl schon Einfluß aus dem Text des Matth. (Vormarcionitisch). — 3 *σου* sonst unbezeugt > *ἡμῶν* (fehlt in syr^{sin}), tendenziös — 4 ob M. *καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν* gelesen hat? Wahrscheinlich. — *ἄφες κτλ.* singulär und tendenziös > > *μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς.*

5—8 Tert. VI, 26: „*Nocturnum panis petitorem . . . . pulsantem . . . ad amicum pulsat, cuius ianuam norat, quem habere panes sciebat, cubantem iam cum infantibus . . . . sero pulsatur . . . . exsurgit et dat, etsi non quasi amico, sed molesto*". Epiphan., Schol. 24 gibt v. 5 wie oben, dazu *αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους*, verkürzend für *καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρῆσόν μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους* — *καὶ εἶπεν* mit D c > *κ. εἶπεν προς αὐτούς* — 7 *παιδία* mit C*M b c ff^2 g^1 i l m q syr^{cu} > *παιδία μου.*

9—13 Tert. IV, 26: „*A quo petam, ut accipiam, apud quem quaeram, ut inveniam? ad quem pulsabo, ut aperiatur mihi? . . . . . ipse est qui scit, quid filii postulent; nam et panem petentibus emisit . . . . non serpentem pro pisce scorpium pro ovo . . . ita et spiritum sanctum dabit*". Epiph., Schol. 24: 9 *αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται . . .* 11 *τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσει ἰχθὺν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ,* 12 *ἢ ἀντὶ ᾠοῦ σκορπίον.* (Auch im syr^{sin} fehlt Brot und Stein; dort und hier m. E. ein Zufall). 13 *εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθά, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ·* 11—13 Dial. II, 20: bis 13 *τέκνοις ὑμῶν* wie oben (schließt mit *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς)·* der Anfang mit *ἐάν* und Weglassung des *πατέρα* wohl willkürlich — 11 *αὐτοῦ* mit b f ff^2 q syr^{cu} > fehlt — *ἢ ἐάν* fast singulär > *ἢ καὶ* oder *εἰ καί* — *αἰτήσῃ ἰχθύν* mit D b c syr^{cu} > *ἰχθύν* — *μή* mit sah cop > *μὴ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος* — 12 *ἢ καί* sonst unbezeugt > *ἢ καὶ αἰτήσει (αἰτήσῃ)* — 13 *ὄντες* Dial. mit vielen Zeugen (nach Matth.), fehlt bei Epiph. > *ὑπάρχοντες.*

14—26 Tert. IV, 26: „*Cum surdum daemonium expulisset . . . .* 15 *in Belzebule dictus eicere daemonia.* 19 *‚Si ego', inquit, ‚in Belzebule eicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt?'*" . . . . 18 „*non posse Satanan dividi*

gefehlt zu haben. Wichtig ist, daß M. aus v. 22 *(ἐὰν ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθῶν νικήσῃ αὐτόν)* für seinen Christus die Bezeichnung *ὁ ἐπερχόμενος* als solenne abstrahiert hat (s. IV, 23 u. „*quisquis es, ‚o eperchomene‘*“, so zweimal). Wörtlich erhalten 19 *εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν;* und 20 *εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* Der Inhalt von 23—26 ist nicht erwähnt.

27 . . . *ἐπαράσασά (τις) φωνὴν γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου . . . μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ (οὓς ἐθήλασας) . . .* 28 *μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.*

29—32 Die Perikope vom Zeichen des Ionas hat M. ganz zusammengestrichen. Die Stelle lautete bei ihm (wohl mit der Einleitung 29[a]): *ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ⟨γενεὰ πονηρά ἐστιν· σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καὶ⟩ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ.* Ionas, die Königin und Salomo (vv. 30—32) fehlten.

33 Tert. referiert über diesen Vers *(λύχνον εἰς κρυπτὴν . . . ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον . . . ἵνα πᾶσι λάμπῃ).*

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adversus semetipsum“ . . . . 20 „ ‚*quod si ego in digito dei expello daemonia, ergone adpropinquavit in vos regnum dei*‘“ . . . 21 „*merito igitur adplicuit ad parabolam fortis illius armati,* 22 *quem validior alius oppressit, principem daemoniorum, quem Belzebulem et Satanan supra dixerat* . . . . *quem potuisset videri superasse validior ille deus*“ — 19 *εἰ* mit b cop > *εἰ δέ* — 20 *εἰς* sonst unbezeugt > *ἐφ'*.

27. 28 l. c.: „*Exclamat mulier de turba beatum uterum, qui illum portasset, et ubera, quae illum educassent, et dominus*: ‚*Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt*‘“ (vgl. III, 11) — 28 sonst *ἀκούοντες* vor *τ. λογ. τ. θεοῦ* (ohne Belang) — *ποιοῦντες* fast unbezeugt > *φυλάσσοντες*. Auch nach Ephraem hat diese Stelle bei M. gestanden und er bringt dazu noch dieselbe Marcionitische Auslegung, welche Tert. IV, 19 zur verwandten und von Marcion selbst kombinierten Stelle Luk. 8, 20 gebracht hat (s. Ephr., Ev. concord. expos. p. 122 f.).

29—32 Epiph., Schol. 25: *Περικέκοπται τὸ περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου. εἶχεν γὰρ* „*ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ*“ (hier muß Epiph. verkürzt haben). „ *οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ περὶ Νινευὴ καὶ βασιλίσσης νότου καὶ Σαλομῶνος* Tert. IV, 27: „(*Iubet omni petenti dare*) *et ipse signum petentibus non dat*“. Es fehlten also die vv. 30—32 ganz. (Bemerkenswert ist, daß v. 30 in Cod. e fehlt, v. 32 in D).

33 Tert. IV, 27: „*Lucem suam ab hominibus abscondit et negat lucernam abstrudendam, sed confirmat super candelabrum proponendam, ut omnibus luceat*“ — Der Schluß nach Matth. *(λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν οἰκίᾳ)* > Luk. *ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φέγγος βλέπωσιν.*

34—36 Auge und Licht, unbezeugt.

37—52 Frühstück beim Pharisäer; die Scheltrede auf die Pharisäer. Sicher war hier tendenziös v. 42 (für *τὴν κρίσιν) τὴν κλῆσιν* gesetzt und die Worte *ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ παρεῖναι* fehlten; ferner fehlten die vv. 49—51 (der Spruch der Weisheit Gottes: Ich werde zu ihnen Propheten senden .... vom Blut Abels bis zum Blut des Zacharias usw.); dagegen war alles übrige (s. u.) wahrscheinlich wesentlich unverändert. Im einzelnen bemerkenswert: 38 *(ἤρξατο) ὁ Φαρισαῖος διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ (λέγειν)· διὰ τί κτλ.* 41 *πάντα καθαρὰ ἔσται ὑμῖν.* 44. 45 sind

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37—52 Tert. l. c.: „ ‚*Vae*' *ingerit Pharisaeis et doctoribus legis*" (42. 46. 52) .... „*ideo et tunc Pharisaeus, qui illum vocarat ad prandium* (37), *retractabat penes se, cur non prius tinctus esset quam recubuisset* (38) .... *Iesus autem interpretatus est ei legem, dicens illos calicis et catini exteriora emundare, interiora autem ipsorum plena esse rapina et iniquitate* (39) .... ‚*exteriora*', *inquit*, ‚*calicis lavatis, interiora autem vestra*' *non emundastis, adiciens:* „*nonne qui exteriora fecit et interiora fecit?*" (40) .... *praeponens misericordiam lavacro hominis; subiungit enim:* ‚*date quae habetis eleemosynam, et omnia munda erunt vobis*' (41) .... *sic et holuscula decimantes, vocationem autem et dilectionem dei praetereuntes obiurgat. cuius dei vocationem et dilectionem, nisi cuius et rutam et mentam ex forma legis ex decimis offerebant?* (42) .... *primatum quoque captantes locorum et honorem salutationum cum incusat, sectam creatoris administrat* (43) .... *invehitur et in doctores ipsos legis, quod onerarent alios importabilibus oneribus, quae ipsi ne digito quidem adgredi auderent* (46) .... *cur autem* „*vae audiunt etiam, quod aedificarent prophetis monimenta interemptis a patribus eorum* (47), *laude potius digni, qui ex isto opere pietatis testabantur se non consentire factis patrum* (48) .... *quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores nisi interpretationem legis? ad cuius intellectum neque ipsi adibant, neque alios admittebant* (52). Epiph., Schol. 26 (zu v. 42): *Ἀντὶ τοῦ* „*παρέρχεσθε τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ*" *εἶχεν* „*παρέρχεσθε τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ*". Schol. 27 (zu v. 47): „*Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα* (in der Wiederholung *μνημεῖα) τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς*". Schol. 28 (zu v. 49—51): *Οὐκ εἶχεν* „*διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· Ἀποστέλλω εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας*" *καὶ περὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἄβελ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι ἐκζητήσεται ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.* Zu v. 42 oder 52 s. Dial. II, 5: *Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς* (*et Pharisaei* fügt Rufin hinzu mit b syr^{c,l} und anderen Zeugen) — 38 Diesen Text mit D d ital. vulg. syr^{cu} > *ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν* — Las M. *πρὸ τοῦ ἀναπεσεῖν* für *πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου?* — 40 Fehlte *ἄφρονες* bei M? Schwerlich — 41 *ἔσται ὑμῖν* mit D aeth (*ὑμῖν* nachgestellt mit b f ff^2 i m q vulg. syr^{cu}; *ἔσται* auch mit a Minusc., Basil) — 42 *κλῆσιν* selbständig > *κρίσιν*, den Schluß des Verses

unbezeugt. 46 *οὐδὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ.* 47 *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ,ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς.* 48 *(ἄρα) μάρτυρές ἐστε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν.* 52 .... *τοῖς νομικοῖς .... τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως κτλ.*

53. 54 Die Absichten der Pharisäer gegen Jesus; unbezeugt.

C. XII, 1 .... *(ἤρξατο λέγειν) πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς· [πρῶτον?] προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις.* 2 *οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον, ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ οὐδὲν κρυπτόν, ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.* 3 Anspielung: *ἐν τῷ φωτί ... ὃ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλαλήσατε ... κηρυχθήσεται.* 4 *λέγω δὲ (ὑμῖν?) τοῖς φίλοις (μου?)· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμᾶς μόνον ἀποκτέννειν δυναμένων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδεμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν* (aber Epiph. las, soweit bekannt, den gewöhnlichen Text als Marcionitischen). 5 *ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβη-*

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mußte M. tilgen — 44. 45 sind unbezeugt — 46 *οὐδὲ* (mit dem alten Syr.) *τῷ δακτύλῳ* (u. ein Zeuge) > *ἑνὶ τ. δακτύλων ὑμῶν*, s. Matth. 23, 4 *δακτύλῳ* — 47 *μνήματα* sonst unbezeugt > *μνημεῖα* — 48 *μὴ συνευδοκεῖν* mit D e a b q Lucifer > *καὶ συνευδοκεῖτε* — 52 Tert. läßt *τῆς γνώσεως* nach *τὴν κλεῖδα* hier fort, aber gleich darauf (IV, 27) bietet er „*clavem agnitionis*". Auf das „Wehe" im Ev. M.s spielt auch Ephraem an (51. Lied gegen die Ketzer c. 5).

Cap. XII, 1 Tert. IV, 28: „ ‚*Cavete*', *inquit discipulis*, ‚*a fermento Pharisaeorum, quod est hypocrisis*' ", *πρῶτον* scheint bei M. mit b vulg. Lucifer gefehlt zu haben — *προσέχετε* mit wenigen Minusc., Epiph. > *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς.*

2 l. c.: „*Nihil autem opertum, quod non patefiet, et nihil absconditum, quod non disnoscetur*" — *συγκεκ.* > *συγκεκ. ἐστίν* (so alle) — *οὐδέν* secundum > fehlt (so alle).

3 l. c.: „*Cum subiciat etiam, quae intra se mussitarent vel inter se tractarent, in apertum processura et in ore hominum futura, et ex evangelii promulgatione*".

4 Epiph., Schol. 29: *Λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα.* Tert., l. c.: „*Deinde conversus ad discipulos*: ‚*dico autem*', *inquit*, ‚*vobis amicis*: *nolite terreri ab eis, qui vos solummodo occidere possunt nec post hoc ullam in vobis habent potestatem*' ". Man kann nicht annehmen, daß Tert. den Text eigenmächtig verändert hat (der kanonische lautet: [*ἀποκτ.*] *τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι*), um so weniger, als der von ihm gebotene das Interesse M.s schärfer ausdrückt. — D bietet *τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲ ἐχόντων.* Das Fehlen von *ὑμῖν* bei Epiph., von *μου* bei Tertullian kann nicht zufällig sein. Beide Korrekturen zerstören absichtlich den Gedanken, daß Jesus die 12 Jünger als seine Freunde bezeichnet.

θῆτε· φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν· τοῦτον φοβήθητε. 6 und 7 hat M. ausgemerzt. 8 *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν· πᾶς ὃς ὁμολογήσει με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,* 9 *καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἠρνήσατό με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.* 10 *(καὶ)*

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5 Epiph., Schol. 29: *φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν.* Tert., l. c.: „‚*Demonstrabo autem vobis quem timeatis: timete eum, qui postquam occiderit potestatem habet mittendi in gehennam; itaque dico vobis: hunc timete*‘“. — *βαλεῖν* mit D Theodot bei Clemens > *ἐμβαλεῖν* — *εἰς* mit DR Justin, Theodot. > *εἰς τήν.*

6 f. Epiph., Schol. 29: *Οὐκ εἶχεν δέ* „*Οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλοῦνται καὶ ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*“, also fehlte auch v. 7 (die Haare gezählt); Tert. übergeht beide Verse, vgl. zu c. 21, 18.

8 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Dico enim vobis: omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor in illo coram deo*‘“. Epiph., Schol. 30: *Ἀντὶ τοῦ* „*Ὁμολογήσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ*“ „*ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*“ *λέγει* nach Ausmerzung von v. 6 f. hat M. *γάρ* (mit Syr ^{in}) für das sonst bezeugte *δέ* gesetzt — *ὁμολογήσει* mit AB*D usw. > *ὁμολογήσῃ* (ersteres hat Matth.) — *με* mit a b c e f ff² l und einigen vulg. Codd. > *ἐν ἐμοί* (der Unterschied von *μέ* und *ἐν αὐτῷ* ist beabsichtigt) — *ἐνώπιον* (bis) > *ἔμπροσθεν* — *ὁμολογήσω* mit Matth. > *ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρ. ὁμολογήσει* (so hat Epiph. bereits wieder gelesen, falls er sich nicht bei der Wiedergabe geirrt hat) — *τοῦ θεοῦ* mit ℵ* und einer Minuskel > *τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.* Auch bei Matth. fehlen die Engel.

9 Tert., l. c.: „‚*et omnis, qui negavit me coram hominibus, denegabitur coram deo*‘“ — *καί* allein > *δέ* — *πᾶς ὃς ἠρνήσατο* allein > *ὁ ἀρνησάμενος* — *τοῦ θεοῦ* allein > *τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.* Dial. II, 5 ist Matth. 10, 33 wiedergegeben.

10 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Qui dixerit in filium hominis, remittetur illi, qui autem dixerit in spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei*‘“. Eine Mischung mit Matth. 12, 32, wie sie auch die lateinische Überlieferung hat. — *ὃς* ohne *πᾶς* nach Matth. — *ὃς ἂν* mit D Minuskeln (nach Matth.) > *ὅς* — *εἴπῃ* mit ital. vulg. Matth. > *ἐρεῖ* — *ὃς δ'ἂν εἴπῃ* mit den meisten Ital. Codd., Matth. > *τῷ* mit dem Partizip — *εἴπῃ* secundum mit b (?) c e ff² i q und Matth. > *βλασφημήσαντι* (Tert. selbst schreibt gleich darauf „*spiritus sanctus non blasphemandus*“, ferner „*non remissuri blasphemiam*“, ferner „*blasphemiam a creatore Christus avertit*“, und „*spiritus blasphematur et Christus negatur*“; man muß annehmen, daß er sich des kanonischen Textes erinnert); D schreibt einfach *εἰς δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (ohne *βλασφημήσαντι*) — *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* mit D ital. vulg. und Matth. > *τ. ἅγ. πν.* — Die Nachstellung von *εἰς τ. πν. τ. ἁγ.* mit a e — *αὐτῷ* mit DGΛ a b c e ff² i l q aeth. und Matth. > fehlt.

ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.

11 .... *προσφέρωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ... (μὴ μεριμνήσητε κτλ.* Anspielung): 12 *τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, τί δεῖ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς.*

13 Anspielung: *τις ... τῷ ἀδελφῷ ... μερίσασθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν.* 14 ... *εἶπεν ... τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.*

15—21 Aus der Geschichte vom reichen Landmann ist nur bezeugt 16 *πλουσίου εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα.* 20 *εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν (ἀπὸ σοῦ)· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, τίνος ἔσται;*

22 *(μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσησθε).* 23 *(ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος).* 24 ....

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11. 12 Tert., l. c.: „*Perductos ad potestates prohibet ad interrogationem cogitare de responsione; ‚sanctus enim', inquit, ‚spiritus docebit vos ipsa hora, quid eloqui debeatis'* " — *προσφέρωσιν* mit vielen Zeugen (auch a c d) > *εἰσφέρωσιν* — 2 *ὑμᾶς* (nicht sicher), sonst unbezeugt.

13. 14 Tert., l. c.: „*Christus postulatus a quodam, ut inter illum et fratrem ipsius ⟨de⟩ dividenda hereditate componeret, operam suam, et quidem tam probae causae, denegavit; ‚quis me', inquit, ‚iudicem constituit super vos?'* " — *κριτήν* mit D c syr^{cu} > *κριτὴν ἢ μεριστήν.*

15 ff. Tert., l. c.: „*Parabola divitis blandientis sibi de proventu agrorum suorum, cui deus dicit* (20): *‚Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam reposcunt; quae autem parasti cuius erunt?'* " *τίνος* mit D ital. vulg. Clem. Iren. Cypr. > *τίνι.*

22—31 Tert. IV, 29: „*Quis nollet curam nos agere animae de victu et corporis de vestitu* (22), *nisi qui ista homini ante prospexit ... qui et substantiam ipsius animae accommodavit potiorem esca et materiam ipsius corporis figuravit potiorem tunica* (23), *cuius et corvi non serunt nec metunt nec in apothecas condunt, et tamen aluntur ab ipso* (24), *cuius et lilia et foenum non texunt nec neunt et tamen vestiuntur ab ipso* (27. 28). *cuius et Salomon gloriosissimus nec ullo tamen flosculo cultior* (27), *ceterum nihil tam abruptum, quam ut alius praestet, alius de praestantia eius securos agere mandet, et quidem derogator ipsius. denique si quasi derogator creatoris non vult de eiusmodi frivolis cogitari* (29) *de quibus nec corvi nec lilia laborent, ultro scilicet pro sua vilitate subiectis, paulo post parebit. interim cur illos modicae fidei incusat, id est cuius fidei?* (28) ... *nam et cum subicit· ‚Haec enim nationes mundi quaerunt' ... porro cum et adicit: ‚Scit autem pater opus esse haec vobis* (30), *prius quaeram, quem patrem intelligi velit Christus ... ‚Quaerite' enim, inquit, ‚regnum dei, et haec vobis adicientur'* " (31). Nach Tert. hat man den Eindruck, daß hier nichts gefehlt hat, wenn auch v. 25. 26 nicht

κόρακας . . οὔτε σπείρουσιν οὔτε θερίζουσιν . . . ἀποθήκ(η) . . . (καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς fehlte wahrscheinlich trotz Tert.) . . . 25. 26 unbezeugt. 27 *τὰ κρίνα . . . οὐχ ὑφαίνει οὔτε νήθει . . . οὐδὲ Σολομῶν (ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἓν τούτων).* 28 gestrichen, aber *ὀλιγόπιστοι* beibehalten. 29 leichte Anspielung auf die Worte: *καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ζητεῖτε τί φάγητε ἢ τί πίητε καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε.* 30 *ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιζητεῖ, οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων.* 31 *ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα (πάντα?) προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

32 In diesem Spruch von „der kleinen Herde" fehlte *ὑμῶν* neben *ὁ πατήρ.* 33. 34 Der Aufruf (sich des Vermögens zu entäußern, Almosen zu geben und sich einen Schatz im Himmel zu verschaffen) ist unbezeugt. 35—38 (Die Bereitschaft; das

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berührt wird; aber Epiph., Schol. 31 bemerkt: (v. 28) *Οὐκ ἔχει τό· „Ὁ θεὸς ἀμφιέννυσι τὸν χόρτον"*, dann kann von diesem Vers nur der Ausruf „*ὀλιγόπιστοι*" stehen geblieben sein, den Tert. bezeugt. In der Tat konnte M. das übrige ertragen mit Ausnahme des „*καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς*" (v. 24), welches sich mit den ausgestoßenen Worten v. 28 absolut deckt. Daher muß man annehmen, daß Tert. die Worte „*et tamen vestiuntur ab ipso*" aus seinem Gedächtnis mechanisch hinzugefügt hat (v. 24). Dies ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als er gleich darauf ein sicher inkorrektes Referat bringt, sofern bei Luk. von den Lilien nicht gesagt wird, daß Gott sie bekleidet, sondern nur vom Gras. Zahns Vermutung, daß v. 24. 27. 28 gefehlt hat, ist nicht haltbar und kann auch nicht durch Berufung auf Tert.s Bemerkung zu c. 9, 3 begründet werden, die m. E. vielmehr beweisen, daß v. 24. 27 nicht gefehlt haben — 24 Tert. ist in seinem gedächtnismäßigen Referat mit den Worten „*nec in apothecas condunt*" vom Luk.-Text zum Matth.-Text abgeirrt, oder lag auch hier schon, wie so oft, dem M.-Text ein aus Matth. gemischter Text zugrunde? — 27 *οὐχ ὑφαίνει οὔτε νήθει* mit a („*non texunt neque neunt*") > *οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει* — 30 *ταῦτα* mit b i l q > *ταῦτα πάντα* — *πατήρ* (bis bei Tert.) > *ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ* (so auch Epiph., Schol. 32: „*Ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων*", selbst hinzufügend „*σαρκικῶν δέ*"). Zu v. 32 (s. u.) bietet Epiph. die Streichung von *ὑμῶν* neben *πατήρ.* — *οἶδεν* vorangestellt mit D a b c e i l f q aeth Clemens (dagegen bei Epiph, die gewöhnliche Stellung; er ist also hier wieder unzuverlässig) — 31 Epiph., Schol. 33 wie oben, doch *πάντα* (nach *ταῦτα*) mit ℵ[a]AD ital. vulg. > Tert. (s. auch Tert. III, 24), ℵ*B syr[cu] etc. nach Matth. — *ζητεῖτε δέ* mit D a > *πλὴν ζητεῖτε.*

32 Epiph., Schol. 34: *Ἀντὶ τοῦ· „Ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν"* „*ὁ πατήρ*" *εἶχεν* (so auch Clemens).

35—38 Tert. IV, 29: „*Sumus servi — dominum enim habemus deum — succingere debemus lumbos . . ., item lucernas ardentes habere . . . atque*

Gleichnis von den Sklaven, die auf den von der Hochzeit kommenden Herrn warten) Anspielung: 35 ... *αἱ ὀσφυες περιεζωσμέναι, οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι* ... 36 *προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον, (πότε) ἀναλύσει ἐκ τῶν γάμων* ... 37 *δοῦλοι* ... 38 *ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ* ...

39—48 (Der Hausherr und der Dieb. Der gute und der schlimme Haushaltersklave) Anspielungen: 39 .... *εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ ὁ κλέπτης (ἔρχεται), οὐκ ἂν ἀφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.* 40 *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* ... 41 *ὁ Πέτρος· πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὴν παραβολὴν λέγεις;* 42 ... *(ἐπὶ θεραπείας)* .... 43 ... *ὁ δοῦλος* ... *ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος* ... 44 *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν καταστήσει αὐτόν.* 45 nur indirekt bezeugt. 46 *ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷ (καὶ) ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκει καὶ ἀποχωρίσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων τεθήσεται (διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει* — dieser kanonische Text war im Exemplar des Epiph. wiederher-

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ita expectare dominum ... unde redeuntem? si a nuptiis" — 38 Epiph., Schol. 35: *Ἀντὶ τοῦ „δευτέρᾳ ἢ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ" εἶχεν „ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ"* (dieses mit D b c e ff² i l Iren., syr^cu, die aber alle außer b auch jenes bieten).

39—48 Tert. IV, 29: „*In sequenti quoque parabola satis errat qui furem illum, cuius horam pater si familiae sciret, non sineret suffodiri domum suam, in personam disponit creatoris ... si vero Christum creatoris in nomine filii hominis hoc loco ostendit ... interroganti Petro, in illos an et in omnes parabolam diceret, ... proponit actorum similitudinem: quorum qui bene tractaverit conservos absentia domini reverso eo omnibus bonis praeponetur, qui vero secus egerit, reverso domino qua die non putaverit, hora qua non scierit, illo scilicet filio hominis, Christo creatoris, non fure sed iudice, segregabitur et pars eius cum infidelibus ponetur*" ... „*Quem alium intellegam caedentem servos paucis aut multis plagis et, prout commisit illis, ita et exigentem ab eis, quam retributorem deum? cui me docet obsequi nisi remuneratori?*" — 41 Wortstellung belanglos; *ταύτην* fehlt nur hier — 46 Epiph., Schol. 36: Von *ἥξει* bis *ἐκείνου* und von *καὶ διχοτ.* bis *θήσει.* Tert. ergänzt nicht nur das Ausgefallene, sondern lehrt, daß M. *διχοτομήσει*, das ihm unerträglich sein mußte, durch *ἀποχωρίσει* oder ein synonymes Wort ersetzt hat (vgl. seine Eschatologie Tert. I, 27: „*damnat prohibendo*", I, 27: „*interrogati Marcionitae: quid fiet peccatori cuique die illo? respondent: Abici illum quasi ab oculis*") und daß er ferner das Aktivum *θήσ ι* in das Passivum verwandelt hat, damit nicht Gott als der direkte Rächer erscheine (vgl. die frappante Parallele in der Korrektur zu I Kor. 15, 25). Epiphan. fand aber bereits einen Text vor, der nach dem kanonischen zurückkorrigiert war — 47. 48 (bis *ὀλίγα*) wörtlich Dial. II, 21 (fehlt bei Rufin);

gestellt). 47 *ὁ γὰρ δοῦλος, ὁ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ ποιήσας δαρήσεται πολλά,* 48 *ὁ δὲ μὴ γνούς, ποιήσας δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν, δαρήσεται ὀλίγα.* Anspielung: *ᾧ ἐδόθη . . . ζητηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ᾧ . . .* 49 *πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* (49 b und 50 unbezeugt). 51 *δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον εἰρήνην βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμερισμόν (ἀποχώρισιν?).* 52 unbezeugt. 53 *διαμερισθήσεται πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρί, καὶ μήτηρ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ μητρί, καὶ πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην καὶ νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν.* 53—57 Anspielungen: 56 *ὑποκριταί, τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκι-*

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auf 48 b spielt Tert. an — 47 *ὁ γάρ* mit einigen Zeugen > *ἐκεῖνος δέ* — *ὁ γνούς* > *ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ* (wahrscheinlich willkürliche Verkürzung) — *μὴ ποιήσας* mit D 69 Orig. Basil. Antioch. etc. Iren. Ambros. > *μὴ ἑτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας* — *πολλά* (auch 48 *ὀλίγα*) mit Δ Antioch. > *πολλάς.*

49 Tert. IV, 29: „*Proclamat Christus tuus: ‚Ignem veni mittere in terram‘* ". Dial. II, 5: „*Ignem veni mittere super terram*" (im Griechen ist der Matth.text eingesetzt) — 51 Tert. l. c.: „„*Putatis venisse me pacem mittere in terram? non, dico vobis, sed separationem‘. ‚machaeram‘ quidem scriptum est, sed Marcion emendat, quasi non et separatio opus sit machaerae*". Tert. hat, den Matth.text mit dem Luk.text irrtümlich vertauschend, dem M. zu Unrecht vorgeworfen, daß er *μάχαιραν* getilgt habe. Hat aber M. *διαμερισμόν* gelesen? Las er nicht *ἀποχώρισιν* oder ähnlich? Dial. II, 5: *οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν* (s. Matth.). M.s Text war bereits durch Matth. 10, 34 beeinflußt (wenn auch *μάχαιραν* zu Unrecht vom Dialog ihm zugeschrieben wird); bei Luk. heißt es: *εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ* (*βαλεῖν* statt *δοῦναι* haben auch b l q) — *ἀλλά* mit D 69 vulg. > *ἀλλ' ἤ* — *διαμερισμόν*: keine Variante in der Lukasüberlieferung. Z a h n nimmt an, daß 49 b 50 nicht von Tert. übergangen worden sind, sondern bei M. gefehlt haben: die Art, wie jenes 49 a mit 51 verbinde, lege das nahe („*Ipse* [*Christus*] *melius interpretabitur ignis istius* (49 a) *qualitatem adiciens* (51): ‚*Putatis venisse me pacem*‘ etc."). Allein ausreichend ist dieses Argument nicht, und man sieht auch nicht ein, warum M. diese Worte getilgt haben soll: *πῦρ . . . καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη. βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ.*

53 Tert., l. c.: „ „*Dividetur‘, inquit, ‚pater in filium et filius in patrem, et mater in filiam et filia in matrem, et nurus in socrum et socrus in nurum‘* ". Das 2. und 4. „et" sind sonst nicht bezeugt — *διαμερισθήσεται* mit zahlreichen Zeugen > noch zahlreichere und D ital. vulg. *διαμερισθήσονται* — — 53 bis 57 l. c.: „*Et ideo hypocritas pronuntiabat caeli quidem et terrae faciem probantes, tempus vero illud non dinoscentes, quo scilicet adimplens omnia, quae super ipso fuerant praedicata, nec aliter docens debuerat agnosci*" . . .

μάζετε, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τοῦτον οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν; 57 *καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε;* 58 ... *μήποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν, καὶ ὁ κριτὴς παραδώσει σε τῷ πράκτορι (καὶ ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ) εἰς φυλακήν,* 59 ... *(οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς) ἔκεῖθεν ἕως καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀποδῷς.*

C. XIII, 1—9 (Die gemordeten Galiläer, Turm von Siloam, Feigenbaum-Gleichnis) getilgt. 10—17 Heilung des gelähmten Weibes am Sabbat. Anspielung: 10 *ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν* ... 15 *ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τοῖς σάββασι (τ. σαββάτῳ?) οὐ λύει τὸν ὄνον αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει;* 16 *ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ (οὖσαν), ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς.* 18 *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* 19 *ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν εἰς κῆπον (ἐν τ. ἑαυτοῦ κήπῳ?).* 20 *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* 21 *ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζυμῇ* ... 22—24 (Die enge Pforte) nicht bezeugt. 25 *ἐὰν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης*

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57 „*merito exprobrat etiam, quod iustum non a semetipsis iudicarent*" — 56 *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ. τ. γῆς* mit ℵcD ital. vulg. > *τ. γ. κ. τ. οὐρ.* — *δοκιμάζετε* allein > *οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν*, dagegen gleich darauf *οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν* (so ist „*dinoscentes*" zu verstehen) mit ℵB ff² l sah cop > *δοκιμάζετε* — *τοῦτον* so wahrscheinlich mit D c e i syr^cu > *τοῦτον πῶς* — 57 *τί δέ* fehlte mit D (b) syr^cu; die Wortstellung sonst: *ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον*.

58 Epiph., Schol. 37 (bis *πράκτορι*). Tert., l. c.; „.... *mittit in carcerem* (59) *nec ducit inde nisi soluto etiam novissimo quadrante*" — 58 *παραδώσει σε* mit D 157 > *σε παρ.* — 59 *κοδράντην* (nach Matth.) mit D und ital. > *λεπτόν*.

Cap. XIII, 1—9 Epiph., Schol. 38: *Ἦν παρακεκομμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ „ἦλθόν τινες ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα συνέμιξε Πιλᾶτος μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν", ἕως ὅπου λέγει περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ ιη' ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πύργῳ, καὶ τό „ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσατε" καὶ ⟨τὰ ἑξῆς⟩ ἕως τῆς παραβολῆς τῆς συκῆς, περὶ ἧς εἶπεν ὁ γεωργὸς ὅτι „σκάπτω καὶ βάλλω κόπρια, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἔκκοψον"*. Also fehlten alle diese Verse.

10—17 Tert. IV, 30: „ *Quaestionem rursus de curatione sabbatis facta quomodo discussit? ‚Unusquisque vestrum sabbatis non solvit asinum aut bovem suum a praesepi et ducit ad potum?'* " (Diese Stellung von Esel und Ochs ist sonst unbezeugt) — 16 Epiph., Schol. 39 wie oben.

19 Tert., l. c.: „ *‚Simile est regnum dei', inquit, ‚grano sinapis quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo'* " — *ἔσπειρεν* allein, aber nach Matth. 13, 31 > *ἔβαλεν* — 20 f. l. c.: „*De sequenti plane similitudine vereor, ne forte alterius dei regnum portendat; fermento enim comparavit illud*".

25 f. Tert., l. c.: „ *‚Cum surrexerit', inquit, ‚pater familiae et clauserit ostium'* ... *quibus pulsantibus respondebit: ‚nescio unde sitis'*, 26 *et rursus enumerantibus quod coram illo ederint et biberint et in plateis eorum docuerit,*

καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν . . . κρούειν . . ἀποκριθεὶς (ἐρεῖ)· οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἔστε. 26 . . . *λέγειν· ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξας.* 27 . . . . *ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.* 28 *ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅτε (πάντας?) τοὺς δικαίους (εἰσερχομένους?) ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω.* 29—35 (Die Mahlzeit im Himmelreich; die Botschaft Jesu an Herodes. Der Spruch über Jerusalem, welches die Propheten tötet) getilgt.

C. XIV, 1—11 (Heilung des Wassersüchtigen am Sabbat; Zurechtweisung der Ehrgeizigen) unbezeugt. 12 ff. Wen man einladen soll. Anspielungen: 12 . . . . . *ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον, μὴ φωνεῖ . . .* 14 *οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναι . . . ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει.* 15 ff. Parabel vom großen Abendmahl. Anspielungen: 16 *ἄνθρωπός τις ἐποίει δεῖπνον καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς.* 17 *ἀπέστειλεν (τ. δοῦλον αὐτοῦ) . . .* 18 *(ἤρξαντο) παραιτεῖσθαι . . ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα . . .* 19 *(ζεύγη) βοῶν ἠγόρασα . . .* 20 *γυναῖκα ἔγημα . . .* 21 *ἀπήγγειλεν . . .*

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27 *adiciet ‚recedite a me omnes, operarii iniquitatis* — 28 *illic erit fletus et dentium frendor‘* — *ubi? foris scilicet, ubi erunt exclusi ostio cluso, ab eo ergo erit poena, a quo fit exclusio in poenam* —, *cum videbunt iustos introeuntes in regnum dei, se vero detineri foris‘* “. 28 Epiph., Schol. 40: *Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό· ,,τότε ὄψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ“. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐποίησεν· ,,ὅτε πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους“ — ἐποίησε δέ· ,,κρατουμένους“ ,,ἔξω“, ,,ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων“* — 25 *ἐάν* mit ital. vulg. > *ἀφ' οὗ ἄν* — nach *οἶδα* bezeugen sonst alle Zeugen *ὑμᾶς* — 27 *ἀνομίας* mit D II Clem. Iustin (bis) Epiph. Matth. 7, 23 > *ἀδικίας* — 28 *δικαίους* Tert. und Epiph. > alle Zeugen — *εἰσερχομένους* mit a b c f ff² i l q Lucifer und einigen vulg. Codd. > fehlt — *κρατουμένους ἔξω* Tert. und Epiph. > alle Zeugen.

29—35 fehlen bei Tert., und Epiph. schreibt Schol. 41: ,,*Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό· ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κτλ.* und nun werden die einzelnen, von M. hier getilgten Verse genau angegeben.

Cap. XIV, 12 f. Tert. IV, 31: ,,*Ad prandium vel ad cenam quales vocari iubet? . . . qui scilicet humanitatis istius vicem retribuere non possint. hanc si Christus captari vetat, in resurrectione eam repromittens.* — 15—24 l. c.: ,,*Etiam invitatoris parabola . . . ‚Homo quidam fecit cenam et vocavit multos‘ . . . dico primo extraneos et nullius iuris adfines invitari ad cenam non solere, certe facilius solere domesticos et familiares . . .* (17) *dehinc si is mittit ad convivas, qui cenam paravit . . .* 18 *excusant se invitati . . . ‚agrum emi‘ et* 19 *‚boves mercatus sum‘ et* 20 *‚uxorem duxi‘.* 21 *hoc ut patri familiae renuntiatum est, motus tunc mandat de plateis et vicis civitatis facere sublectionem*

τότε ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης . . . εἰς τὰς πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας τῆς πόλεως . . . 22 . . . *ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν* . . . 23 . . . *εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμούς* . . . 24 . . . *οὐδεὶς γεύσεται.*

25—35 (Vater und Mutter hassen; Kreuztragen, der leichtsinnig unternommene Bau und Krieg; man muß allem absagen; das dumm gewordene Salz) unbezeugt; doch ist es möglich, daß die Antithesen in den Acta Archelai 44 aus M.s Antithesen geflossen sind; dann ist v. 33 bezeugt („allem absagen").

C. XV, 1—10 Die Parabeln vom verlorenen Schaf und Groschen. Wenige Anspielungen, s. u. 10 *χαρὰ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.* 11—32 (Der verlorene Sohn) getilgt.

C. XVI, 1—14 Der ungerechte Haushalter; Unmöglichkeit des Zweiherrndienstes: 1—7 Anspielungen, s. u. 8 unbezeugt (Das Lob). 9a *καὶ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε ὑμῖν φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας.* 9 b. 10 unbezeugt. 11 *εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;* 12 *εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐχ εὑρέθητε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς δώσει ὑμῖν;* 13 *οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις*

. . . *itaque misit ad alios vocandos ex eadem adhuc civitate.* 22. 23 *dehinc loco abundante praecepit etiam de viis et sepibus colligi* . . . 24 *spem, de qua illos gustaturos negat dominus*" — 16 *δεῖπνον* mit X arm > *δεῖπνον μέγα* — 21 *ἐπαρθείς* oder *κινηθείς* oder ähnlich, tendenziös > *ὀργισθείς.*

Cap. XV, 1—10 Tert. IV, 32: „*Ovem et drachmam perditam quis requirit?* . . . *quis autem perdidit?* . . . *is invenit, qui quaesivit, is exultavit, qui invenit*. . . *adeo exultare illius est de paenitentia peccatoris, i. e. de perditi recuperatione, qui se professus est olim malle peccatoris paenitentiam quam mortem*". Vers 7, wo es heißt *χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται*, braucht M. nicht geändert zu haben. Daß v. 10 *τῶν ἀγγέλων* vor *τοῦ θεοῦ* getilgt war, ist nicht zweifelhaft. Auch für Apelles ist diese Perikope bezeugt (s. Tert., de carne 8).

11—32 Tert. berührt dieses Gleichnis nicht, und Epiph., Schol. 42 sagt: *Πάλιν παρέκοψε πᾶσαν τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δύο υἱῶν, τοῦ εἰληφότος τὸ μέρος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου.*

Cap. XVI, 1—14 Tert. IV, 33: 13 „*Quibus duobus dominis neget posse serviri, quia alterum offendi sit necesse alterum defendi, ipse declarat, deum proponens et mamonam*". 9 „*admonens nos de saecularibus suffragia nobis prospicere amicitiarum,* 1 f *secundum servi illius exemplum, qui ab actu summotus dominicos debitores diminutis cautionibus relevat in subsidium sibi,* 2 ‚*et ego*', *inquit,* ‚*dico vobis, facite vobis amicos de mamona iniustitiae*' . . . 13 ‚*non potestis deo servire et mamonae*'. 14 *inridebant denique Pharisaei pecuniae cupidi* . . . 13 *duos dominos nominavit, deum et mamonam* . . . 11 ‚⟨*si*⟩ *in mamona iniusto fideles non extitistis, quod verum est quis vobis*

δουλεύειν. ἑνὸς γὰρ (καταφρονήσει) καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀνθέξεται· οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ. 14 *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι . . . ἐξεμυκτήριζον.* 15 . . . *ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γινώσκει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.* 15 b (Das, was bei den Menschen hoch ist, ist Gottes ein Greuel) unbezeugt.

16 *ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου, ἐξ (ἀφ') οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται, καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται.* 17 *εὐκοπώτερον (δέ ἐστιν) τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν (πεσεῖν).* 18 *ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρ'ς γαμῶν ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν.*

19 *ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον,*

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credet?' . . . 12 ‚⟨*si*⟩ *in alieno fideles inventi non estis, meum quis dabit vobis*' . . . 11 ‚*quis vobis credet quod verius est*' *et* ‚*quis vobis dabit quod meum est?*' " — 9 *λέγω ὑμῖν* mit DM a c ff² g¹·² > *ὑμῖν λέγω* — *ὑμῖν* (doch nicht sicher) mit ital. Iren. Clem. > *ἑαυτοῖς* — 12 *εὑρέθητε* mit einigen Zeugen > *ἐγένεσθε* — *τὸ ἐμόν* mit e i l und minusc. 157 (tendenziös) > *τὸ ὑμέτερον* — 13 *ἀνθέξεται* und *καταφρονήσει* hier umgestellt; ob M. nicht für *καταφρονήσει* ein anderes Wort hatte, ob das *ἤ* am Anfang von 13 b wirklich fehlte und ob das Glied *τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει* durch Zufall ausgelassen ist? Wie bei Tert. ist auch Dial. I, 28 *οἰκέτης* ausgelassen (nach Matth.); M. hatte also auch hier einen durch Matth. beeinflußten Text; doch kommt Dial. I, 28 nicht sicher in Betracht.

15 Tert., l. c.: „*Si autem et iustificantes se coram hominibus Pharisaei spem mercedis in homine ponebant, illos eo sensu increpabat, quo et propheta . . .: si et adicit*: ‚*Scit autem deus corda vestra*', *illius dei vim commemorabat,* ⟨*qui*⟩ *lucernam se pronuntiarat*".

16 Epiph., Schol. 43 wie oben, doch ohne den Satz *ἐξ οὗ* bis *εὐαγγελίζεται* (die Worte können aber nicht gefehlt haben, da das Scholion ja den Satz enthält: *καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται*). Tert., l. c.: „‚*Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem, ex quo regnum dei adnuntiatur*', *quasi non et nos limitem quendam agnoscamus Iohannem*". — *ἕως* mit AD etc. Orig. und Matth. > *μέχρι* — *ἐξ (ἀφ') οὗ* fast singulär > *ἀπὸ τότε* — 17 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Transeat caelum et terra citius, quam unus apex verborum domini*' ". *τῶν λόγων μου* > *τοῦ νόμου* tendenziöse Änderung nach c. 21, 33; das übrige war wohl unverändert; unsicher ist nur *πεσεῖν*. — 18 Tert. IV, 34 (bis): „‚*Qui dimiserit uxorem suam* (fehlt an d. 2. St.) *et aliam duxerit, adulterium committ*⟨*it*⟩ *et qui* (a. 2. St. *commisit et qui*) *dimissam a viro* (*a marito dimissam* a. 2. St.) *duxerit, aeque adulter est*' ". Maßgebend ist die erste Zitation — *ὁ* singulär > *πᾶς ὁ* — *ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν* singulär > *μοιχεύει*.

19—31 Die ganze Perikope ist wörtlich Dial. II, 10 aufgenommen (wie oben; über Abweichungen s. unten) und einzelnes besprochen. 19 ff.

εὐφραίνομενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς, 20 πτωχὸς δέ τις ὀνόματι Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα (αὐτοῦ Rufin) ἑλκωμένος. 21 καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ (τῶν ψιχίων fügt Rufin hinzu) τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἔλειχον τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ. 22 ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη. 23 ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ. ἐπάρας οὖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, 24 καὶ αὐτὸς φωνήσας εἶπε· πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέμψον Λάζαρον, ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου (αὐτοῦ Rufin) ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου, ὅτι ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῷ φλογὶ ταύτῃ. 52 Ἀβραὰμ δὲ εἶπε· τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες σὺ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σοῦ καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά· νῦν δὲ ὅδε παρακαλεῖται, σὺ δὲ

Tert. IV, 34: „*Subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis*“ . . . 29 l. c.: „ ‚*habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant*‘ “. 23. 24: „*tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos*“ . . . 22 „*sinum et portum*“ 23 ff. . . . „*oculos eius, qui ad inferos discernit Abrahae sinum pauperi . . . . nam et ‚magnum‘ ait intercidere regiones istas profundum et transitum utrimque prohibere; sed nec adlevasset dives oculos et quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora et de altitudinis longinquo per immensam illam distantiam sublimitatis et profunditatis*“. 29 „*admonens vos haereticos ⟨audire⟩ Moysen et prophetas . . . ‚habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant*‘ “. Epiph., Schol. 44: *Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὅτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ* (v. 22). Schol. 45: „*Νῦν δὲ ὧδε* (lies *ὅδε*) *παρακαλεῖται*“ (v. 25) *ὁ αὐτὸς Λάζαρος*. Schol. 46: *Εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ*· „*ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀκούσουσιν*“ (29. 31) — 10 Vergleicht man die Einführung der Parabel bei Tert. (zu v. 19) mit dem Schol. 44 des Epiph., so wird es wahrscheinlich, daß M.s Evangelium in Kapiteln mit Überschriften eingeteilt war, ebenso wie sein Apostolos (s. die Bemerkung zu I Kor. 13). — 20 *εἰς* mit P *I* Clemens, Chrys. > *πρός* — 21 *τῶν ψιχίων* (vielleicht Einfluß von Matth. 15, 27): bei Luk. sind die Zeugen geteilt; ℵ^c BL und die meisten Itala-Codd. bieten es nicht, wohl aber neben der Mehrzahl der Zeugen die Vulg. — *ἔλειχον* mit D 1. 131, zahlreichen Itala Codd. vulg. — *ἐπέλειχον* — *τραύματα* allein *ἕλκη* (Rufin: „*ulcera*“) — 22 *ἀγγέλων* allein > *τῶν ἀγγ.*. — *ἐτάφη* mit *ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ* verbunden, wie ℵ* ital. vulg. — 23 *οὖν* (Rufin: „*autem*“) — *ἐν τ. κόλπῳ* mit D zahlreichen Itala Codd. vulg. > *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις* — 25 *Ἀβραάμ* vorangestellt, nur noch bei Afrik. — *σύ* (fehlt bei Rufin) mit *ΧΓΔΛ* etc. b syr^c Chrys. > fehlt — *ἀγαθά* mit E ital vulg Orig. > *ἀγαθά σου* — die schwankende LA *ὅδε* oder *ὧδε* wird für den Dialog durch Rufin (*ὅδε*) entschieden; *ὅδε* mit 1 Tatian und wenigen Zeugen > *ὧδε*; jenes muß

ὀδυνᾶσαι. 26 *καὶ ἐν (ἐπὶ?) πᾶσι τούτοις μεταξὺ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ὧδε διαπερῶσιν.* 27 *⟨εἶπεν δέ⟩· ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ, ἵνα πέμψῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός μου·* 28 *ἔχω γὰρ ἐκεῖ πέντε ἀδελφούς· ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τῆς βασάνου.* 29 *λέγει αὐτῷ· ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖ Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, αὐτῶν ἀκουσάτωσαν.* 30 *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐχί, πάτερ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν πορευθῇ πρὸς αὐτούς, μετανοήσωσιν.* 31 *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εἰ Μωυσέως καὶ προφητῶν οὐκ ἤκουσαν, οὐδ' ἄν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπέλθῃ, ἀκούσωσιν αὐτοῦ.*

C. XVII, 1 . . . *σκάνδαλα . . οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ (τὸ σκάνδαλον) ἔρχεται.* 2 *συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ἢ εἰ μυλικὸς λίθος περὶ τὸν*

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auch für Epiph. nach seinem erklärenden Zusatz hergestellt werden — 26 *ἐν* Rufin > *ἐπί* des griech. Originals; jenes mit ℵ BL vielen Itala Codd. vulg.; dieses mit A D a e m etc. — *ὑμῶν κ. ἡμῶν* fast allein > *ἡμ. κ. ὑμ.* — *οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι* > *οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν*, tendenziöse Korrektur? — *ὧδε* mit d > *πρὸς ἡμᾶς* — 27 *⟨εἶπεν δέ⟩*, unerläßlich und Rufin bietet „*inquit*" — *οἰκίαν* allein > *οἶκον* — 28 *ἐκεῖ* allein (auch bei Rufin fehlend) — *μή* mit D > *ἵνα μή* — *τοῦτον τὸν τόπον* mit D a c e ff² g¹ l m und einigen Vulg Codd > *τ. τοπ. τουτ.* — 29 *λέγει* mit geringeren Zeugen > *λέγει δέ* —Sowohl hier bei *λέγει* (hier mit e) als auch v. 30 bei *πάτερ* fehlt *'Αβραάμ*, was nicht zufällig ist — *ἐκεῖ* sonst unbezeugt (fehlt im Dialog, der auch die übliche Wortstellung von *αὐτῶν* hat) — 30 *ἐκ* (Rufin *a mortuis*) mit DF ital. vulg. Iren. > *ἀπό* — *μετανοήσωσιν* mit MXΓ usw. > *μετανοήσουσιν* (so auch Rufin) — 31 Epiph. ist hier nicht maßgebend, da er augenscheinlich 29—31 in eins zusammengezogen hat; doch bestätigt er 31 fin. die LA des Dialogs — *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν* fast allein > *εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ* — *ἤκουσαν* mit Chrys. > *ἀκούουσιν* — *ἀπέλθῃ* mit D a b c ff² i l q Iren. (D u. Iren. außerdem vorher *ἀναστῇ καί*) > *ἀναστῇ* — *ἀκούσωσιν αὐτοῦ* fast allein > *πεισθήσονται.* — Die zweimalige Hinzufügung von *ἐκεῖ* (v. 28. 29) kann nur aus einem Streben nach Deutlichkeit und Präzision erklärt werden: *οἱ ἐκεῖ* sind sonst bekanntlich die Bewohner der Unterwelt, von der Oberwelt her bezeichnet; hier ist es umgekehrt.

Cap. XVII, 1 Tert. IV, 35: „*Conversus ibidem ad discipulos ‚vae' dicit auctori scandalorum.* 2 *expedisse ei, si natus non fuisset aut si molino saxo ad collum deligato praecipitatus esset in profundum, quam unum ex illis modicis utique discipulis eius scandalizasset*". — 1 Dial. II, 15: *Οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ* („*Vae sit illi homini*" Ruf.) *δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται* (Luk.: *τὰ σκάνδαλα . . . οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται*, Matth.: *πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται*), also dem Matth. näher — 2 Auch hier ist Matth. (26, 24) eingemischt; denn „*si natus non fuisset*" stammt von dort:

τράχηλον αὐτοῦ περιέκειτο καὶ ἔρριπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων σκανδαλίσῃ. 3 *(ἐὰν) ἁμάρτῃ ὁ ἀδελφός (σου), ἐπιτίμησον* ... 4 .. *(ἐὰν) ἑπτάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σε, ἀφήσεις* ... 5. 6 (Glaube wie ein Senfkorn), unbezeugt. 7—10 (Der unnütze Knecht); es fehlt 10 b und deshalb vielleicht die ganze Perikope; aber möglich ist auch, daß die ganze Perikope vorhanden war und nur *ἀχρεῖοι* fehlte.

11—19 Die zehn Aussätzigen: Sicher ist, daß M. hier aus Luk. 4, 27 (wo er sie übergangen hatte) die Worte: *πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος* eingeschoben hat, und zwar wohl vor *πορευθέντες*. Umgekehrt war nach Epiph. einiges in der Perikope gestrichen, aber was? Alle Hauptsachen müssen nach Tertullians Bericht vorhanden gewesen sein. 11 *(διήρχετο διὰ*

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aber auch a b c ff² i l q bieten es — *συνέφερεν* mit D *(συνφέρει)* d („*expediebat*") e („*expedit*") > *λυσιτελεῖ* — *περιέκειτο* ... *ἔρριπτο* mit D a e > *περίκειται* ... *ἔρριπται* — *ἕνα τ. μικρῶν τουτ.* mit ℵ^c AD ital. vulg. > *τ. μικρ. τουτ. ἕνα* — 3 „*peccantem fratrem iubet corripi*" ... 4 „*sed et veniam des fratri in te delinquenti iubet, etiam septies*".

10 b Epiph., Schol. 47: *Παρέκοψε τό· λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν· ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι π ποιήκαμεν.* Ob diese Bemerkung so verstanden werden muß, daß 7—10 ganz fehlten (Z a h n), ist nicht sicher; es ist doch möglich, daß M. nur 10 b gestrichen hat, weil ihn die Härte befremdete; der sinaitische Syrer läßt *ἀχρεῖοι* fort. Hat Epiph. vielleicht auch nur sagen wollen, daß *ἀχρεῖοι* gefehlt hat und lautete sein Text ursprünglich: *Παρέκοψε τὸ ⟨ἀχρεῖοι ἐν τῷ⟩ λέγετε κτλ.?* Die Refutatio steht dieser Hypothese nicht entgegen.

11 ff. Tert. IV, 35: ... „*Christum praevenientem sollemnia legis etiam in curatione decem leprosorum, quos tantummodo ire iussos, ut se ostenderent sacerdotibus, in itinere purgavit, sine tactu iam et sine verbo, tacita potestate et sola voluntate* ... *nunc etsi praefatus est* (scil. *Christus*) *multos tunc fuisse leprosos apud Israhelem in diebus Helisei prophetae et neminem eorum purgatum nisi Neman Syrum* (Luk. 4, 27) ... *praecepti: ‚Ite, ostendite vos sacerdotibus'* ... *in Samariae regionibus res agebatur, inde erat et unus interim ex leprosis* ... *ex fide iam iustificandos sine legis ordine remediavit: unde et unum illum solutum ex decem memorem divinae gratiae Samariten miratus non mandat offerre munus ex lege, quia satis iam obtulerat gloriam deo reddens* ... : *et ideo: ‚Fides tua te salvum fecit,' audiit*". Epiph., Schol. 48: *Ὅτε συνήντησαν οἱ δέκα λεπροί. ἀπέκοψε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐποίησεν „ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι," καὶ ἄλλα ἀντὶ ἄλλων ἐποίησε, λέγων ὅτι „πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος* (ob hier nach *ἦσαν* die Worte *ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ* wirklich gefehlt haben, ist

μέσον) Σαμαρίας . . . 12 *δέκα λεπροί* . . . 14 *ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· πορευθέντες δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν ἐκαθαρίσθησαν).* 15 *εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν* . . . *δοξάζων τὸν θεόν* . . . 16 *(αὐτὸς ἦν) Σαμαρίτης* . . . 18 *δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ*. . . 19 *(καὶ) θαυμάσας αὐτὸν (εἶπεν αὐτῷ)·* . . . *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.*

20 . *Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* . . *(εἶπεν)· οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως,* 21 *οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε, ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν.*

22 *Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* . . . 23. 24 (Das Erscheinen des Menschensohns wie der Blitz) unbezeugt. 25 *πρῶτον δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου (αὐτὸν?) πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι* . . . 26—32 Vor dem Erscheinen des Menschensohns wird es sein, wie in den Tagen Noas und Lots: nur Anspielung, s. u. 32 *μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ.* 33—37 (Seine Seele suchen und verlieren; zwei werden in einem Bette sein, usw.) unbezeugt.

C. XVIII, 1—8 Der böse Richter und das bittende Weib. Anspielungen: 1 *πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐνκακεῖν* . . . *παραβολήν.* 2 . . *κριτής τις* . . . *χήρα* . . . 7 *ὁ θεὸς* . . .

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zweifelhaft) — 14 *ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων* allein > *καὶ ἰδὼν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* — *δείξατε* fast allein > *ἐπιδείξατε* — 19 *θαυμάσας* nach Luk. 7, 9.

20. 21 Tert., l. c.: „*Sed nec Pharisaei possunt videri de alterius dei regno consuluisse dominum, quando venturum sit* . . . ‚*Non venit,*‘ *inquit,* ‚*regnum dei cum observatione nec dicunt: ecce hic, ecce illic; ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est*‘ “. — 21 *ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ* mit AD etc. a b c f q etc. (doch alle mit wenigen Ausnahmen *ἢ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ*) > *ἢ ἐκεῖ*. Tert. wiederholt nachher den Vers mit leichter Veränderung.

22 Epiph., Schol. 49 wie oben — *ὅταν* mit f s vulg > *ὅτε* (oder *τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν*) — *ἰδεῖν* vorangestellt mit a b c f ff^{2}l vulg > *ἰδεῖν* nach *ἀνθρ.* — Ob *καὶ οὐκ ὄψ σθε* gefehlt hat?

25 Tert. IV. 35: „*Dicens enim filium hominis ante multa pati et reprobari oportere ante adventum suum*“. Ob *ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης* gefehlt hat?

26—32 l. c.: „*Sed si de suo loquitur adventu, cur eum diebus Noe* (26) *et Lot* (28) *comparat* . . . *cur admonet meminisse uxoris Loth* (32)?“

Cap. XVIII, 1—8 Tert., IV, 36: „*Nam et orandi perseverantiam et instantiam mandans parabolam iudicis ponit coacti audire viduam instantia et perseverantia interpellationum eius* . . . *sed subiunxit* (7) *facturum deum vindictam electorum suorum*“.

ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. 9—14 Anspielungen: 10 *ἄνθρωποι δύο . . . εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι, ὁ εἷς Φαρισαῖος καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τελώνης . . .* 14 *δεδικαιωμένος . . ὁ ταπεινῶν.* 15—17 Die Kinder und das Reich Gottes: bezeugt ist v. 16 *ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

18—23 Der reiche Jüngling, (wörtlich, s. u.) mit einigen in den Marcionit. Codd. selbst schwankenden Abweichungen (18 *εἶπέ τις*

9—14 l. c.: „*Templum creatoris inducit et duos adorantes diversa mente describit, Pharisaeum in superbia, publicanum in humilitate, ideoque alterum reprobatum, alterum iustificatum descendisse*".

16 Dial. I, 16 wörtlich in einer Marcionitischen Antithese *τῶν οὐρανῶν* (nach Matth.) mit *Λ**a b c syr^{cu} > *τοῦ θεοῦ.*

18—23 Epiph., Schol. 50: „*Εἶπέ τις πρὸς αὐτόν· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δέ· μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, ὁ θεός*". *προσέθετο ἐκεῖνος* „*ὁ πατήρ*" *καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ* „*τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας*" *λέγει* „*τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα.* Tert., l. c.: „*Sed quis optimus ‚nisi unus', inquit, ‚deus?'*" . . . „*Denique interrogatus ab illo quodam: ‚Praeceptor optime, quid faciens vitam aeternam possidebo?'*" . . . . „*Cumque ille principaliora quaeque adfirmasset observasse se ab adolescentia: ‚unum', inquit, ‚tibi deest: omnia quaecunque habes, vende et da pauperibus ‚et habebis thesaurum in caelo, et veni, sequere me'*". . . . . „*Resciditne Christus priora praecepta non occidendi, non adulterandi, non furandi, non falsum testimonium testandi, diligendi patrem et matrem, an et illa servavit?*" . . . „*uti gloriosisimus ille observator praeceptorum pecuniam multo cariorem habiturus traduceretur*" . . . „*manifestando ‚unius' esse et ‚dei' nomen et ‚optimi' et ‚vitam aeternam' et ‚thesaurum in caelo.'*" . . . „ ‚*praecepta', inquit, ‚scio . . . vende quae habes . . . et da egenis . . . et veni, sequere me'*". Dial. II, 17: *Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινός· Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; εἶπε δὲ* („*εἰ*" ohne *δέ* Rufin) *Ἰησοῦς· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός· ὁ δὲ ἔφη. τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα* (Ruf: „*et adiecit dicens: Mandata nosti*" ist Korrektur)· *μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μηδὲ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου. καὶ, φησίν* („*at ille ait*")· *ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος* („*iuventute mea*"). *ἀκούσας ταῦτα* („*respondens vero*") *ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἕν σοι λείπει· πάντα ὅσα* („*vade omnia*") *ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ.* Dial. I, 1: *λέγοντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* „*οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ πατήρ*". Hippol., Philos. VII, 31 (aus Antithesen): „*Τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός*". Vielleicht gehört auch Clem. Hom. XVIII, 1 hierher, wo wohl Marcion als Simon Magus spricht: *μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἷς ἐστιν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.* Orig., de princ. II. 5, 1: „*Super est eis* (*scil. Marcionitis*) *etiam illud, quod velut proprie sibi datum*

πρὸς αὐτόν [ohne ἄρχων] . . 19 ὁ δέ· τί [μή] με λέγεις [λέγετε] ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, [ὁ] θεὸς ὁ πατήρ [oder nur ὁ θεός]. 20 τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας [oder ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα]· μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς κτλ. . . . 21 καί, φησιν, ταῦτα [oder ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ταῦτα] πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος. 22 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἕν σοι λείπει κτλ.).

23—30 (Gespräch über den Reichtum und Verheißung) unbezeugt? s. u.

31—33 (Leidensankündigung) gestrichen. 34 unbezeugt.

35 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ, καί („ecce") τις τυφλὸς ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. 36 ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου

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scutum putant, quod dixit dominus in evangelio: ‚Nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater', dicentes hoc esse proprium vocabulum patris Christi, qui tamen alius sit a creatore omnium deo, cui creatori bonitatis nullam dederit appellationem." — 18 ἄρχων fehlt mit a b e ff² i l q — 19 ὁ δέ DG > εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς (aber im Dial. auch so) — μὴ φον., μὴ μοιχ. mit itala vulg. > μὴ μοιχ., μὴ φον. — 22 ἕν fast allein > ἔτι (ὅτι). Die übrigen Abweichungen, die z. T. auch sonst zu belegen sind, übergehe ich, da das, was M. selbst aufgenommen hat, hier unsicher ist; doch ist auch hier Einfluß aus Matth. festzustellen. Singulär ist οἶδα (20), und so wird M. selbst geschrieben haben, um Christus selbst vom Gesetz weiter abzurücken — 23 ist nur durch die Anspielung bei Tert. bezeugt. 23—30 Der Versuch Zahns, zu beweisen, 29. 30 (u. deshalb auch 23—28) habe bei M. nicht gefehlt, ist nicht geglückt; s. u. Wenn aber Dial. V, 18 (τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δυνατά) aus M.s Ev. geflossen ist, dann haben die Verse 24—30 eine Bezeugung; jenes ist aber unwahrscheinlich.

31—33 Epiph., Schol. 52: Παρέκοψε τό· „παραλαβὼν τοὺς ιβ' ἔλεγεν· ἰδού, ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παραδοθήσεται γὰρ καὶ ἀποκτανθήσεται καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται". ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψε. Daraus folgt nicht notwendig (so Zahn), daß v. 34 konserviert war; denn Epiph. hat sich auch sonst Flüchtigkeiten zuschulden kommen lassen. Stand der Vers aber, so fordert er nicht die Annahme, daß v. 24—30 erhalten war, sondern kann sich zur Not auch auf v. 18—32, bzw. auf „den Schatz im Himmel" beziehen.

35—43 Dial, V, 14 wie oben. Epiph., Schol. 51: „Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν τῇ Ἰεριχὼ τυφλὸς ἔβόα· Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ὅτε ἰάθη, φησίν· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (35. 38. 42). Tert. IV, 36: „Cum igitur praetereuntem illum caecus audisset, cur exclamavit: ‚Iesu fili David, miserere mei'; ‚sed antecedentes increpabant caecum, uti taceret' . . . . ‚fides', inquit, ‚tua te salvum fecit'". — 35 εἷς Ἰεριχώ > τῇ Ἰεριχώ des Epiph. (mit 3 Minusk.), dem hier nicht zu trauen ist — καὶ

διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο, τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο; 37 ἀπηγγέλθη δὲ αὐτῷ, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παρέρχεται. 38 καὶ ἐβόησε λέγων· Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με 39 οἱ δὲ προάγοντες ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ (αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν· υἱὲ Δαυὶδ ἐλέησόν με)· 40 σταθεὶς δὲ (+ „Jesus") ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι (+ „*ad se*"). ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν (+ „*dicens*"). 41 τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. 42 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε. 43 καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν ..... καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αἶνον ἔδωκεν τῷ θεῷ.

C. XIX, 1—10 Zakchäus. Anspielungen und Zitate: 1 Ζακχαῖος — 6 ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν. 8 τὰ ἡμίσεια ... τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ... δίδωμι, καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι. 9 ... σήμερον σωτηρία τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ, getilgt waren die Worte: καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ. 10 ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.

11—27 Gleichnis von den Pfunden. Kurze Anspielung:

ἰδού allein (nach Matth. 20, 30) > fehlt — ἐπαιτῶν vorangestellt mit De — 37 ὁ Ναζωραῖος fehlt (sonst unbezeugt; tendenziös) — 39 Der Vers ist von Epiph. nicht erwähnt, von Adamant. durch Homöotel. ausgelassen, fehlt auch in zahlreichen Mss.; Tert. bezeugt ihn für M.; οἱ δέ mit De > καὶ δέ — 40 δέ mit A 63 > δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς (so auch Rufin) — ἀχθῆναι mit D a e f ff² i l syr^cu > ἀχθ. πρὸς αὐτόν (so auch Rufin) — Das „*dicens*" Rufins ist sonst unbezeugt, also zu konservieren — 42 ἀποκρ. εἶπεν mit D a b c ff² i l s Orig. > εἶπεν (aber auch jene bieten αὐτῷ, dagegen Ἰησοῦς nicht) — 43 Tert. IV, 37: „*et omnis populus laudes referebant deo*" — λαός mit *KΠ* u. wenigen Zeugen > λαὸς ἰδών — αἶνον ἔδωκεν allein > ἔδωκεν αἶνον.

Cap. XIX, 1—10 Tert. IV, 37: „*Consequitur et Zacchei domus salutem*" (v. 9) ... „*Zaccheus, etsi allophylus, fortasse tamen aliqua notitia scripturarum ex commercio Iudaico adflatus; plus est autem, ⟨si⟩ et ignorans Esaiam praecepta eius impleverat*" (v. 8) ... „*hoc cum maxime agebat, exceptum domo sua pascens dominum*" (v. 6) ... „*in omnia misericordiae opera dimidium substantiae offerens, dissolvens violentiorum contractuum obnexus et dimittens conflictatos in laxamentum et omnem conscriptionem iniquam dissipans dicendo: ‚et si cui quid per calumniam eripui, quadruplum reddo‘*" (v. 8). „*itaque dominus: ‚hodie‘, inquit, ‚salus huic domui‘*" (v. 9) ... „ „*venit enim filius hominis salvum facere quod periit‘.*" (v. 10) — 8 sonst ἀποδ. τετραπλοῦν — 9 „*itaque dominus*" ist freies Zitat (Tert.s) (> εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς) — Die Tilgung von 9 b folgt daraus, daß Tert. Zakchäus auf Grund des Texts M.s als Heiden ansieht — 10 ζητῆσαι καὶ vor σῶσαι fehlt; ob absichtlich?

11—27 Tert. IV, 37: „*Servorum quoque parabola, qui secundum rationem feneratae pecuniae dominicae diiudicantur, iudicem ostendit deum,*

13 ... *δούλους ... ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ... μνᾶς ... πραγματεύσασθε* ... 22 *αὐστηρός, αἴρων ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα* .... 26 *(ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος) καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται.* 27 (Abschlachtung der Feinde) ist unbezeugt und muß getilgt worden sein.

28 (Weg nach Jerusalem) unbezeugt, aber schwerlich getilgt.

29—46 (Einzug in Jerusalem und Tempelreinigung) getilgt.

47—48 (Er lehrte im Tempel; die nach seinem Leben trachtenden Schriftgelehrten) unbezeugt.

C. XX, 1—8 Gespräch über die Johannestaufe. Anspielungen: 1 *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι* ... 4 *τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου* ... 5 *ἐξ οὐρανῶν* ... *διατί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ;* 6 *(ἐξ ἀνθρώπων)* ... *(καταλιθάσει ἡμᾶς)* ... 8 *οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.*

9—18 (Die schlimmen Weingärtner) war gestrichen. 19 *καὶ ἐζήτησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.*

20—26 Gott und der Kaiser. Anspielung: v. 25: *ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.*

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non tantum onerantem verum et auferentem, quod quis videatur habuisse" (26) ... „*austerum, tollentem quod non posuerit et metentem quod non severit*'" (21. 22) — 26 *ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν* mit einigen Zeugen, auch syr^{cu} (nach Luk. 8, 18) > *ὃ ἔχει.* Auf dieses Gleichnis wird auch IV, 39 p. 556 von Tert. angespielt.

29—46 Epiph., Schol. 53: *Παρέκοψεν τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ὄνου καὶ Βηθφαγὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὅτι γεγραμμένον ἦν „ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, καὶ ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν"*.

Cap. XX, 1. 4 Tert. IV, 38: „*Sciebat Christus, baptisma Iohannis, unde esset, et cur quasi nesciens interrogabat? sciebat non responsuros sibi Pharisaeos ... puta illos renuntiasse humanum Iohannis baptisma: statim lapidibus elisi fuissent*" (v. 6) ... „*sed de caelis fuit baptisma Iohannis, et ‚quare', inquit Christus, ‚non credidistis ei?'* (v. 5) ... ‚*et ego non dico vobis, in qua virtute haec facio*'" (v. 8) — 1 *Φαρισαῖοι* allein > *οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις* — 5 *ἐξ οὐρανῶν* allein > *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.*

9—18 Epiph., Schol. 55: *Πάλιν ἀπέκοψε τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου γεωργοῖς καὶ τό· „τί οὖν ἔστι τό· λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες"*. 19 Epiph., Schol. 54 wie oben; die Auslassungen „*οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς*" und „*τὸν λαόν· ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην*" erklären sich daraus, daß er v. 1 „*Φαρισαῖοι*" einsetzt (die Wiederholung war unnötig) und die Parabel gestrichen hatte.

20—26 Tert. IV, 38: „‚*Reddite quae Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt dei deo*'" (25).

27—40 Gespräch mit den Sadduzäern über die Auferstehung. Zitate und Anspielungen: 27 *Σαδδουκαῖοι* . . . 28 *(Μωυσῆς ἔγραψε).* 29 *ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί* . . . 31 *(οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀπέθανον)* . . . 33 *τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει;* 34 *ἀποκριθείς· οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται,* 35 *οὓς δὲ κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν (καὶ?) τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται,* 36 *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι μέλλουσιν, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσιν* ⟨*καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν*, vormarcionitischer Defekt⟩ *τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ (γεγονότες?)* 37. 38 getilgt, weil auf die Erzväter verweisend. 39 . . . . *(γραμματεῖς) εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.*

41—44 (Davids Sohn und Herr) Anspielung: *(τί ὑμῖν) δοκεῖ (περὶ τοῦ) Χριστοῦ; (τίνος) υἱός (ἐστιν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ) Δαυείδ.* 44 *Δαυὶδ κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ.*

27—40 Tert. IV, 38: „*Sadducaei de resurrectione habentes interrogationem proposuerant domino ex lege materiam mulieris, quae septem fratribus ex ordine defunctis secundum praeceptum legale nupsisset, cuius viri deputanda esset in resurrectione*“ . . . „*respondit igitur ‚huius quidem aevi filios nubere* (34), *quos vero dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione a mortuis neque nubere neque nubi* (35), *quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similes angelorum sint dei, resurrectionis filii facti*‘ “ (36) . . . „*ex abundanti nunc et post praescriptionem retractabo adversus argumentationes cohaerentes. nacti enim scripturae textum: ‚quos autem dignatus est deus illius aevi‘ ita in legendo decurrunt,* ⟨*ut ‚illius aevi‘*⟩ *‚deo‘ adiungant, quo alium deum faciant illius aevi, cum sic legi oportet: ‚quos autem dignatus est deus‘, ut facta hac distinctione post ‚deum‘ ad sequentia pertineat ‚illius aevi‘, i. e. quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione*“ (35); *non enim de deo, sed de statu illius aevi consulebatur, cuius uxor futura esset post resurrectionem in illo aevo*“ (33). „*sic et de ipsis nuptiis responsum subvertunt, ut ‚filii huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur‘* “ (34) „ *‚magister‘, inquiunt, ‚bene dixisti‘* (39). Epiph., Schol. 56. 57 (irrtümlich zweimal geschrieben) zu v. 37 f: *Ἀπέκοψε τό·* „*ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, καθὼς λέγει κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. θεὸς δέ ἐστι ζώντων καὶ οὐχὶ νεκρῶν*“ — 34 *ἀποκριθείς* (nach Matth.) mit vielen Zeugen — 35 *οὓς δὲ κατηξ. ὁ θεός* allein und tendenziös > *οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες* — 36 *οὐδέ* (wahrscheinlich) mit ABD > *οὔτε* — *μέλλουσιν* mit D e ff^2 i l q Cypr. > *δύνανται* — Der Übersetzer des M.-Ev.s hatte durch Homöotel. die Worte „*καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν*“ ausgelassen, oder vielmehr es fehlte schon in D 157 der Itala (außer f g) Cypr., kam also gar nicht bis zu Marcion. Auf v. 35 f. wird auch IV, 39 p. 556 angespielt: „*nec morientur in illo regno nec nubent; sed erunt sicut angeli*“ — 39 *γραμματεῖς* ergibt sich aus dem folgenden Zitat Tert.s.

45—47 (Warnung vor den Pharisäern, die der Witwen Häuser verschlingen) unbezeugt.

C. XXI, 1—4 (Der Witwe Scherflein) unbezeugt — 5 ff. Die große eschatologische Rede. Zitate und Anspielungen: 5—7 *ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί*... 8 *πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί (μου), λέγοντες· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός*... 9 *πολέμους* ... *δεῖ ταῦτα γενέσθαι*.. 10 *βασιλείαν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος*. 11 *λοιμοὶ καί λιμοὶ σεισμοί τε, φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*.. 12 *πρὸ δὲ τούτων* ... *διώξουσιν* ... 13 *(ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν) εἰς μαρτύριον καὶ σωτηρίαν*... 14 *μὴ προμελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι*... 15 *(ἐγὼ δώσω ὑμῖν*..*) σοφίαν*.. 16 Anspielung („*proximi*") .... 17 *μισούμενοι*...

41—44 Tert. IV, 38: „*Si autem scribae Christum filium David existimabant, ipse autem David dominum eum appellat, quid hoc ad Christum?*" — Offenbar unter Einfluß des Matth.; denn „*existimabant*" (*δοκεῖ*) findet sich nur dort, und nur dort sagen die Schriftgelehrten, daß Christus der Sohn Davids sei; bei Luk. sagt Iesus: *πῶς λέγουσιν τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι Δαυεὶδ υἱόν;*

Cap. XXI, 5—29 Tert. IV, 39: „*Ipsum decursum scripturae evangelicae ab interrogatione discipulorum* (7) *usque ad parobolam fici*" (29) — 7 *οἱ μαθηταί* (nach Matth.) mit D 252 mg 122 > fehlt — 8 l. c.: „*multos venturos in nomine ipsius* ... *prohibet eos recipi* ... *venient illi dicentes: ‚ego sum Christus‘*" — *ὁ Χριστός* (nach Matth.) mit 157 itala Ambros. > fehlt — hat Tert. *μὴ πορευθῆτε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν* durch „*prohibet eos recipi*", wiedergegeben oder las er etwas anderes? — 9 ff. l. c.: „*videamus et quae signa temporibus imponat: bella, opinor, et regnum super regnum et gentem super gentem et pestem et fames terraeque motus et formidines et prodigia de caelo*" (11). „*haec cum adicit etiam ‚oportere fieri‘*" etc. (9) ... „*ante haec autem persecutiones eis praedicat et passiones eventuras* (12) *in martyrium utique et in salutem*" (13) ... „*et hic igitur ipse cogitari vetat, quid responderi oporteat apud tribunalia*" (cf. bald darauf: „*cohibuit praecogitationem*") (14) .... „*suggessit et sapientiam ipsam*" (15) .... „*a proximis quoque persecutiones et nominis ex odio utique blasphemiam*" (16. 17) — 10 *βασιλ.* vor *ἔθνος* sonst unbezeugt — 11 *λοιμ. κ. λιμ* mit B ital. vulg. syr^{cu} > *λιμ. κ. λοιμ.* — 12 „*passiones*" wird durch Luk. nicht gedeckt; aber Matth. 10, 17: *μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς*, Mark. 13, 9 *δαρήσεσθε*, doch ist die Annahme einer Marcionitischen Korrektur nicht notwendig — 13 *καὶ σωτηρίαν* sonst unbezeugt, also Zusatz M.s — 14 „*apud tribunalia*" wird durch Luk. nicht gedeckt; es stammt aus Matth. 10, 17 (Mark. 13, 9); auch hier das zu v. 12 Gesagte — 17 „*blasphemiam*" das Wort braucht nicht im Text gestanden zu haben.

18 Epiph., Schol. 58: *Πάλιν παρέκοψε τό· „θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται.*"

διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου. 18 getilgt. 19 *ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ σώσετε ἑαυτούς* .... 20 *(ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε) κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ* ... 21—24 waren gestrichen (alles was sich auf Judäa und Jerusalem bezieht). 25 *σημεῖα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ὡς ἤχους θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης,* 26 ... *προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ· αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.* 27 *καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς.* 28 *τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλάς, διότι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.* 29 ... *παραβολήν* ... *ἴδετε τὴν συκῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα,* 30 *ὅταν προβάλωσιν τὸν καρπὸν (αὐτῶν), γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι*

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19 Tert. IV, 39: „‚*Sed per tolerantiam*‘, *inquit*, ‚*salvos facietis vosmetipsos*‘“ — *ὑπομονῇ* mit Syr vett. > *ὑπομ. ὑμῶν* — *σώσετε ἑαυτούς* allein (ob Matth. 24, 13?) > *κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* — 20 f. l. c.: „*Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidii, cum coepisset vallari exercitibus Hierusalem, signa iam ultimi finis enarrat: solis et lunae siderumque prodigia et in terris angustias nationum obstupescentium velut a sonitu maris fluctuantis pro expectatione imminentium orbi malorum, quod et ipsae vires caelorum concuti habeant*“ (25. 26). — Die Verse 21—24 waren getilgt, s. Epiph., Schol. 59: *Πάλιν παρέκοψε ταῦτα·* „*τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη*“ *καὶ ἑξῆς, διὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ·* „*ἕως πληρωθῇ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα*“. Da Tert. von v. 20 sofort zu 25 übergeht, ist die Tilgung, dieser vier Verse gewiß. — 25. 26 werden augenscheinlich von Tert. frei wiedergegeben; daher läßt sich nicht beweisen, daß M. hier geändert hat; nur *αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις* (26) > *αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις* glaubte ich aufnehmen zu sollen.

27 ff. Tert. IV, 39: „‚*Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem de coelis cum plurima virtute.* 28 *cum autem haec fient, erigetis vos et levabitis capita, quoniam adpropinquavit* (*appropinquabit* schwerlich richtig) *redemptio vestra*‘“ 29 „*in tempore scilicet regni, de quo subiecta erit parabola*“. 31 „*sic et vos*“ *cum videritis omnia haec fieri, scitote adpropinquasse regnum dei*“... 29 ff. „*In summa ipsius parabolae considera exemplum:* ‚*Adspicite ficum et arbores omnes;* 30 *cum fructum protulerint, intellegunt homines aestatem adpropinquasse.* 31 *sic et vos, cum videritis haec fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei*‘“ — 27 *ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν* allein > *ἐν νεφέλῃ* (tendenziöse Korrektur; mit irdischem Nebel sollte Christus nichts zu tun haben) — *μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς* allein > *μ. δυν. καὶ δόξης πολλῆς*, aber D viele Ital.-Codd. vulg. *πολλ.* nach *δυναμ.* — 28 *τούτων δὲ γενομένων* allein > *ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι* — *κεφαλάς* mit D > *κεφ. ὑμῶν* — *ἤγγικεν* (so wahrscheinlich) mit einigen Minuskeln l m Hipp. *(ἤγγισεν)* > *ἐγγίζει* — 30 *προβάλωσιν τ. καρπὸν αὐτῶν* (S. Jülicher, Gleichnisreden II, 5) mit D einigen Minusk. ital. (doch

τὸ θέρος ἤγγικεν· 31 *οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.*

32 *(ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν) ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, εἰ μὴ πάντα γένηται(?).* 33 *ἡ (δὴ?) γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς παρελεύσονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος μου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* 34 *(προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς), μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καρδίαι (ἐν) κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις, καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη* 35 *ὡς παγίς.* 35[b] und 36 (er kommt über alle; wachet, damit ihr bestehen könnt) unbezeugt.

37 *(ἦν δὲ) τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ... εἰς Ἐλαιών.* 38 *(καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός) ... ὤρθριζεν ... (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.*

C. XXII, 1 .... *ἑορτή ... πάσχα.* 2 unbezeugt. 3. 4 Wahrscheinlich: *ἀπελθὼν δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Ἰσκαριώτης, ὢν ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα* (daß der Satan in Judas gefahren, ist nicht bezeugt) *συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.* 5 ... *ἀργύριον* ... 6. 7 unbezeugt. 8 *καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς*

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nicht a) syr[cu] > *προβάλωσιν* (mit oder ohne *ἤδη*) — *γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι* allein > *βλέποντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν γινώσκετε* — *ὅτι τὸ θέρος ἤγγικεν* allein > *ὅτι ἤδη ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν.*

[32 Tert. IV, 39: „*Adhuc ingerit ‚non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur‘.* 33 ‚*transeat age nunc caelum et terra, dum verbum eius maneat in aevum‘* “; 34 „*admoneantur et discipuli, ‚ne quando graventur corda eorum crapula et ebrietate et saecularibus curis, et insistat eis repentinus dies ille* 35 *velut laqueus‘* “. 37 „*per diem in templo docebat, ... ad noctem vero in elaeonem secedebat ...*; 38 *erant horae quoque auditorio competentes; diluculo conveniendum erat*“ — 32 Dieser Vers ist eine Schöpfung M.s > *οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη* — *γένηται* vielleicht stand ein stärkeres Wort („*peragantur*“) — 33 Der Zusammenhang bei Tert. führte den Konjunktiv und das „*dum*“ herbei — *ἡ γῆ κ. ὁ οὐρ.* allein > *ὁ οὐρ. κ. ἡ γῆ* — *ὁ λόγος* allein > *οἱ λόγοι* — *μένει εἰς τ. αἰῶνα* allein > *οὐ μὴ παρελεύσονται* (die Verse 32. 33 hat Z a h n zuerst in Ordnung gebracht) — 34 *βιωτ. μεριμ.* allein > *μεριμ. βιωτ.*

Cap. XXII, 1, Tert. IV, 40: „*Ex tot festis Iudaeorum paschae diem elegit*“. 3 „*Poterat et ab extraneo quolibet tradi ...* 5 *poterat et sine praemio tradi*“. Aus Tert. V, 6 p. 590 folgt, daß nur im katholischen Luk. stand „*satanam in Iudam introisse*“ (v. 3); aber v. 4 setzt einen Teil von v. 3 voraus. 4 Epiph., Schol. 60: *Συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς [καὶ] τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.* — *τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν* fehlt vor *τοῖς στρατηγοῖς* (sonst unbezeugt) — *αὐτὸν παραδῶ αὐτοῖς* mit zahlreichen Zeugen vulg. 8 Epiph., Schol. 61 wie oben. Die Fassung ist selbständig > *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην εἰπών· πορευθέντες ἑτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν τὸ*

λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε, ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ πάσχα. 9—13 (Die weitere Ausführung dieses Befehls) unbezeugt. 14 *καὶ ἀνέπεσε, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ,* 15 *εἶπεν πρὸς αἰτούς· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα (τοῦτο?) τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν.* 16 gestrichen, s. u. — 17. 18 unbezeugt und wahrscheinlich gestrichen — 19[a] *λαβὼν ἄρτον ... (εὐλογήσας) ... ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ... τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον.* 19[b] *(τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν)* unbezeugt. 20 *καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως.... (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον) ἡ (καινή* gestrichen!) *διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου.* 21—30 (Der Verräter. Rangstreit der Jünger; Belehrung und Verheißung für sie im Reiche des Vaters) unbezeugt bis auf 22[b]: *οὐαὶ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.*

31—34 Die Petrusperikope, Ankündigung seiner Verleugnung. Anspielung, s. u. (*ἀπαρνήσῃ*).

35—38 (Ob die Jünger je Mangel gelitten hätten? Die Schwerter) gestrichen.

πάσχα ἵνα φάγωμεν (ἵνα φαγ. τ. πάσχα Minusk 13. 69. 124) — 14. 15 Epiph., Schol. 62 wie oben. Die Worte: *(καὶ) ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα (ἀνέπεσεν)* scheint M. nicht gelesen zu haben — *δώδεκα* mit zahlreichen Zeugen, vulg. (nach Matth. 26, 20) > fehlt — 15 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Concupiscentia concupii pascha edere vobiscum, antequam patiar*‘“ — Esnik S. 195: „Und vor dem Passah sagte er zu seinen Schülern: ‚Mit Verlangen habe ich verlangt dies Passah mit euch zu essen.‘“ — Die Überlieferung sonst hat *εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς* (bzw. *αὐτοῖς*), aber Matth. 26, 21 *εἶπεν* — 16 Epiph., Schol. 63: *Παρέκοψε τό·* „*λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἀπάρτι, ἕως ἂν πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*“. Das Fehlen der vv. 17. 18 ist wahrscheinlich, weil sie auch sonst nicht ganz sicher sind, weil v. 18 und 16 gleichartig sind und weil Tert. schreibt (l. c.): „*Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha* (15), *acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit ‚hoc est corpus meum‘ dicendo*“, gleich darauf: „*panem debuit tradere pro nobis*“ (19) — 19 *τοῖς μαθηταῖς* (nach Matth. 26, 26 > *αὐτοῖς*). Aus Dial. II, 20 läßt sich nichts Sicheres schließen; aber *εὐλογήσας* findet sich hier; es ist nicht unmöglich, daß dies aus Matth. 26, 26 herübergenommen war. — 20 Tert. IV, 40: „*Sic et in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo*“ etc. Zum „Abendmahl“ bei M. s. W. Bauer in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1923 S. 13.

22b Tert. IV, 41: „‚*Vae‘, ait, ‚per quem traditur filius hominis‘*“ — *οὐαὶ* mit D e syr[cu] > *οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ — ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρ.* nach Matth. 26, 24 > fehlt.

31—34 l. c.: „*Nam et Petrum praesumptorie aliquid elocutum negationi potius destinando zeloten deum tibi ostendit*“.

35—37 Epiph., Schol. 64: *Παρέκοψε τό·* „"*Οτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς,*

39. 40 (Gang zum Ölberg) unbezeugt. 41 *(καὶ αὐτὸς) ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν καὶ θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο.* 42—4 (Gethsemane) unbezeugt. 47 . . . . *Ἰούδας . . . καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν· (χαῖρε ῥαββεί).* 48 . . . *φιλήματι . . . παραδίδως.*

49—51 (Malchus-Geschichte) gestrichen.

52—62 (Rede an die Häscher. Verleugnung des Petrus) unbezeugt; doch s. 31 ff.

63—65 Verkürzt erhalten: *οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιζον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες καὶ λέγοντες· προφήτευσον τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε;* (aus 65 ist nichts erhalten). 66 . . . *ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον . . . εἰ σὺ εἶ Χριστός . . .* 67 *εἶπεν . . . ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν, μὴ πιστεύσητε.* 68 unbezeugt. 69 *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐξ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.* 70 . . . *σὺ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἶ; (ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη)· ὑμεῖς λέγετε (ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι,* gestrichen). 71 unbezeugt.

μή τινος ὑστερήσατε"; καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, διὰ τό· „καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι, τό· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων συνελογίσθη". Dann muß aber auch v. 38 notwendig gefehlt haben.

41 Epiph., Schol. 65 wie oben — 43 f. (Der Engel und die Agonie in Gethsemane) ist bei Lukas echt, von M. begreiflicherweise gestrichen. Sie fehlt auch im alex. Text (Einfluß von M. wahrscheinlich). — 47 Epiph., Schol. 66: „*Καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτὸν Ἰούδας καὶ εἶπεν* — *ἤγγισε* allein > *ἤγγ. τῷ Ἰησοῦ* — *καταφιλῆσαι* nach Matth. 26, 49 allein > *φιλῆσαι*, ferner *καὶ εἶπεν* allein (Luk. kennt hier keine Rede des Judas), aber mit Matth. 26, 49: *εἶπεν· χαῖρε ῥαββεί* — 48 Tert. IV, 41: „*Debuit etiam osculo tradi*".

49 Epiph., Schol. 67: *Παρέκοψεν ὃ ἐποίησε Πέτρος, ὅτε ἐπάταξε καὶ ἀφείλετο τὸ οὖς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.*

63—65 Epiph., Schol. 68 wie oben. — *καὶ τύπτοντες* mit wenigen Zeugen.

66. 67 Tert. IV, 41: „*Perductus in consessum, an ipse esset Christus, interrogatur*" . . . 67 „‚*Si dixero*' *enim, inquit,* ‚*vobis, non credetis*'" — sonst *ὑμῖν εἴπω* — 68 fehlt auch in zwei Mss. — 69 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Abhinc*', *inquit* „‚*erit filius hominis sedens ad dexteram virtutis dei*'" — 70 Tert., l. c.: „‚*Ergo*', *inquiunt,* ‚*tu filius dei es?*' . . . *sed* ‚*respondit: vos dicitis*', *quasi non ego*". Tert. bemerkt, daß M. 70a als direkte Frage fasse und Jesus die Antwort verweigern lasse durch: „*vos dicitis*" („*nicht ich sage es*", denn Jesus konnte nach M. doch nicht zugestehen, daß er der Gottes Sohn sei, den seine Gegner ihm unterschoben); aus Tert.s Ausführungen folgt deshalb auch mit Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß M. *ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι* gestrichen hat.

C. XXIII, 1 ... *(ἤγαγον) αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειλᾶτον·* 2 *ἤρξαντο (δὲ) κατηγορεῖν (αὐτοῦ λέγοντες)· τοῦτον εὕρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας (καὶ) κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν·* 3 *ὁ Πειλᾶτος ἠρώτησεν ... σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός; (ἔφη)· σύ λέγεις.* 4. 5 unbezeugt. 6 (Pilatus fragt, ob Jesus Galiläer sei) indirekt bezeugt durch das Folgende. 7—12 Herodes, Christus und Pilatus, Anspielungen: 7 *Πειλᾶτος ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρώδην ...* 8 *ὁ Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν ...* 9 *(αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ).* 13—17 (Verhandlungen des Pilatus mit den Hohenpriestern usw.) unbezeugt. 18—25 Barrabas und Jesus, Anspielung: *Βαραββᾶν ... διὰ φόνον ... ἀπέλυσεν .... Χριστὸν ... (τί κακὸν ἐποίησε;) ... αἰτούμενοι αὐτὸν (σταυρωθῆναι).*

26—31 (Simon von Kyrene, die Töchter Jerusalems) unbezeugt. 32. 33 *(ἤγοντο) δὲ καὶ δύο κακοῦργοι ... ἐσταύρωσαν (ὃν*

[Cap. XXIII, 1 Tert. IV, 42: „*Perductum illum ad Pilatum* 2 *onerare coeperunt, quod se regem diceret Christum*", Epiph., Schol. 69: *Προσέθετο μετὰ τό·* „*τοῦτον εὕρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος*" „*καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας*, Schol. 70: *Προσθήκη μετὰ τό·* „*κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι*" „*καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα* — 2 *ἔθνος* mit A und der Hälfte der Majuskeln > *ἔθνος ἡμῶν* ℵBD ital. vulg. usw. (vielleicht von Epiph. willkürlich ausgelassen — *καὶ καταλυ.* bis *προφήτας* mit b c e [aber c e bei XXIII, 5 und in erweiterter Gestalt] ff² i l q usw. („*legem nostram*"). Acta Pilati A: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ καὶ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἡμῶν βούλεται καταλῦσαι* — *κελεύοντα μή* allein > *κωλύοντα* — *φόρους* fast allein > *φόρους Καίσαρι* (vielleicht willkürlich von Epiph. ausgelassen)—*δοῦναι* fast allein > *διδόναι* — *καὶ ἀποστρεφ.* bis *τέκνα* mit c e (zu Vers 5) > alle Zeugen. Es sind also in v. 2 zwei Zusätze M's. zu konstatieren, die im Abendland z. T. Aufnahme gefunden haben. — *βασιλέα Χριστόν* > *Χρ. βασ.*

3 Tert., l. c.: „*Pilato quoque interroganti: ‚Tu es Christus?' proinde: ‚Tu dicis'*" — *ὁ Χριστός* allein > *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.*

7—12 Tert., l. c.: „*Nam et Herodi velut munus a Pilato missus ... delectatus est denique Herodes viso Iesu nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit*".

18—25 Tert., l. c.: „*Et Barrabas quidem nocentissimus vita ut bonus donatur, Christus vero iustissimus ut homicida morti expostulatur*" — 25 *Χριστός* allein > *Ἰησοῦς.*

32 f. Tert., l. c.: „*Sed et duo scelesti circumfiguntur illi*". Das „circum .." deckt v. 33 *(ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν)* — Epiphan., Schol. 71 wie oben — *ἐλθόντες* allein > *ὅτε ἀπῆλθον (ἦλθον* nach Matth. 27, 33) —

μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν). 33a *καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Κρανίου ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν.* 34 a (Vater, vergib ihnen usw.) bezeugt. 34 b Verteilung der Kleider, von M. gestrichen (aber Epiph. las es wieder). 35 (Verspottung) Anspielung? 36—42 (Der Galletrank, Rette dich selbst! Die Kreuzinschrift; der fromme Schächer) unbezeugt. 43 (Heute wirst du mit mir im Paradiese sein) gestrichen.

44 ... *ὥρα ἕκτη, καὶ σκότος (ἐγένετο) ἐφ' (ὅλην) τὴν γῆν* ... 45 *καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος* ... *ἐσχίσθη [καὶ] τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ.* 46 *καὶ φωνήσας μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν.*

47—49 (Der Hauptmann, das Volk, die Bekannten und die Frauen) unbezeugt.

εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον mit Wenigen > *εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον* (aber *λεγόμενον* Matth. 27, 33).

34 a durch Ephraem (Conc. Evang. Expos. p. 256) bezeugt. Das *οὐκ οἴδασιν* gewinnt hier einen prägnanten Sinn, Der Vers ist höchst wahrscheinlich von M. hinzugesetzt und eingedrungen in ℵ*uc ACD$^{gr\ 2}$ viele Majuskel, c e f ff^2 l vulg. cop^1 syr arm aeth Iren. > ℵ^a [uncis includit] BD* a b d sah cop^2. Daß es, obgleich ursprünglich, getilgt worden, ist ganz undenkbar.

34 Tert., l. c.: „*Vestitum plane eius a militibus divisum partim sorti concessum Marcion abstulit, respiciens psalmi prophetiam*". Aber Epiphan. (l. c.) hat *καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια* in seinem Exemplar gelesen.

35—43 scheint vollständig gefehlt zu haben; denn die Psalmstellen, die Tert. zitiert, decken v. 35 nicht sicher, und wenn Epiph., Schol. 72 sagt: *Παρέκοψε τό·* „*σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ* (43), so werden auch 39—42 wahrscheinlich gefehlt haben.

44 Tert. Tert., l. c.: „*Ecce autem et elementa concutiuntur*" .... „*habes et horae sextae significationem*", ferner Anspielung auf das Dunkel „*super terram*" und (45) die Sonnenfinsternis (vgl. auch Epiph., Schol. 71: *Καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος*), „*scissum est et templi velum*" — *ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος* mit A D usw. itala vulg. usw. > *τ. ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος.*

46 Tert. l. c.: „*Vociferatur ad patrem, ut et moriens ultima voce prophetas adimpleret. ‚hoc dicto expiravit'. quis? spiritum semetipsum an caro spiritum*"? Epiphan., Schol. 73: *καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξέπνευσεν*". Das kann eine Verkürzung sein, aber es ist auch sehr wohl möglich, daß spätere Marcioniten das Wort Jesu ausgelassen haben, weil es ihnen unbequem wurde (s. die Polemik Tert.s) — Dial. V, 12 (voran steht sicher ein aus dem Ev. M.s genommenes Wort, s. z. Luk. 24, 25 f.): „*καὶ φωνήσας μεγάλῃ φωνῇ*(Rufin.: „*voce magna*") *ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε· Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι* (Rufin: „*commendo*") *τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ ἐξέπνευσε.*

50—56 (Kreuzabnahme und Grablegung), Anspielungen: 50 *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ* ... 51 *οὐκ ἦν συγκατατιθέμενος (τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν)*... 52 *τῷ Πειλάτῳ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα*... 53 *καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξεν σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ.* 54 unbezeugt. 55 muß nach v. 56 vorhanden gewesen sein. 56 *ὑποστρέψασαι ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα (καὶ μύρα)· καὶ τὸ σάββατον ἡσύχασαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον.*

C. XXIV, 1 *(ὄρθρου βαθέως) ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα (φέρουσαι) ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα.* 2 (Der abgewälzte Stein) unbezeugt. 3 ... *οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα*... 4 *ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτὰς περὶ τούτου, καὶ* ... *δύο*

Dieser Text ist originell; denn *μεγάλῃ φωνῇ* mit D > *φ. μ.* und *καί* mit a syr^{cu} > *τοῦτο δὲ εἰπών.* So haben also spätere Marcioniten gelesen. — Zu v. 44. 45 s. Esnik (Schmid S. 177): „Der Herr der Geschöpfe aber ergrimmte und zerriß in seinem Zorn sein Gewand (!) und den Vorhang seines Tempels; er verdunkelte seine Sonne und kleidete schwarz seine Welt und setzte sich zur Klage trauernd nieder".

50—56 Tert., l. c.: „*Nihil de Pilato postulatum, nihil de patibulo detractum, nihil sidone involutum, nihil sepulcro novo conditum* .... *sed scilicet Ioseph corpus fuisse noverat, quod tota pietate tractavit, ille Ioseph, qui non consenserat in scelere Iudaeis*" ... (Tert. IV, 43): „*oportuerat etiam sepultorem domini prophetari ac iam tunc merito benedici, si nec mulierum illarum officium praeterit prophetia, quae ante lucem convenerunt ad sepulcrum* (c. 24, 1) *cum odorum paratura*" (c. 23, 56). Epiph., Schol. 74 (zu v. 50. 53): „*Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ*". Schol. 75 (zu v. 56): „*Καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι αἱ γυναῖκες*... *ἡσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον*". — 53 *τὸ σῶμα* mit D (add. *τ. Ἰησοῦ*) > *αὐτό*, desen Stellung vor oder nach (*ἐνετύλιξε*) schwankend — *ἔθηκεν* mit 12 Minusk. und e > *ἔθηκεν αὐτόν (αὐτό)* — 56 Epiph. hat, wie Tert. lehrt, verkürzt; die Wortstellung kommt nicht in Betracht — *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* allein > *κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν*, wahrscheinlich absichtliche Korrektur, um ein Mißverständnis zu verhüten; in D fehlen die Worte.

Cap. XXIV Zu diesem Cap. s. die Bemerkung des Epiph. (haer. 42,9), daß M. auch *τοῦ τέλους (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) πολλὰ περιέκοψε* (vgl. auch 42, 11).

1 Tert. IV, 43: „*Ante lucem convenerunt ad sepulcrum cum odorum paratura*" (s. o.) .... 3: „*corpore autem non invento*" .... 4: „*sed et duo ibidem angeli apparuerunt*". 4 f. Epiph., Schol. 76: „*Εἶπαν οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ· τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; 6 ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ἔτι ὢν μεθ' ὑμῶν, 7 ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παθεῖν καὶ παραδοθῆναι.* 4: „*In recogitatu mulierum volutata inter dolorem praesentis destitutionis, qua percussae sibi videbantur a domino, et spem resurrectionis ipsius, qua restituiri se arbitrabantur*" (hat hier Tert. etwas

ἄγγελοι (ἄνδρες?) ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ (ἀστραπτούσῃ?)... 5 *τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;* 6 ... *ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν (ἔτι ὤν?) ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ* (Epiph. anders, s. u.), 7 *λέγων ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι* (Epiph. anders, aber unzuverlässig) *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.* 9—11 Anspielung: *ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα ταῦτα τοῖς ἕνδεκα*.... *ἠπίστουν.* 12 Die Petrus Perikope fehlt.

13—35 Die Emmauten: 13—20 Anspielung, s. u.; 18 *Κλεόπας*.. 21 *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνομίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.* 21 b—24 unbezeugt (ob getilgt?). 25 *ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ*

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bei M. gelesen, was im kanonischen Lukas nicht steht? Schwerlich!) 6 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε* fehlt bei Marcion und D a b e, kann von M. absichtlich getilgt sein (Christus ist überall) — 6 f. „*Angeli ad mulieres: ‚Rememoramini, quae locutus sit vobis in Galilaea dicens, quod oportet tradi filium hominis et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere*“ — 4 „*angeli*“ gebührt wohl dem Tert. (> *ἄνδρες*) — *λαμπρᾷ* (vielleicht willkürlich) > *ἀστραπτούσῃ* — 6 *ὅσα* mit D c d syr^{cu} > *ὡς* — Das bei Tert. fehlende *ἔτι ὤν* nach *ὑμῖν* ist vielleicht zufällig von ihm übergangen — 7 *παραδοθῆναι* mit a > *παραδ. εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων (ἁμαρτωλῶν).*

9—11 Tert. l. c.: „*Revertentes quoque a sepulcro mulieres* ..... *incredulitas discipulorum perseverabat*“, s. auch unten zu v. 25.

12 Diese gut lukanisch stilisierte Perikope ist bei M. nicht nachzuweisen; sie fehlt sonst nur in D a b e l f u, einem Syrer, Euseb^{can}. Also ist sie echt und von M. gestrichen, der Petrus hier nicht wünschte.

13—21 Tert., l. c.: „*Nam cum duo ex illis iter agerent et dominus eis adhaesisset, non comparens quod ipse esset, etiam dissimulans de conscientia rei gestae, ‚Nos autem putabamus‘, inquiunt, ‚ipsum esse redemptorem Israhelis‘*“ (v. 21); die beiden letzten Worte bald darauf wiederholt — 21 *ἐνομίζομεν* allein > *ἠλπίζομεν* — *ὁ λυτρωτὴς τ. Ἰσρ.* nur wahrscheinlich; vielleicht stand doch das überlieferte *ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ.*

25 ff. Epiph., Schol. 77: *Παρέκοψε τὸ εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, ὅτε συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς, τό·* „*ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν*“, *καὶ ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ* „*ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται*“ *ἐποίησεν* „*ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν.*“ *ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὅτι·* „*ὅτε ἔκλασε τὸν ἄρτον, ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν*“ (30 f.). Tert. IV, 43: „*Plane invectus est in illos: ‚O insensati et tardi corde in non credendo omnibus, quae locutus est ad vos‘, quaenam locutus?*“ und: „*Igitur increpuit illos ut de sola passione scandalizatos et ut dubios de fide resurrectionis adnuntiatae sibi a feminis, per quas non crediderant ipsum fuisse*“ usw. Epiph. stimmt nur bei flüchtiger Betrachtung nicht mit Tert. überein; auch nach ihm hat M. nicht mehr verändert als nach Tert.; sein *ἐλάλησα* ist wahrscheinlich eine jüngere

πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 26 ὅτι ἔδει ταῦτα παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν... 27 unbezeugt und sicher gestrichen (Jesus gibt die prophetische Weissagung über ihn selbst wieder). 28. 29 (sie kommen ins Dorf; Jesus soll bleiben) unbezeugt. 30. 31 Anspielung: τὸν ἄρτον.. κλάσας ... ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν. 32—36 (Rede der beiden Jünger, Rückkehr nach Jerusalem, Berichterstattung, der Herr dem Petrus erschienen, Jesu Eintritt in den Kreis) unbezeugt. 37 .... ἐδόκουν αὐτὸν φάντασμα εἶναι. 38 (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς)· τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; καὶ ἵνα τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν; 39 ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός [ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε war gestrichen], ὅτι πνεῦμα [σάρκας καὶ war gestrichen] ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. 41 ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστούντων

Marcionitische Lesart neben dem ἐλάλησεν M.s und wird durch Dial. V, 12 gestützt, wo sich der Vers (mit ἐλάλησα) wie oben findet und sich in den Worten fortsetzt: ὅτι ἔδει ταῦτα παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν — 26 ὅτι mit D > οὐχί — ἔδει ταῦτα allein > τ. ἐ — Rufin übersetzt wohl willkürlich „*Nonne ita scriptum est, pati Christum et sic introire in gloriam suam?*" Tert. bezeugt v. 26 (weil er aus Versehen v. 25 mit v. 6 vertauscht) indirekt — 30 f. ἠνεῴχθησαν allein > διηνοίχθησαν (Wortstellung irrelevant), ἠνύγησαν D.

37 f. Tert. IV, 43: „*Haesitantibus eis, ne phantasma esset, immo phantasma credentibus: ‚Quid turbati estis? et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? videte manus meas et pedes, quia ipse ego sum, quoniam spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis‘*". Cf. de carne Chr. 5: „*Aspicite, dicens quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet sicut me habentem videtis*". Tert. wundert sich, daß M. dies beibehalten hat und sieht darin eine besondere Verschlagenheit, um für seine sonstigen Fälschungen Glauben zu erwecken; hier habe er dafür eine falsche Auslegung gegeben — 37 φάντασμα mit D u. Apelles > πνεῦμα (ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν), s. Dial. V, 12: ... δοκοῦσιν φαντασίαν εἶναι — 38 Epiph., Schol. 78: „*Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα*" (39). Dial. V, 12: „*Τί τεταραγμένοι κτλ.*, wesentlich wie oben — ἵνα τί allein > διατί — ob M. καρδία im Sing. (mit BD itala) oder Plur. gelesen hat, ist fraglich — 39 Die Streichung von ψηλαφήσατε κτλ. bezeugen die drei Zeugen (με καὶ ἴδετε fehlt auch in D, ital. [außer c]) — σάρκας als fehlend bezeugen Tert. u. Epiph. > Dial. — 40 fehlt mit D a b e ff² l syr^cu; die Worte (καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας) sind aber m. E. lukanisch, von Joh. 20, 20 nachgeahmt und von M. gestrichen, dem ein Teil der abendländischen Textüberlieferung gefolgt ist. — 41 Tert., l. c.: „*Atquin adhuc eis non*

αὐτῶν . . . τι βρώσιμον . . . 42. 43 *ἰχθύος . . ἔφαγεν.* 44—46 (Jesus öffnet ihnen die Schrift) unbezeugt; es mußte von Marcion gestrichen werden. 47 . . . . *κηρυχθῆναι εἰς πάντα τᾶ ἔθνη.* — 48—53 unbezeugt.

C. Untersuchungen zum Evangelium Marcions.

Daß das Evangelium Marcions nichts anderes ist als was das altkirchliche Urteil von ihm behauptet hat, nämlich ein verfälschter Lukas [1], darüber braucht kein Wort mehr verloren zu werden [2]. Häufiger als im Apostolikon ist der eigentümliche Text

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credentibus propterea cibum desideravit, ut se ostenderet etiam dentes habere". Zahn meint, daß 42. 43 fehlten, da Tert. nicht vom wirklichen Essen spricht. Aber was soll v. 41 für sich allein bedeuten? Dazu: die Marcioniten bei Esnik (Schmid S. 195) sagen: „Christus aß nach seiner Auferstehung Fisch und nicht Fleisch; weswegen auch wir Fisch essen und nicht Fleisch". — 47 Tert., l. c.: „. . . . . *siquidem et apostolos mittens ad praedicandum universis nationibus*" — *ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ* hat M. schwerlich stehen gelassen. M.s Evangelium schloß wohl mit den Worten: *κηρυχθῆναι . . . ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.* Das Folgende stehen zu lassen war ihm unmöglich, und Streichungen am Schluß bezeugt Epiphanius ausdrücklich (s. v. zum Anfang des Kapitels.)

1 Daß Hippolyt, der in dem Syntagma (s. Pseudotert. unter „Cerdo", Filastr., haer. 45) dies ausdrücklich sagt, in der Refut. VII, 30 Marcions Evangelium auf das Markus-Ev. zurückführt, gehört zu den mancherlei Unbegreiflichkeiten, die dieses Werk im Verhältnis zum Syntagma aufweist. Hippolyt muß geschlafen haben, als er dies niederschrieb, oder die Erinnerung an den wahren Tatbestand muß dem alten Manne so verblaßt gewesen sein, daß sich ihm das kurze Ev. des Markus und der „stummelfingerige" Markus — so nennt er ihn, auf eine alte Überlieferung über ihn anspielend — mit dem verkürzten Lukas in einem wirren tertium comparationis vermengte. — Soeben ist ein durch Fleiß ausgezeichnetes, aber ganz unbrauchbares Buch von Raschke über das Markus-Ev. erschienen, welches nicht nur dies Ev. für das Marcion-Ev. erklärt, sondern auch Markus mit Marcion identifiziert und unter anderem unter den 12 Jüngern den Kaiser Hadrian, den Vierfürst Philippus, Theudas usw. findet, auch in dem „fliehenden Jüngling" bei Markus den von Jesus sich entfernenden Christus-Geist sieht.

2 Epiph., haer. 42, 9: *Οὗτος ἔχει εὐαγγέλιον μόνον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, περικεκομμένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέτεμεν ὁ λυμηνάμενος ἑαυτὸν ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ ἤπερ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῶν μέσων*

M.s durch zwei (und mehrere) Zeugen beglaubigt [1]. Ganz wie beim Apostolikon schwankt aber auch bei einer Anzahl von Stellen die Überlieferung — in zahlreichen Fällen gewiß infolge der Ungenauigkeit der Referenten, aber in anderen Fällen ebenso sicher infolge der fortgesetzten Arbeiten der Schüler Marcions am Bibeltext [2]. Nicht immer muß hier der älteste Referent (Tertullian) Recht haben; denn auch sein Exemplar des Marcionitischen Evangeliums wird nicht das intakte Exemplar Marcions selbst gewesen sein. Daher kann auch in einzelnen Fällen Epiphanius die urspüngliche LA Marcions aufbewahrt haben, Tertullian aber die sekundäre wiedergeben.

Die Textrezension, der M. gefolgt ist, und die Frage, wie er diesen Text, abgesehen von seinen tendenziösen Korrekturen [3] gefaßt hat, bedürfen auch hier, wie beim Apostolikon einer besonderen Untersuchung [4].

πολλὰ περιέκοψε τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων, ἄλλα δὲ παρὰ γεγραμμένα προστέθεικεν [dies bestätigt sich nur in bescheidenstem Umfang], μόνῳ δὲ κέχρηται τούτῳ τῷ χαρακτῆρι, τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ.

1 S. den Anfang des Marcionitischen Evangeliums, ferner 5, 14; 6, 43; 8, 19; 8, 46; 10, 21 (bis); 10, 22; 12, 8; 12, 28; 12, 32; 13, 28 (bis); 16, 11 ff.; 24, 25 (bis); 24, 37; 24, 39 (bis). Auch die Stellen gehören hierher, wo M.s Text von zwei oder mehreren Zeugen als vorhanden und gleichlautend mit dem kanonischen bezeugt wird; ferner auch solche Stellen, wo Epiphanius oder Tertullian Lücken angibt und sich die Verse auch bei den anderen Zeugen nicht finden; s. z. B. 8, 40—42 a u. 49—56; 11, 29—32; 12, 6. 7; 13, 29—35; 15, 11—32; 18, 31—33; 19, 29—46; 20, 9—18; 20, 37. 38; 21, 18; 21, 21—24; 22, 16; 22, 35—37; 22, 49—51; 24, 40.

2 S. zu c. 4, 16 f.; 5, 14 (bis); 5, 33; 5, 36 ff.; 7, 9; 7, 27; 9, 30; 10, 26. 27; 12, 4; 12, 39—48; 18, 18—23; 23, 46; 24, 25 u. a. Eine einheitliche Richtung oder Tendenz in den späteren Korrekturen läßt sich nicht nachweisen. Dazu ist das Material zu schmal und unsicher. Sicher ist, daß sie auch aus den anderen Evangelien ein paar Stellen aufgenommen haben, so Matth. 5, 17, aber mit Umkehrung des Gedankens.

3 Über diese ist in der Darstellung ausreichend gehandelt worden.

4 Aus den Worten des unbekannten syrischen antimarcionitischen Polemikers: „. . . z. Z. des Pilatus des Pontiers, in jener Zeit, da das Ev. geschrieben wurde", könnte man folgern, M. habe die Abfassung des Evangeliums in die Zeit des Pilatus verlegt. Unmöglich wäre das nicht, aber der Zusammenhang der Stelle legt die Annahme näher, daß sich der Autor mißverständlich ausgedrückt hat und sagen wollte, daß Christus nach M. erst z. Z. des Pilatus aufgetreten sei.

1. Der Charakter des von Marcion benutzten Textes.

Der kritische Apparat ergibt zunächst dieselben Hauptresultate für das Evangelium, die oben S. 150* f sub (1)—(6) für das Apostol. festgestellt worden sind. An das vierte ist hier noch einiges weitere anzuknüpfen.

M.s griechischer und lateinischer Text des Lukas Ev.[1] ist — abgesehen von seinen tendenziösen Eingriffen — ein reiner 𝔚Text[2]. Der Apparat bringt dafür Kapitel für Kapitel so zahlreiche Belege, daß sie hier nicht einzeln aufgeführt zu werden brauchen. Speziell aber dem Text im Cod. D steht M.s Text näher als jedem anderen Text[3]. Marcion hat also sein Evangelium wahrscheinlich erst in Rom rezensiert. Wann die lateinische Übersetzung angefertigt ist und ob vielleicht die Marcionitische Übersetzung die Vorlage der katholischen ist, läßt sich hier so wenig sicher ermitteln, wie beim Apostolikon; aber, die letztere Frage anlangend, ist es hier, wie dort, höchst unwahrscheinlich, daß man nach dem verkürzten und tendenziös entstellten Latinum M.s den echten Text wiederhergestellt hat.

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1 Die beiden Texte stehen sich außerordentlich nahe (wie beim Apostol.), d. h. die lateinische Übersetzung hat, soviel man zu urteilen vermag, fremde Einflüsse nicht erfahren.

2 Ebendeshalb sind auch, wie beim Apostol., die Übereinstimmungen mit Syr. Curet. u. Sin. und mit den ägyptischen Versionen zahlreich; beachtenswert sind auch die Berührungen mit Sinait. (erste Hand). Daß M.s Text so zu beurteilen ist, hat Pott bereits 1906 bezw. 1920 in seinen Arbeiten „Der Text des NT nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung" und „De text u evv. in saeculo secundo" („Mnemosyne" Juli u. Okt. 1920) nachgewiesen.

3 Dem Archetypus von a b c e aber fast ebenso nah. Die besondere Affinität D und Marcion ist im Ev. noch größer als im Apostol. Außerdem kommen auch hier, wie beim Ev., Irenaeus (Lat.), Ambrosiaster, Ambrosius usw. in Betracht. — In der Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch. hat Pott eine Abhandlung über den MText veröffentlicht (Bd. 42 H. 2, 1923 S. 202 ff.). Da sein Textmaterial über das Tischendorfsche hinausgeht, hat er nachweisen können, daß 2 bis 3 Dutzend bisher als unbezeugt geltende indifferente Lesarten M.s doch, wenn auch ganz spärlich (und meistens von Zeugen des 𝔚Textes), bezeugt sind.

Indessen bedürfen die Varianten M.s im Zusammenhang mit dieser Frage noch einer Untersuchung [1].

Legt man den Text Tischendorfs zugrunde und läßt man alles beiseite, was an Varianten und Ausmerzungen sicher oder höchst wahrscheinlich dem Marcion gebührt (weil es seine eigentümlichen Tendenzen aufweist,) ferner alles, was sonst unbezeugt ist, so zeigt die Hauptgruppe der Varianten, nämlich die 2—300, welche er mit dem 𝔚Text gemeinsam, hat, einen starken Einfluß des Matth.-Textes bzw. des Markus-Textes.

Da es höchst unwahrscheinlich ist, um nicht mehr zu sagen, daß M. selbst den Lukastext dem von ihm abgelehnten Matthäus konformiert hat, so kann dem Schlusse nicht ausgewichen werden, obgleich, soviel ich sehe, Pott ihn nicht anerkennt, daß M. bereits einen 𝔚Lukastext vorgefunden hat, der mit Matth. (bezw. auch mit Markus) konformiert war[2].

Hierzu kommen aber noch einige Stellen, in denen M. mit Matth. oder Mark. geht, ohne von Zeugen des 𝔚textes oder überhaupt von einem Zeugen begleitet zu sein[3].

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1 Ich habe mir einige griechische Worte zusammengestellt, die in dem Marcionitischen Bibeltext stehen gelassen sind; von besonderem Interesse scheinen sie mir nicht zu sein: allegorica, angelus, apostolus, arabon, architectus, baptizari, blasphemia, colophizari, diabolus, ecclesia, evangelium, (evangelizari, evangelizator), idolothyta, neomenia, paradisus, philosophia, propheta (prophetari, prophetia), pseudapostoli, scandalum, stigmata, synagoga.

2 In einzelnen Fällen kann man streiten, ob überhaupt eine Konformierung vorliegt (s. Pott, Zeitschr. f. KGesch. S. 208 f.) — in zahlreichen Fällen aber stehen Konformierungen fest. Für die Kanonsgeschichte ist die Beobachtung von großer Bedeutung: der in Rom um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts gültige Text des Lukas war schon mit Matth. (Mark.) konformiert. — Die Konformationen sind gewiß mit vollem Bedacht unternommen.

3 Ich gebe hier keine Zusammenstellungen, wie in der ersten Auflage, weil ich durch Pott belehrt bin, daß der Tischendorfsche Apparat nicht ausreicht, ich aber aus verschiedenen Gründen mit dem Soden'schen Apparat nicht zu arbeiten vermag. Doch ist der Schaden nicht groß; denn, unabhängig von zahlreichen Zweifeln im Einzelnen stehen die Beobachtungstatsachen fest (1) daß an zahlreichen Stellen, an denen M. denselben Text wie 𝔚 hat, synoptischer Einfluß vorliegt, (2) ein solcher auch dort hin und her zu konstatieren ist, wo M.s Text allein steht.

Daß in diesen Fällen, die alle stilistisch-lexikalischer Natur und sachlich ganz neutral sind, Marcion selbst die Konformierung mit den anderen Synoptikern vorgenommen hat, ist deshalb ganz unwahrscheinlich, weil sie sich den oben beurteilten Fällen einfach anschließen, in denen der von ihm benutzte 𝔚Text bereits diese Konformierungen aufweist[1]. Daß M. innerhalb des 𝔚Textes, den er bezeugt, Sonderlesarten hat, ist ja zu erwarten; denn solche weist auch jeder andere der Zeugen (D, d, a, b, c, Ambrosiaster usw.) in großer Zahl auf. Tragen diese Sonderlesarten dieselben Züge wie die Lesarten, welche der Text zusammen mit seinen Familienverwandten aufweist, so gehören sie nicht dem einzelnen Text an, sondern der Familie. Natürlich stellen sie nicht den Typ des 𝔚Textes dar, sondern bereits eine harmonistische Abwandlung. Aber es bleibt mir unverständlich, warum Pott das Unwahrscheinliche für wahrscheinlich hält, daß M. selbst für alle diese Harmonisierung mit Matth. „oft" (S. 212 u. sonst) verantwortlich sei. Nur Gründe zwingendster Art könnten dazu führen, dies anzunehmen; sie fehlen aber gänzlich.

Dogmatisch indifferente, sonst nicht oder kaum bezeugte Lesarten, unbeeinflußt von Matth. und Mark., finden sich in dem Text noch gegen 90[2]. Daß sie M.s geistiges Eigentum sind und er sie ab-

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1 In einigen Fällen übrigens mag die Konformierung mit den anderen Synoptikern auf Rechnung des Tert. kommen (der selbst hin und her bei seinen Referaten zum Matth.-Text abgleitet, weil er ihn im Gedächtnis hatte), oder auf Rechnung (bei Epiphanius) späterer Einflüsse des Matth.-Textes auf den Marcion-Text. In bezug auf Tert. s. z. B. zu 6, 20; 12, 10. 24. 51 (IV, 14. 28. 29). An der ersten Stelle zitiert er beim zweiten Zitat des Spruchs „caelorum" (nach Matth.) statt „dei"; an der zweiten schiebt er in der Auseinandersetzung „blasphemia" (nach Matth.) ein, obgleich er den Spruch richtig nach Lukas-Marcion, nämlich ohne „blasphemia", zitiert hatte. An der dritten fügt er aus der Erinnerung an den Matth.-Text „et tamen vestiuntur ab ipso" hinzu, und an der vierten glaubt er, M. habe „machaeram" aus dem Texte entfernt und durch ein anderes Wort ersetzt, aber bei Matth., nicht bei Luk., steht „machaeram".

2 Ich gebe diese Zusammenstellung ohne Gewähr dafür, daß nicht einzelne Stellen anders zu beurteilen sind. S. c, 4, 32; 5, 38; 6, 3 (bis). 9[?]. 12. 17(ter). 22(ter). 27 f. 29(quater) 31. 38. 43 (bis); 7, 1. 16. 18f.[?]. 23(bis). 27. 28; 8, 18. 46; 9, 8. 19(bis). 20. 22. 24. 30(quinquies); 10, 21 (bis); 24(ter); 11, 1. 11. 12. 20. 28. 46. 47; 12,

sichtlich eingebracht hat, ist nur für eine sehr kleine Gruppe wahrscheinlich. Auch sie gehören größtenteils zu dem Text, wie er ihn bereits vorgefunden hat. Ein nicht geringer Teil von ihnen wird übrigens der unsicheren Überlieferung zuzuschreiben sein, in der wir M.s Text besitzen; also bleibt im besten Fall nur ein sehr kleiner Teil übrig, der M. selbst zuzuweisen ist. Ich greife das 6. und das 16. Kapitel heraus, um eine Anschauung von der Art dieser Varianten zu geben[1]:

6, 3 *Χριστός* > *Ἰησοῦς.*

6, 3 *τί* > *ὅ.*

6, 9 *μή* > *κακοποιῆσαι* (hat Tert. etwa willkürlich verkürzt?).

6, 12 *τοῦ πατρός* > *τοῦ θεοῦ.*

6, 17 *κατέβη* > *καταβάς.*

6, 17 *ἐν αὐτοῖς* > *μετ' αὐτῶν.*

6, 22 *ἔσεσθε* > *ἔστε.*

6, 22 Stellung von *ὑμᾶς* verändert.

6, 22 fehlt *ἀφορίσουσιν ὑμᾶς.*

6, 27.28 Glied 2 und 3 dieses Spruchs in eins gezogen.

6, 29 *ἐάν τις* > *ὅστις.*

6, 29 *ῥαπίσῃ* > *ῥαπίζει.*

6, 29 *παράθες (πρόσθες?)* > *πάρεχε.*

6, 29 *πρόσθες* > *μὴ κωλύσῃς.*

6, 31 *καὶ καθὼς ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι θέλετε παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς* > *καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε ὁμοίως.*

6, 38 fehlt *σεσαλευμένον.*

6, 43 der schlechte Baum vor den guten gestellt (dies war wohl Absicht).

6, 43 *προενεγκεῖν (προενέγκαι)* > *ποιεῖν.*

16, 12 *εὑρέθητε* > *ἐγένεσθε.*

16, 12 Umstellung von *ἀνθέξεται* und *καταφρονήσει.*

16, 16 *ἐξ (ἀφ') οὗ* > *ἀπὸ τότε.*

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2 (bis). 8. 9(ter). 41. 47 (bis); 13, 25; 16, 12. 16. 18 (bis). 21. 25. 26. 27, 28. 29. 31 (bis); 17, 11 f. (4, 27: ist hier eingeschaltet). 14 (bis). 19; 18, 22. 43; 20. 1. 5; 21. 10. 19. 26. 27. 28. 30 (bis). 34; 22, 4. 8. 67; 23, 33; 24, (4). 21 (bis). 26. 31. 38.

1 Auch hier mag die eine oder andere Stelle unsicher sein, weil sie nicht bei M. allein steht.

16, 18 ὁ > πᾶς ὁ.
16, 18 ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν > μοιχεύει.
16, 21 τραύματα > ἕλκη.
16, 25 Ἀβραάμ vorangestellt.
16, 26 ὑμῶν κ. ἡμῶν > ἡμ. κ. ὑμ.
16, 27 οἰκίαν > οἶκον.
16, 28 ἐκεῖ > fehlt.
16, 29 ἐκεῖ > fehlt.
16, 31 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν > εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ.
16, 31 ἀκούσωσιν αὐτοῦ > πεισθήσονται.

„Χριστός„ statt „Ἰησοῦς" und die Voranstellung des schlechten Baumes vor den guten mögen ebenso absichtliche Änderungen M.s sein[1] wie „prodiit" für ἠγέρθη (7, 16); aber abgesehen von diesen und ein paar anderen Ausnahmen[2], zeigt die Natur auch dieser hier zusammengestellten, sonst unbelegten Varianten, daß wir es schwerlich mit M. selbst hier zu tun haben, sondern mit seiner Vorlage. Was sollte ihn auch bestimmt haben, diese Art von Diorthosen, die denen des 𝔚textes so ähnlich sehen, vorzunehmen?

Somit bleibt nur die große Anzahl seiner absichtlichen Auslassungen und tendenziösen Korrekturen übrig[3]; denn daß Marcion daneben auch eine stilistische Korrektur des Textes vorgenommen hat, ist nach dem Ausgeführten unwahrscheinlich und ebenso

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1 Doch s. über Χριστός oben S. 154*.

2 Zahn ist geneigt, M. bei 6, 31 die Apostellehre berücksichtigen zu lassen, allein diese Annahme ist unnötig.

3 Die Stellen, um die es sich handelt (einschließlich solcher, bei denen es zweifelhaft bleibt, ob M. sie gestrichen oder Tert. sie ausgelassen hat), sind mit annähernder Vollständigkeit salvo errore folgende: c. 1, 1—4, 32; 4, 34; 4, 36—39. 44; 5, 39; 6, 17. 23 a. (26). 30 b. 32—34. 47—49; 7, 28. 29—35; 8, 19. 20 f. 28. (32—37). 40—42 a. 49—56; 9, 23. 26 b. 27. 30. 31. 36. 49. 50. 54. 55; 10, 12—15. 21. 25. 26. 28. 29—37. 38—42; 11, 3. 4. 23—26. 29—32. 34—36. 42. 44. 45. 49—51. 53. 54; 12, 6. 7. 8. 9. 24—26. 28. 32. 46. 49—51; 13, 1—9. 22—24. 28. 29—35; 14, 1—11. 21. 25—35; 15, 10. 11—32; 16, 9. 10. 12. 15. 17. 26. 29. 30; 17, 5. 6. 11—19. 23. 24; 18, 20. (24—30); 31—33. 34. 37; 19, 9. (10). 28. 29—46. 47. 48; 20, 9—18. 35. 37. 38. 45—47; 21, 1—4. 13. 18. 21—24. 27. 32. 33; 22. 2. 3. 14. 16. 17. 18. 35—38. 39. 40. 42—46. 49—51. 52—62. 65. 68. 70. 71; 23, 2. 3. 4—5. 13—17. 25. 26—31. 34. 35—42. 43. (46). 54. 56; 24, 2. 21—24. 25. 27. 28. 29. 32—36. 37. 39. 44—46. 47. 48—53.

die Annahme, er habe verkürzen, unterstreichen, verdeutlichen wollen. Das mag an einer oder der anderen Stelle einmal von ihm geschehen sein, ist aber für sein Verfahren nicht charakteristisch [1].

Ein Einfluß seines Textes auf die katholischen Texte hat nur in geringem Maße stattgefunden, sobald man die neutralen Sonderlesarten M.s nicht als seine Lesarten, sondern als solche des 𝔚textes beurteilt; aber einen gewissen Einfluß darf man sicher nicht mit Zahn in Abrede stellen (indem man die LLAA als vormarcionitisch erklärt). Um dies Urteil zu begründen, stelle ich im Folgenden c. 5, 39; 9, 54 ff.; 22, 43 f.; 23, 2 a b; 23, 34; 24,12; 24, 40 zusammen. Hier darf man bei einigen Stellen mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit, bei anderen mit Gewißheit urteilen, daß sie, die in einen Teil der Überlieferung übergegangen, marcionitisch sind:

1. K. 5, 39 *(Οὐδεὶς πιὼν παλαιὸν θέλει νέον κτλ.)* Dieser Vers fehlt bei M., und er fehlt in D a b c ff.^{2*} l Euseb > alle übrigen Zeugen. Er ist also echt und von M. aus sehr verständlichen Gründen gestrichen.

2. K. 24, 12 *(Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον· καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός).* Dieser gut lukanisch stilisierte Satz ist bei M. nicht nachzuweisen; er fehlt sonst nur in D a b e l fu, einem Syrer, Euseb^{can}. Also ist er echt und von M. gestrichen, der den Petrus hier nicht wünschte.

3. K. 24, 40 *(καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξε αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας).* Bei M. nicht nachzuweisen; er fehlt sonst nur in D a b e ff^2 l syr^{cu}. Also ist er echt und von M. aus dogmatischen Gründen gestrichen.

4. K. 22, 43 f. (der Engel und die Agonie in Gethsemane). Fehlt bei M., aber ist so stark bezeugt, daß die Erzählung außer in der alexandrinischen Überlieferung (ℵ BA usw.) nur sehr selten fehlte und auch so gut wie das ganze Abendland sie bestätigt. Sie ist sicher echt und M. hat sie aus dogmatischen Gründen getilgt. Ob der alexandrinische Text durch ihn beeinflußt worden ist oder die Alexandriner spontan Anstoß genommen haben, läßt sich nicht entscheiden; ersteres ist mir wahrscheinlich.

5. K. 9, 54 *(ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν)* u. 9, 55 *(καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ*

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1 Man kommt hier also zu demselben Ergebnis wie beim Apostolikon.

οἴδατε [vgl. das *οὐκ οἴδασιν* 23, 34] *οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς)* finden sich und zwar — 54 in D a b c f g AC und den meisten Majuskeln cop syr (aber nicht syr^{cu}) aeth. go Basil. Chrys.; 55 in D, zahlreichen Majuskeln, a b c e f g^{2} q vulg go cop syr arm aeth. und vielen KKVV. Da die Stücke höchstwahrscheinlich bei M. standen und ausgezeichnet zu seiner Lehre passen, sind sie von ihm hinzugefügt und nun in die katholischen Mss. gedrungen. Wahrscheinlich gilt dies auch von dem Satz 9, 56 *(ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι),* den mehrere Majuskeln und a b c e f q vulg cop usw. bieten; leider fehlt uns hier der Marcion-Text; aber angesichts der überwältigenden Zahl von Zeugen g e g e n den Vers, kann er nicht ursprünglich sein. Wer aber sollte ihn hinzugefügt haben, wenn nicht M.?

6. K. 23, 2 *(καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας* und *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα)* Zwei Zusätze M.s, von dem es b c e ff^{2} i l q gat mm, bez. (den zweiten) c und e übernommen haben.

7. K. 23, 34 *(ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν* [dies gewinnt nun einen prägnanten Sinn: Die Schergen des Weltschöpfers können vom guten Gott nichts wissen] *τί ποιοῦσιν.* Von M. hinzugesetzt und eingedrungen in ℵ* $^{B.C}$ ACD g^{r2} viele Majuskel, c e f ff^{2} l vulg cop^{1} syr arm aeth Iren. > ℵ^{1} (uncis includit) BD* a b d sah cop^{2}. Daß es, obgleich ursprünglich, getilgt worden, ist ganz undenkbar. Zu diesen Stellen gehört auch 4, 16 (s. S. 186*).

Mit einem Blick erkennt man, daß M.s Text sofort in den 𝔐text gelangt sein muß und sich durch diesen teilweise verbreitet hat. Man beachte, daß der Palat. Vindob. (e) an allen diesen Stellen mit M. geht, der Colbert. (c) und Veronen. (b) fünfmal, D und der Vercell. (a) viermal usw.[1].

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1 Daß 24, 40 lukanisch ist, folgt besonders aus der Vergleichung mit 5, 39; hält man (mit Recht) diese Stelle für ursprünglich, so darf man 24,40 dem Lukas nicht absprechen; denn sie hat fast dieselbe Überlieferung wie 5, 39. Es ist auch an sich ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß ein Zusatz zu Lukas in a l l e Mss. gekommen ist mit Ausnahme D a b e ff^{2} l syr^{cu}, während die umgekehrte Annahme, daß er in dem Archetypus dieser Zeugen gestrichen war, keine überlieferungsgeschichtliche Schwierigkeit macht. D hat übrigens allein noch eine wichtige Marcionitische LA aufgenommen; er liest nach M. in Luk. 24, 37 nicht *πνεῦμα,* sondern *φάντασμα.* Ferner

2. Marcion, das Lukas-Ev. und die drei anderen Evangelien.

Daß Marcion Matth., Mark. und Joh. gekannt hat — vor zwei Menschenaltern noch eine umstrittene Frage — braucht bei dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Kanons- und Textgeschichte nicht erst bewiesen zu werden[1]. Aber auch darin hatte die konservative Kritik recht, daß M. seine Ablehnung dieser Evv. in seinen „Antithesen" ausdrücklich begründet hat[2]. Nicht so einfach ist es aber, sich eine Vorstellung darüber zu bilden, wie er zu dem Ev. gestanden hat, das er sich zur Grundlage seines Ev.s erwählte, zu Lukas. Hätte er es für ein vom Anfang an verfälschtes Ev. gehalten, wie die anderen, so versteht man nicht, warum er gerade dieses Ev. erwählt hat und sich ihm so enge anschloß; er hätte in diesem Fall aus allen vier Evv. herausnehmen können, was ihm probehaltig schien und sein Ev. als eine Art von „Diatessaron" oder „Diatrion" komponieren können. Hielt er es aber für ein ursprünglich richtiges Ev. (wie die Paulusbriefe für ursprünglich richtige Briefe), warum unterdrückte er den Namen des Autors, der ihm doch eine hohe Autorität hätte sein müssen?[3] Aber nicht nur unterdrückt hat er ihn, sondern hat auch höchst wahrscheinlich die freundliche Äußerung des Paulus in Kol. 4, 14 getilgt und die Apostelgeschichte ausdrücklich verworfen (s. o. S. 124*). Aus dem Dilemma, welches hier vorliegt, gibt es nur einen Ausweg: M. muß angenommen

ist die tendenziöse Korrektur in 16, 12 (*τὸ ἐμόν* für *τὸ ὑμέτερον*) in eil und eine Minuskel gedrungen. Marcionitische Lesarten können mit Recht noch an einigen Stellen von D G bzw. im Wtext vermutet werden, wo uns der Wortlaut des Marcionitischen Textes fehlt; aber ein sicherer Beweis läßt sich nicht führen.

1 Ephraem hat „die Schriften" der Marcioniten, d. h. ihr Neues Testament und die Antithesen gelesen. Aus den letzteren wird es stammen, wenn er sagt, die Marcioniten spotteten über die Hochzeit zu Kana (47. Lied gegen die Ketzer, c. 2).

2 S. dort.

3 Daß er das Ev. namenlos, d. h. ohne den Namen des Lukas, von der Überlieferung empfangen hat, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich: menschliche Autoritäten wollte M., Paulus ausgenommen, den Christus erweckt hat, nicht gelten lassen. Man darf daher nicht etwa folgern, daß unser 3. Ev. ursprünglich ohne den Namen des Lukas überliefert worden sei, weil M. diesen Namen nicht bietet.

haben, das Luk. Ev. sei in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt ein himmlisches Geschenk Christi an die Kirche, das ihr auf geheimnisvolle Weise zugekommen ist[1]; Lukas aber, der judaistische Verf. der Apostelgesch., habe dieses reine Ev. verfälscht, und er, Marcion, sei erweckt worden, um diese Fälschungen wieder auszumerzen. Niemals und nirgendwo hat M. behauptet, daß er das unverfälschte Ev. in einem Exemplare wieder aufgefunden, sondern stets nur, daß er es wieder hergestellt habe. Hinter dem Ev., wie er es der Kirche bot, steht also keine apostolische Autorität (oder nur eine indirekte, sofern Paulus es als sein Ev. anerkannt hat), sondern Christus, von dem es die Kirche hat, und Marcion. Nur diese Auffassung wird den Zeugnissen des Irenäus, Tertullian und Origenes gerecht, sowie dem einfachen Titel: *Εὐαγγέλιον*. Dieser Tatbestand erklärt es auch, daß spätere Marcioniten an Christus selbst als Verfasser gedacht haben oder an Paulus (s. o.).

Daß aber M. aus der Zahl der vier Evangelien sich das des Lukas erwählt und in ihm allein das freilich verfälschte Evangelium Christi und Paulus' erblickt hat, obgleich ihm doch Lukas ebenso ein „Judaist" war wie die anderen Evangelisten, ist wohl in der Art dieses Evangeliums begründet (wenn nicht Lukas das erste Evangelium gewesen, das in den Pontus gekommen ist, und er es deshalb bevorzugte). Wir werden annehmen dürfen, daß er die vier Evangelien sehr eingehend geprüft hat, bevor er sich entschied. Der „heidenchristliche" und asketische Charakter des 3. Evangeliums gegenüber dem 1. und 2., nachdem die drei ersten Kapitel des Werks getilgt waren, muß ihm sympathisch gewesen sein; auch den Markus übrigens hätte M. ohne größere Mühe sich für seine Zwecke dienstbar machen können. Vor dem 4. Evangelium mußte er zurückschrecken um des Prologs willen, der ihm höchst anstößig sein mußte, und wenn er

1 Wann und wie, darüber hat sich M. in den „Antithesen" nicht geäußert, und das brachte eine Ungewißheit und Unklarheit, der gegenüber Tert. ratlos war und daher in seiner Polemik selbst unklar werden mußte: war das geschriebene „wahrhaftige" Ev. nach M. von Anfang an da? Lag es also schon vor, als Paulus gegen die Urapostel auf dem Konzil stritt? Diese Fragen sind nach M. gewiß zu bejahen: das Ev., welches Paulus „mein" Ev. nennt, hat er empfangen, als er bekehrt wurde. Wie es zustande gekommen ist, hat M. augenscheinlich nicht bekümmert.

ihn strich, stieß er alsbald auf die Hochzeit zu Kana und auf anderes, was ihm antipathisch war. Daß das Buch im sublimierten Geiste des dem M. widerlichen Spätjudentums wurzelte und voll von Allegorien war, die er ablehnte, machte es ihm unmöglich, ihm zu folgen. Aus Iren. III, 11, 2 („Secundum Marcionem et eos qui similes sunt ei neque mundus per logon factus est neque in sua venit, sed in aliena") kann man nicht sicher schließen, daß M. eine Kritik des Prologs des Joh. Ev. in den Antithesen gegeben hat; aber unwahrscheinlich ist es nicht.

Die Verwerfung der drei Evv. schließt an sich a priori nicht aus, daß M. aus ihnen einen oder den anderen Spruch seinem Ev. einverleibt oder bei der Fassung der Sprüche auf ihr Zeugnis vielleicht einmal Rücksicht genommen hat[1]. Die letztere Annahme muß in der Tat offen bleiben, obgleich, wie wir gesehen haben, mindestens die große Menge der Stellen, an denen der Text M.s gegen Lukas mit Matth. (Mark.) geht, aus Konformierungen zu erklären ist, die schon stattgefunden hatten, bevor M. seine tendenzkritische Arbeit unternahm. Immerhin aber steht der Annahme nichts in Wege, daß unter der erheblichen Zahl von Konformierungen, die nur durch M. und nicht durch andere Zeugen des 𝔐textes bezeugt sind, sich vielleicht einige befinden, die M. selbst eingeführt hat, wenn man sie auch nicht zu bezeichnen vermag.

Darüber hinaus aber hat sich Hahn große Mühe gegeben zu erweisen, das auch ganze Verse aus den anderen Evangelien von M. rezipiert worden sind. Diese Bemühungen haben heute das Gewicht nicht mehr wie früher; denn letztlich sollten sie dem Nachweis dienen, daß M. bereits die vier Evangelien in der Kirche vorgefunden hat. Dies werden nur noch wenige bestreiten; doch bleibt die Frage immerhin wichtig, ob M. wirklich aus den drei anderen Evv. etwas entlehnt hat.

Hier aber hat selbst Zahn, der gerne Matthäus-Verse im Ev. des M. gefunden hätte, anerkannt[2], daß die drei Stellen aus Matth., die allein in Betracht kommen können, nämlich c. 1, 23

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1 Eine Vergleichung des „echten" Evangeliums mit den falschen mußte ja M. lehren, daß diese nicht durch und durch falsch waren, vielmehr viel Gutes enthielten, weil z. T. fast wörtlich dasselbe auch im „wahrhaftigen" Ev. stand.

2 A. a. O. I S. 666 ff.

kombiniert mit 2, 11 (in Beziehung auf Jes. 7, 14 und 8, 4), ferner 5, 17 und 19, 12 ff. nicht in das Ev. von ihm aufgenommen worden sind, sondern daß er sich in den Antithesen mit ihnen auseinandergesetzt hat[1]. Erst spätere Marcioniten haben die Worte (5, 17), die ihr Meister ausdrücklich als einen dem wahren Ev. fremden Zusatz bezeichnet hatte[2], ins Gegenteil verkehrt und in das Ev. aufgenommen (*οὐκ ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ καταλῦσαι*). Das bezeugt sowohl der Marcionit Markus bei Adamantius[3] als auch Isidor von Pelusium; der letztere gibt dazu noch an, an welcher Stelle im Ev. (ungefähr) die Eintragung stattgefunden hat[4]. Vorbereitet hat die Einschiebung übrigens M. selbst durch seinen Zusatz in c. 23, 2, wo er die Ankläger Jesu sagen läßt: *τοῦτον εὕρομεν . . . καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας*. Auch sonst haben spätere Marcioniten wahrscheinlich ein paar Zusätze aus Matth. eingefügt. Ziemlich sicher ist das in bezug auf Matth. 20, 20 ff.; denn wenn nach Orig. Marcioniten erklärten, Paulus sitze im Himmel zur Rechten Gottes, M. zur Linken (Hom. XXV in Luk., T. V p. 181 f.), so können sie diese Phantasie schwerlich an einen anderen Text angeschlossen haben.

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1 Dort sind sie auch von uns behandelt. In I, 24 hält Tert. dem M. Matth. 5, 48 vor („Seid vollkommen wie euer Vater im Himmel"); er hat wohl vergessen, daß das Wort nicht in M.s Ev. steht. In II, 17 sagt er, M. habe den Spruch von dem Gott, der seine Sonne aufgehen läßt über Gute und Böse (Matth. 5, 45) aus dem Ev. gestrichen. Entweder denkt hier Tert. an das vierfache Ev. als an eine Einheit oder er besann sich nicht darauf, daß der Spruch nicht bei Lukas steht. Daß Epiph. (haer. 42, 3) Marcion Mark. 10, 38 in den Mund legt, käme an sich nicht in Betracht, wenn es nicht auch Origenes bezeugte.

2 S. Tert. IV, 7. 9. 12. 36; V, 14.

3 Adamant., Dial. II, 15; hier sagt der Marcionit Markus: *Τοῦτο* (Matth. 5, 17) *οἱ Ἰουδαϊσταὶ ἔγραψαν· οὐχ οὕτως δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός, λέγει γάρ· ‚Οὐκ ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ καταλῦσαι'*. Darauf Adamant.: *Ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας τόλμης ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐναλλάξαι.*

4 Isidor Pelus., ep. I, 371: (Im Ev. M.s wirst du die Genealogie Christi getilgt finden „und wenn du noch etwas weiter liest, wirst du noch eine andere Bosheit sehen), *ἀμείψαντες γὰρ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν ‚Οὐκ ἦλθον' λέγοντος ‚καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας' ἐποίησαν· ‚Δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας; ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πληρῶσαι'*. Die Fassung hier ist die zuverlässigere gegenüber der des Marcioniten Markus.

Nach Zahn[1] soll Marcion selbst vier Stellen aus dem Joh. Ev. in sein Ev. aufgenommen haben, bzw. sich von ihnen abhängig erweisen; aber der Beweis reicht für keine der Stellen aus. Weil M. in Luc. 11, 13 zu *ἄρτον* in der 4. Bitte *σου* gestellt und damit die geistliche Deutung vorgeschrieben habe, soll er von Joh. 6, 33 beeinflußt sein. Diese Kombination darf man auf sich beruhen lassen. In den Dialogen des Adamantius wird II, 16 Joh. 13, 34 („Ein neues Gebot gebe ich euch, daß ihr euch untereinander liebet, wie der Vater euch geliebt hat") und II, 20 Joh. 15, 19 („Wenn ihr aus dieser Welt wäret, so würde die Welt ihr Eigentum lieben") vom Marcioniten Markus (im ersten Fall ausdrücklich als aus seiner Bibel) zitiert mit kleinen Abweichungen, die Marcionitisch anmuten. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß diese Worte in einer späteren Marcionitischen Bibel gestanden haben; aber der Beweis läßt sich nicht erbringen, daß schon M. selbst sie eingefügt hat. Endlich teilt Chrysostomus mit, daß die Marcioniten in ihrer Auslegung von Phil. 2, 6 f. in der Fußwaschung die Annahme der Knechtsgestalt des Erlösers erkennen[2]. Auch hier hat man keine Gewähr dafür, daß M. selbst die Fußwaschung in sein Ev. aufgenommen hat — so wenig, wie man aus der Phantasie der Marcioniten bei Origenes, M. sitze im Himmel zur Linken Christi, schließen darf, M. selbst habe Matth. 20, 20 ff. in sein Evangelium aufgenommen (s. o.). Nicht unmöglich ist es, daß er die Fußwaschung in den Antithesen behandelt hat.

Marcions Ev. ist mithin ausschließlich ein verfälschtes Lukasev.; M. hat schlechterdings keinen Stoff aus einem anderen Ev. hinzugenommen; mögen auch in den Konformierungen (mit Matth.) einige Stellen auf ihn zurückgehen (?). In diesen Fällen müßte er angenommen haben, daß der Fälscher des echten Ev.s, Lukas, etwas geändert hatte, was zufällig in dem judaistischen Ev. des Matth. der Verfälschung entgangen ist. Doch alles, was hier vielleicht in Betracht kommt, ist ohne Bedeutung.

Diese Reinheit des Ev.s M.s von allen „apokryphen"

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1 A. a. O. I S. 675 ff.

2 Hom. VII in Phil. (T. XI p. 246): *Μορφὴν δούλου, φασίν, ἔλαβεν, ὅτι τὸ λέντιον περιζωσάμενος ἔνιψε τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν.*

Stoffen ist sehr bemerkenswert [1]. Wie anders steht es bei Justin oder im 2. Clemensbrief! Die exklusive Energie, mit der er den NTlichen Kanon von 1+10 Schriften geschaffen hat, zeigt sich auch in der festen Beschränkung auf e i n e Quelle in bezug auf den evangelischen Stoff. Es spricht aus diesem Verfahren, das mit dem Ausschluß von Prophetien und Apokalypsen jeglicher Art sowie mit der Ablehnung der allegorischen Erklärung zusammengehalten werden muß, die feste Absicht, allen Unsicherheiten zu begegnen und der Verkündigung der neuen Religion eine sichere Grundlage zu geben.

Aber da M. Unfehlbarkeit für seinen Evangelientext nicht in Anspruch nehmen konnte, haben sofort in seiner Kirche die Textänderungen begonnen, d. h. sich fortgesetzt. Das war so notorisch und anstößig, daß selbst der gründliche Kämpfer gegen das Christentum, Celsus, wenige Jahre nach M.s Tod, mißbilligend davon Notiz genommen hat (c. Cels. II, 27) und Tert. ausdrücklich bemerkt, daß diese „Bibelverbesserung" noch immer geübt werde, ja daß selbst die Streitunterredungen oder -schriften mit den Katholiken den Marcioniten Anlaß zu ihnen gaben [2]. Über die tendenziösen Korrekturen M.s s. die Untersuchung oben in dem Hauptteil.

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1 Daß M. den Spruch Luk. 9, 60 als an Philippus gerichtet bezeichnet hat (Clemens Alex., Strom. III, 4, 25), ist nicht gewiß; es kann auch diese apokryphe Adresse auf einem Irrtum des Clemens beruhen. Der Spruch lautet übrigens bei Clemens anders (*ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, σὺ δὲ ἀκολούθει μοι*), als er für M. bezeugt ist. — Einen, unter Verwendung von Matth. 5, 9. 10 frei gestalteten Spruch im Ev. des M. mußte man früher der Stelle Clem., Strom. IV, 6, 41 entnehmen; hier heißt es nach früherer Lesung: „*Μακάριοι*", *φησίν*, „*οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται*", *ἢ ὥς τινες τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια·* „*Μακάριοι*" *φησίν*, „*οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι*". Nur M. kann die selig gepriesen haben, die v o n der Gerechtigkeit verfolgt werden. Allein nach dem Text von S t ä h l i n ist *ὑπό* ein Lesefehler; es ist *ὑπέρ* zu lesen. Dann hat Clemens die Fälschung ausschließlich in dem „*ἔσονται τέλειοι*" gesehen und an Marcion zu denken, liegt kein sicherer Grund vor, da auch andere die Evangelien verfälscht haben.

2 Tert. IV, 5: „Cotidie (Marcionitae) reformant evangelium, prout a nobis quotidie revincuntur".

Anhang: Marcions Evangelium und Tatians Diatessaron.

Kurze Zeit nach Marcion hat Tatian sein „Diatessaron" hergestellt. Er teilte die asketischen Grundsätze mit M.; er lehrte wie dieser einen Demiurg, wenn er ihn auch freundlicher beurteilte; er sprach Adam die Seligkeit ab, und er verfaßte ein uns leider nicht erhaltenes Werk, dessen Titel „Probleme" an die „Antithesen" M.s erinnert. Die Vermutung liegt daher nahe, daß sein Evangelienwerk eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit dem Marcionitischen hatte. In der Tat fehlten auch in dem Diatessaron die Genealogien Jesu, und Luk. 2, 34 hat Tatian „viele in Israel", Matth. 1, 20 die Davidssohnschaft getilgt. Allein darüber hinaus lassen sich, soviel ich sehe, innerlich verwandte Züge zwischen den beiden Evangelien nicht finden. Sofern M.s 𝔚text mit den alten Syrern geht und der Text Tatians ihnen, aber auch sonst dem 𝔚text nahesteht, besteht eine Verwandtschaft[1] aber M.s tendenziöse Korrekturen haben auf Tatian keinen Einfluß geübt. Daher darf man auch annehmen, daß er aus anderen Gründen als M. und unbeeinflußt von ihm die oben bezeichneten Korrekturen vorgenommen hat.

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1 Zur Zeit ist es noch nicht möglich, eine Vergleichung der beiden Texte anzustellen; erst muß der Tatian-Text, quoad fieri potest, hergestellt sein.

Beilage V: Die Antithesen Marcions
(nach Zitaten und Referaten) [1].

(1) Das Werk war wahrscheinlich einem ungenannten Konfessionsgenossen zugeeignet, den M. in der Widmung als *συνταλαίπωρος καὶ συμμισούμενος* bezeichnet hat (Tert. IV, 9. 36); doch ist es nicht ganz sicher, daß diese Widmung zu den Antithesen gehört [2].

(2) Wahrscheinlich hatte das Werk eine Einleitung (Prolog), in der die Worte standen: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann" (s. Schäfers, Eine altsyrische, antimarcionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn usw., 1917, S. 3 f.; der Unbekannte berichtet: „Marcion schreibt in seinem Buche, das sie mit Namen „Proevangelium" nennen .... und es ist im Anfang dieser Schrift also geschrieben: „O Wunder" usw.).

(3) Am Anfang der „Antithesen" hat sich M. im Anschluß an Gal. 1. 2. über das Verhältnis von Paulus und den Uraposteln ausgesprochen und die Urapostel charakterisiert sowie „die falschen Brüder". Ferner hat er es gerechtfertigt, daß er die vier Evangelien seiner Gegner verworfen und das eine, welches er allein angenommen, von den „Zusätzen" und dem falschen Titel

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1 Über den „Brief" M.s bedarf es hier keiner Mitteilung, da alles, was man darüber wissen kann, S. 21* f. sowie in unserem Hauptabschnitt über die Antithesen steht. Daß Tert. mehrere Briefe M.s gekannt hat, ist unwahrscheinlich. Bunsens luftige Hypothese, M. sei der Verfasser des Diognetbriefs, braucht nicht widerlegt zu werden.

2 In bezug auf die Quellen der „Antithesen" s. Tert. III, 8: „Desinat haereticus a Judaeo — aspis, quod aiunt, a vipera — mutuari venenum".

befreit habe. Ebenso muß er sich über seine Sammlung von Paulusbriefen und seine Reinigung derselben ausgesprochen haben, wahrscheinlich auch über die zu verwerfende Apostelgeschichte und Apokalypse. Diese Ausführungen im Eingang müssen ausführlich gewesen sein. Maruta sagt, die Marcioniten hätten die Apostelgeschichte abgetan und statt ihrer ein anderes Buch eingeschoben, das sie „Summa" nennen (De Sancta Synodo Nicaena, 3. Häresie); das sind höchstwahrscheinlich die „Antithesen". In dem folgenden sind die Quellenstellen zusammengestellt, aus denen sich M.s negative und positive Kritik an den Uraposteln, Paulus und den Evangelien ergibt. Schwerlich haben sie alle in der Einleitung gestanden; aber bei der Dürftigkeit des Materials und der Wichtigkeit der Sache ist es zweckmäßig, sie hier zusammenzufassen:

„Marcion semetipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt qui evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit discipulis suis" (Iren. I, 27, 2).

„Peritiores apostolis volunt esse" (Iren. IV, 5, 5 f.).

„Apostolos admiscuisse ea quae sunt legalia salvatoris verbis (Iren. III, 2,2).

„M. totum reiciens evangelium, immo vero se ipsum abscindens ab evangelio, partem gloriatur se habere evangelii" (Iren. III, 11, 7).

„Secundum Lucam evangelium decurtantes gloriantur se habere evangelium" (Iren. III, 14, 3).

„Apostoli adhuc quae sunt Iudaeorum sentientes annuntiaverunt evangelium" (Iren. III, 12, 12); „non cognoverunt veritatem" (Iren. III, 13, 2).

Vielleicht darf aus Tert., de bapt. 12 geschlossen werden, daß M. den Uraposteln das Heil abgesprochen hat, weil sie nicht getauft seien.

„Solus Paulus veritatem cognovit, cui per revelationem manifestatum est mysterium" (Iren. III, 13, 1).

„Marcionitae aiunt, Marcionem non tam innovasse regulam separatione legis et evangelii, quam retro adulteratam recurasse . . . nam et ipsum Petrum ceterosque, columnas apostolatus, a Paulo reprehensos opponunt, quod non recto pede incederent ad evangelii veritatem" (Gal. 2) . . . . „Quosdam falsos fratres Paulus inrepsisse descripsit", „qui vellent Galatas ad aliud evangelium transferre" . . . . „Paulus novum deum praedicans veteris dei

legem cupiebat excludere" .... „ecclesiae apostolici census a primordio corruptae sunt" (Tert. I, 20). „Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis ut non recte pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scil. fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat .... Si apostolos praevaricationis [Pflichtvergessenheit] et simulationis suspectos Marcion haberi queritur usque ad evangelii depravationem, Christum iam accusant accusando quos Christus elegit; si vero apostoli quidem integrum evangelium contulerunt, de sola convictus inaequalitate reprehensi, pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interpolaverunt et inde sunt nostra digesta, quod erit germanum illud apostolorum instrumentum, quod adulteros passum («non» passum Kroym., unnötig) est, quod Paulum inluminavit et ab eo Lucam? aut si tam funditus deletum est, ut cataclysmo quodam, ita inundatione falsariorum obliteratum, iam ergo nec Marcion habet verum" (Tert. IV, 3). „Principalis adversus Iudaismum epistola, quae Galatas docet" (V, 2). „Proponunt ad ignorantiam aliquam apostolorum, quod Petrus et qui cum eo reprehensi sunt a Paulo; ‚adeo', inquiunt, ‚aliquid eis defuit' .... ‚alia evangelii forma a Paulo superducta citra eam quae praemiserat Petrus et ceteri' .... suspectam faciunt doctrinam superiorem" .... sed etsi in tertium usque caelum ereptus Paulus et in paradisum delatus audiit quaedam illic, non possunt videri fuisse quae illum in aliam doctrinam instructiorem praestarent" (de praescr. 22 ff.).

„‚Cum huic negotio (der Mission) accingerentur apostoli, renuntiaverunt presbyteris et archontis et sacerdotibus Iudaeorum'; ‚an non vel maxime', inquit, ‚ut alterius dei praedicatores?'" (Tert. III, 22). „Quae dehinc passi sunt apostoli? ‚Omnem', inquis, iniquitatem persecutionum, ab hominibus creatoris, ut adversarii eius quem praedicabant' " (l. c.).

Die „falsi apostoli", von denen durchweg in den Prologen zu den Paulusbriefen die Rede ist, sind in der Regel nicht die Urapostel. „Falsi et superinducticii fratres (Gal. 2, 4) interpolatione scripturae, qua Christum creatoris effigerent, perverterunt evangelium" (V, 3). Nach II. Kor. 2, 17 — die Stelle (mit der

LA *οἱ λοιποί*) wird von M. auf die Apostel bezogen — sind diese des *καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* schuldig.

Zu Kol. 1, 16: „Haec pseudapostoli et Iudaici evangelizatores de suo intulerunt" (V, 19).

„Ex his commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur M. elegisse (Tert. IV, 2); vorher: „M. evangelio suo nullum adscribit auctorem". „Evangelium, quod Lucae refertur apud nos, M. per Antithesîs suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum" (Tert. IV, 4).

„Cur non evangelia Iohannis et Matthaei quoque M. attigit aut emendanda, si adulterata, aut agnoscenda, si integra" (IV, 5)?

„Christus reiecit Iohannis disciplinam ut dei alterius et discipulos defendit, ut merito aliter incedentes, aliam scil. et contrariam initiatos divinitatem" (IV, 11).

„Petrus' großes Bekenntnis (Luk. 9, 21) war falsch (Petrus hielt Jesus für den Sohn des Weltschöpfers); daher gebot ihm Jesus Schweigen; denn „noluit mendacium disseminari" (IV, 21).

Der Jünger, der Jesus bat, ihn beten zu lehren (Luk. 11, 1), hatte begriffen, daß Jesus einen neuen Gott verkündigte (IV, 26).

M. bezog die *γενεὰ ἄπιστος* (Luk. 9, 41) auf die Jünger (IV, 22) und erkannte in der Absicht des Petrus, drei Hütten zu bauen, dessen irrige Meinung, Jesus gehöre zum Gott des Moses und Elias.

„Sed ne audeas argumentari apostolos ut alterius dei praecones a Iudaeis vexatos" (IV, 39).

„Petrum ceterosque apostolos vultis Iudaismi magis adfines subintelligi" (V, 3). „Petrus legis homo" (IV, 11).

Markus, Dial. II, 12: Die Urapostel *ἐκήρυξαν ἀγράφως* (also sind das Matth.- und Joh.-Ev. nicht von ihnen); ebendort II, 15: *οἱ Ἰουδαϊσταί* haben Matth. 5, 17 geschrieben.

Die Marcioniten Markus und Megethius erklären beide, Christus selbst sei der Verf. des von ihnen gebrauchten Evangeliums; dieser korrigiert sich dann und nennt Paulus als Verfasser (Dial. I, 8; II, 13 f.).

„Ecclesiae apostolici census a primordio corruptae sunt" (Tert. I, 20; s. oben).

(4) Schon der Presbyter bei Irenäus (IV, 27, 1; 28, 1; 30, 1. 4; 31, 1) bekämpfte M., weil er den „Typus" im AT ablehnt.

„Marcion allegorias non vult in prophetis habuisse formas" (Tert. V, 18); dasselbe leugnete er in bezug auf das Gesetz (s. Irenäus l. c. V, 7); vgl. ferner II, 21; III, 5. 14; IV, 20: die AT-lichen Prophezeiungen haben sich entweder schon in der jüdischen Geschichte erfüllt oder werden sich in der Zeit des jüdischen Messias, des Antichrists, erfüllen. Auch das Evangelium ist nicht *νοητόν* sondern *ψιλόν*; nur sofern es Parabeln enthält und Ausdrücke, die sich von selbst als figurae erklären, sind sie auszudeuten (Megethius im Dial. I, 7; das Brot Luk. 22, 19 ist „figura corporis", Tert. IV, 40).

Μαρκίων φάσκει μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν γραφήν (Orig., Comm. XV, 3 in Matth., T. III p. 333), vgl. Comm. II, 13 in Rom., T. VI p. 136: „Marcion, cui per allegoriam nihil placet intelligi"; Sel. in Psalm., T. XII p. 73: „Haec illi ita sentiunt pro eo, quod allegoriam nolunt in scriptura divina recipere et ideo p u r a e h i s t o r i a e deservientes huiusmodi fabulas et figmenta componunt"; de princip. IV, 9 (dunkel ist die Bemerkung des Orig. bei Hieron im Comm. z. Gal. 4, 24 ff.).

Ephraem, Lied gegen die Ketzer 36, 6 f.: „Im AT verstehen die Marcioniten alle Anthropomorphismen wörtlich".

Man muß annehmen, daß sich M. in den Antithesen prinzipiell und generell an irgend einer Stelle seines Werkes, vielleicht in der Einleitung, über die allegorische und typologische Auslegung ausgesprochen und sie als grundfalsch verworfen hat.

(5) Die vier Hauptstellen für Marcions Lehre: I. *Ὁ Χριστὸς φανερῶς λέγει* (Luk. 16, 13, dazu Matth. 6, 24) *ὅτι· ,Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, . . . λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* (Luk. 6, 43; dazu Matth. 7, 18)· *,Οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς κακοὺς ἐνέγκαι'· οἱ δύο κύριοι ἐδείχθησαν· ὁρᾷς δύο φύσεις, δύο κυρίους . . . ἀδύνατον φ ύ σ ε ι ς μεταβληθῆναι . . . οὐ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο λέγει* (Megethius, Dial., I, 28; Markus l. c. II, 20).

Luk. 6, 43 als Beweisstelle M.s für die zwei Götter bei Tert. I, 2 (verbunden mit Jes. 45, 7: „Ego sum qui condo mala" und „mit anderen Argumenten"; s. auch Tert. II, 13 f. 24, verbunden mit Jerem. 18, 11: „Ecce ego emitto in vos mala"), Hipp., Refut. X, 19, Pseudotertullian, Filastrius 45, Origenes (De princip. I, 8, 2; II, 5, 4 [„famosissima quaestio Marcionitarum"]; Comm. Ser. 117 in Matth., T. V p. 23; Comm. III, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 195: „Non,

ut haeretici deum legis accusant, mala radix est lex et mala arbor, per quam peccati venit agnitio, quia non dixit ‚ex lege agnitio peccati', sed ‚per legem' "). Die „lex" aber ist = „deus legis"; s. Tert. V, 13: „Lex i. e. deus legis seduxit". Ausdrücklich bemerkt Tert. (I, 2), daß M. den Spruch nicht auf die Menschen bezogen, sondern im Zusammenhang mit der Beantwortung der Frage „Unde malum", aus ihm zwei Götter gefolgert habe: „in creatorem interpretatur malam arborem malos fructus condentem. . . . alium deum praesumpsit esse debere in partem bonae arboris bonos fructus ⟨condentem⟩, et ita in Christo quasi aliam inveniens dispositionem solius et purae benignitatis, ut diversae a creatore, facile novam et hospitam argumentatus est divinitatem in Christo suo revelatam. . . has naturas quibus disposuerit articulis per ipsas responsiones nostras ostendemus".

II. *Λέγει ὁ σωτήρ* (Luk. 5, 36, dazu Matth. 9, 17) *‚Βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται'· τὸ καινὸν οὐκ ἔστι πλήρωμα τοῦ παλαιοῦ· πάλιν γὰρ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ* (Luk 5, 36, dazu Matth. 9, 16)· *‚Οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ'· οὐκ ἔστι πλήρωμα νόμου οὐδ' ὁ Χριστὸς οὐδ' ὁ ἀπόστολος* (Markus bei Adamant., Dial. II, 16).

Vgl. dazu Tertull. III, 15; Epiphan. h. 42, 2; Filastr. 45; Ephraem, Sermo 44. Der Marcionit bei Adamant., Dial. II, 16 f hat zu diesem Spruch II Kor. 5, 17 („Neue Kreatur") gestellt.

III. Von den Seligpreisungen sagt Tertullian (IV, 14): „Venio nunc ad ordinarias sententias eius, per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit, ad edictum, ut ita dixerim, Christi" (zu Luk. 6, 20 ff.).

IV. Zu dem Spruch Luk. 18, 19 bemerkt Origenes (de princ. II, 5, 1): „Superest Marcionitis etiam illud, quod velut proprie sibi datum scutum putant, quod dixit dominus in evangelio: ‚Nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater', dicentes hoc esse proprium vocabulum patris Christi".

(6) *Ὁ νόμος > τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου > ὁ θεὸς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,* bzw. *ὁ πατὴρ Ἰ. Χρ.*: Diese Gegensätze sind für M. oft bezeugt. Er hat auch den von Matth. (5, 17) überlieferten Spruch in den Antithesen als Einschiebung der Judaisten bezeichnet, vgl. Tert. IV, 7: „(Christus descendit), non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. hoc enim M. ut

additum erasit"; IV, 9 (nach Anführung des Spruchs): „Quid ergo tibi fuit de evangelio erasisse quod salvum est? . . . . . constat ergo dixisse Christum haec verba. quia et fecit, et te potius vocem domini de evangelio eradicasse quam nostros iniecisse"; IV, 12; V, 14: „Frustra de ista sententia neganda Ponticus laboravit: ‚Non ego veni legem dissolvere, sed adimplere' ". M. hat sich also noch begnügt, den Spruch als Fälschung zu bezeichnen und sein Gegenteil als das Richtige (Tert. IV, 36: „Ab alio deo descendit Iesus ad detectionem creatoris, ad destructionem legis et prophetarum"); aber die späteren Marcioniten haben sich nicht gescheut, wie Adamantius (s. Markus, Dial. II, 15: *Τοῦτο οἱ Ἰουδαϊσταὶ ἔγραψαν· οὐχ οὕτως δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός, λέγει γάρ· Οὐκ ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ καταλῦσαι)* und Isidor von Pelusium bezeugen, den Spruch in Umkehrung in das Ev. einzusetzen s. S. 252*).

Iren. I, 27, 2: „. . . Iesum dissolventem prophetas et legem et omnia opera eius dei qui mundum fecit". Durch die Bergpredigt hat nach M. Jesus die Auflösung vollzogen; ihre Sprüche „continent contrietatem et dissolutionem praeteritorum", s. IV, 13, 1.

Tert. I, 19: „Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis". V, 19: „M. segregat alii deo legem et alii deo Christum" (V, 19); „evangelium" und „Christus" sind vertauschbar.

(7) *Ὁ δίκαιος θεός* > *ὁ ἀγαθός* (*ὁ κρείσσων, κράτιστος,* „optimus" „ultro bonus") *θεός:* dieser Gegensatz ist an sehr zahlreichen Stellen für M. von den meisten Zeugen bezeugt; Irenäus I, 27, 1 hat ihn auch auf Cerdo übertragen. Orig., De princ. II, 7, 1: „. . . . nam ut concedamus Marcioni . . . . posse differentias deitatis inducere et aliam boni naturam, aliam vero iusti describere". Weil die in der Praefatio des Werks De princ. enthaltene regula fidei durchweg antimarcionitisch lautet, so findet sich hier der Satz c. 4: „Hic deus iustus et bonus, pater domini nostri I. Chr., legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum deus est et V. et N. Testamenti". Derselbe, Philoc. c. 10, 27 f.: *δίκαιον μὲν αὐτὸν* (den Weltschöpfer) *εἶναι θέλουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθόν.* Iren. III, 24, 3: „Quemadmodum autem et sapientem dicunt patrem omnium (den obersten guten Gott), si non et iudiciale ei assignent . . . . quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eundem deum et iustum et bonum confessus est". Auch Tert. beweist durch

seine wiederholten Nachweise (daß bonum und iustum zusammengehören) die grundlegende Scheidung beider Elemente bei M. Clem., Strom. II, 8, 39: *Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος τὸν νόμον κακὸν μὲν οὐ φήσουσι, δίκαιον δέ, διαστέλλοντες τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δικαίου.* Tert. I, 24: ,,Deus tantummodo et perfecte bonus", vgl. I, 25: ,,Sola bonitas negatis ceteris adpendicibus sensibus et adfectibus, quos Marcionitae quidem a deo suo abigunt in creatorem". I, 26: ,,solitaria bonitas". I, 25: ,,Deus bonus beatum et incorruptibile est neque sibi neque alii molestias praestat: hanc sententiam ruminans M. removit ab illo severitates et iudiciarias vires". II, 17: ,,Catholica et summa bonitas, semota a iudiciariis sensibus et in suo statu pura." De praescr. 34: ,,Nemo alterum deum ausus est suspicari, donec M. praeter creatorem alium deum solius bonitatis induceret;" de carne 5: ,, ,Deus optimus et simplex et bonus tantum *(ἄριστος καὶ ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀγαθὸς μόνον)*. Esnik S. 181: ,,Der Gute, wie sie ihn nennen, da er, wie sie sagen, von Natur gut ist". Tert. I, 11. 19. 23: ,, ,Haec est principalis et perfecta bonitas, cum sine ullo debito familiaritatis in extraneos voluntaria et libera effunditur, secundum quam inimicos quoque nostros et per hoc nomine iam extraneos diligere iubeamur' ". I, 14: ,, ,Deus melior adamavit hominem, opus creatoris' ".

Die Unterscheidung des gerechten und des guten Gottes fällt zusammen mit der Unterscheidung des Judengottes und des Vaters Jesu Christi (so alle Zeugen); der Judengott ist als Weltschöpfer ein universaler Gott, aber zugleich doch ein partikularer, weil er sich das Judenvolk erwählt hat und alle Menschen nur durch das Judentum hindurch sein Wohlgefallen erlangen und zu der von ihm verheißenen Ruhe und Seligkeit gelangen können (so alle Zeugen); s. vor allem Tert. IV, 6: Iustum, lex, Iudaismus > bonum, evangelium, Christianismus; IV, 33: ,,Creator proprius deus Iudaicae gentis". Tert. (II, 29) wundert sich darüber, daß M. den Gegensatz der beiden Götter niemals auf den Gegensatz von Licht und Finsternis gebracht hat: ,,Alium deum lucis ostendisse debueras, alium vero tenebrarum, quo facilius alium bonitatis alium severitatis persuasisses" (Fast wörtlich dasselbe IV, 1). Daher kann die Bemerkung des Origenes (wenn er es ist) bei Hieron. im Komm. zu Gal. c. 1, 4: ,,Solent haeretici hinc capere occasionem, ut alium lucis et futuri saeculi, alium

tenebrarum et praesentis asserant conditorem", nicht auf Marcion gehen, und Hieron. irrt, wenn er Comm. in Iesaiam l. XII, 45, T. IV p. 534 behauptet, nach M. habe der gute Gott, der Schöpfer des Unsichtbaren, das Licht geschaffen, der gerechte Weltschöpfer aber die Finsternis. Möglich ist nur, daß M. jenem mit der Schöpfung des Unsichtbaren die Erschaffung eines besonderen „Lichts" zugeschrieben hat.

(8) „Alter deus iudex, ferus bellipotens [„irascitur et aemalatur et extollitur et exacerbatur" Tert. II, 16; „acerbissimus creator" III, 4], alter mitis, placidus et tantummodo bonus atque optimus" (Tert. I, 6; V, 11 die Bezeichnung Gottes als „des Vaters der Barmherzigkeit und Gott alles Trostes" ist die spezifische des neuen Gottes und ihr Erkenntnisgrund ist die Erlösung der Menschheit; so oder ähnlich an vielen Stellen und bei zahlreichen Zeugen; s. z. B. V, 4: „Deus Marcionis nec irasci novit nec ulcisci".... „deus optimus et profusae misericordiae"; III, 8: „optimus et diversissimus a mendaciis et fallaciis creatoris"). Iren. III, 24, 2 f.: „Ut increpativum auferrent a patre et iudiciale (*τὸ ἐπιτιμητικὸν καὶ τὸ κριτικόν*), indignum id deo putantes, et sine iracundia et bonum arbitrantes se adinvenisse deum, alterum quidem iudicare et alterum quidem salvare dixerunt, nescientes utrorumque [auferentes] sensum et iustitiam". Iren. IV, 40, 2: „Alius quidem est, qui regnum donat pater, et alius qui ignem praeparavit deus". Orig., Hom. I, 16 in Jerem. p. 14 f. Klostermann, zu Deut. 32, 39 (*Ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ*): *Συνεχῶς προέφερον ἡμῖν λέγοντες· Ὁρᾷς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου πῶς ἐστιν ἄγριος καὶ ἀπάνθρωπος*, vgl. dazu Hom. XII, 4 in Jerem. p. 91. Orig., Comm. XV, 11 in Matth., T. VI p. 349; Hom. XVI in Luk., T. V p. 142 f.: „Cruentus et saevus et crudelis est conditor". Tert. II, 13: „ ‚Deus', ut dicitis, ‚saevit' ".

Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 3: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐλεήσας ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ⟨ἀγαθὸς⟩ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς.... Συνεπάθησεν ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀλλοτρίοις ὡς ἁμαρτωλοῖς· οὔτε ὡς ἀγαθῶν οὔτε ὡς κακῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἠλέησεν.*

Im Gegensatz zum Weltschöpfer „non minatur mitissimus deus, quia nec iudicat nec irascitur" (Tert. IV, 19). „Marcionis deus melior de tranquillitate" (De praescr. 7). „Tranquillitas et mansuetudo" (IV, 29). „Lenissimi dei regnum" (IV, 30). „Negat M. moveri deum suum" (IV, 31). „Deus iudex timeri vult, apud

quem sunt materiae timoris, ira saevitia iudicia vindicta damnatio; deus bonus timendus non est" (Tert. IV, 8 und sonst).

„(Deus melior) iudicat plane malum nolendo et damnat prohibendo, dimittit autem non vindicando et absolvit non puniendo .... atque adeo prae se ferunt Marcionitae, quod deum suum omnino non timeant; ‚malus enim', inquiunt, ‚timebitur, bonus autem diligetur'" (Tert. I, 27). L. c.: „Interrogati (Marcionitae): quid fiet peccatori cuique die illo? respondent: ‚Abici illum quasi ab oculis'." .... „Exitus autem (I, 28) illi abiecto quis? ‚Ab igni', inquiunt, ‚creatoris deprehendetur'."

Auf die Frage, warum er denn nicht sündige und verleugne, wenn sein Gott nicht strafe, antwortet M.: „, ‚Absit', inquit, ‚absit'" (Tert. I, 27). Der Marcionit Megethius bringt (Dial. II, 5) zu II Thess. 1, 6. 7 eine Theorie, die aber nicht echt Marcionitisch ist. Der Marcionit Markus (Dial. II, 1 f.): *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς οὐ κατακρίνει τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας αὐτῷ.*

V, 19: „M. principalem suae fidei terminum de Epicuri schola agnoscat, deum inferens hebetem, ne timeri eum dicat.

Der Weltschöpfer ist aemulus, zelotes und impatiens; daher ist die Geduld, zu der Christus ermahnt (Luk. 21, 19), eine neue Tugend (Tert. IV, 38). Der gute Gott hat sie auch dem Weltschöpfer gegenüber bewährt; daher sagt Celsus (bei Orig. VI, 52): *Τί περιορᾷ πονηρὸν δημιουργὸν ἀντιπράττοντα ἑαυτῷ;* Christus übte auch dem Gesetz des Weltschöpfers gegenüber Güte, Langmut und Geduld; er erlaubte dem Aussätzigen, sich dem Priester zu zeigen (IV, 9); er korrigierte die nicht, die seiner Wundertaten wegen den Weltschöpfer preisen (IV, 18); er ist der Lehrer einer „nova patientia" (IV, 16 zu Luk. 6, 27 ff.).

(9) *Ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ θεὸς τῆς γενέσεως, ὁ ἄρχων τ. αἰῶνος τούτου, γνωστός, κατονόμαστος* > *ὁ θεὸς ἀποκεκρυμμένος, ἄγνωστος, ἀόρατος, ἀκατονόμαστος, καινός, ὁ ξένος, ὁ ἀλλότριος, ὁ ἄλλος, ὁ ἕτερος.* Celsus in bezug auf M. (bei Orig. V, 53): *Ὁ ἀλλότριος καὶ ξένος θεός.* Markus (bei Adamant. II, 12 f.): *ὁ ξένος καὶ ἄγνωστος.* Epiph., Haer. 42, 4: *ὁ ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατονόμαστος πατήρ.* Bei den syrischen Marcioniten war die bevorzugteste Bezeichnung ihres Gottes einfach „der Fremde".

Noch Esnik (Schmid, Esnik S. 144), „Wider die Religion der Perser", bringt die präzise Formel für M.s Gott: „M. schwätzt,

daß es den Geschöpfen des Gerechten eine Schuldigkeit ist, den guten Fremden Verehrung zu erweisen, wegen der Güte".

Megethius (bei Adamant., Dial. I, 23): *Ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐγνώσθη τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ καιρόν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς δηλοῦται· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ἄγνωστός ἐστιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπών* (Luk. 10, 22)· *‚Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ'. . . . πῶς οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ λέγει* (20,5)· *‚Ἐπεγνώσθην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἐρήμῳ'.* S. dazu auch l. c. I, 26, wo es heißt, daß nach Luk. 7, 19 ff. aus der Frage des Täufers hervorgehe, daß er Christus nicht gekannt hat; der Täufer war ein Prophet des Weltschöpfers; da es nun unmöglich ist, daß er diesen seinen Gott nicht gekannt hat, so gehört Christus zu einem anderen, dem Täufer unbekannten Gott; vgl. Tert. IV, 18: „Scandalizatur Johannes auditis virtutibus Christi ut alterius (dei)." Orig., Comm. I § 82 in Joh.: *Ἑτέρου τυγχάνει θεοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀγνοῶν τὴν καινὴν θεότητα.* Neben Luk. 7, 19 ff. war auch nach Tert. (IV, 24 f.) Luk. 10, 22 der locus classicus für M.

Tert. I, 9: „Scio quidem, quo sensu novum deum iactitant, agnitione utique". I, 8: „Novus deus . . . . in vetere mundo et in vetere aevo et sub vetere deo ignotus, inauditus, quem . . . quidam I. Christus, et ille in veteribus nominibus novus, revelavit nec alius antehac." So oder ähnlich an vielen Stellen und bei mehreren Zeugen; vgl. z.B. noch V, 16: „deus Marcionis naturaliter ignotus nec usquam nisi in evangelio revelatus, non omnibus scibilis". Iren. IV, 34, 3: der unbekannte Gott ist „inenarrabilis"; Iren. IV, 6, 4: „Incognitum deum audentes annuntiare"; Iren. III, 11, 2: „Christus non in sua venit (nach M.), sed in aliena" (so öfters bei Tert. und mehreren Zeugen); Iren. V, 2, 1: „Vani qui in aliena dicunt deum venisse, velut aliena concupiscentem, uti eum hominem qui ab altero factus esset exhiberet ei deo, qui neque fecisset neque condidisset, sed et qui desolatus esset ab initio a propria hominum fabricatione" *(ἀπεστηρήθη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας).*

Bekannt ist der eine Gott vor allem, weil er eine sichtbare Schöpfung hat, unbekannt der andere, weil er eine solche nicht hat. Jener ist der Schöpfer des Himmels (samt den virtutes et potestates caeli, Tert. III, 23), der Erde und der Menschen; er

ist der in seiner Schöpfung erkennbare *κοσμοκράτωρ* (Iren. I, 27, 2 u. a. Zeugen). Aber diese Schöpfung ist dem anderen Gott ganz fremd und er ihr; auch den menschlichen Geist und die Seele hat er nicht geschaffen (Tert. öfters, vgl. Clemens, Strom. III, 3, 13: M. teilt die Lehre Platos von der Göttlichkeit der Seele nicht, ebensowenig die von der Seelenwanderung, was Epiphanius irrtümlich behauptet, haer. 42, 4 fin.). In bezug auf diese Welt ist der andere Gott „otiosus nec operationis nec praedicationis ullius, ita nec temporis alicuius", bis plötzlich sein Christus erschien (Tert. V, 4). Chrysost., Hom. 42(41), 2 in Joh.: M. behauptet: *Ἡ κτίσις ἀλλοτρία τῆς σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν.* Daher sind auch die Menschen dem guten Gott gegenüber „extranei" (Tert. I, 3).

Wohl aber hat er das Unsichtbare geschaffen (Tert. I, 16: „Marcionitae duas species rerum, visibilia et invisibilia, duobus auctoribus deis dividunt et ita suo deo invisibilia defendunt"; ebenso Orig. bei Hieron. im Comm. z. Eph. 3, 8 f.) und hat seinen Himmel, „den dritten", der durch eine Kluft von dem Sichtbaren geschieden ist (Tert. I, 15: „Cum dixeris esse et deo bono conditionem suam et suum mundum et suum caelum"; der „dritte Himmel" öfters; Orig., Hom. XVI, 9 in Jerem. p. 140 f. Klosterm.: *Ἀναπλάσαι θεὸν ἕτερον καὶ κοσμοποιίαν ἄλλην παρὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναγεγραμμένην,* Markus bei Adamant., Dial. II, 19: „Nicht mit Händen gemachte und ungewordene Himmel"). Durch diese Schöpfung aber hat sich der Fremde nicht offenbart (Tert. I, 15: „Substantia [i. e. creatio boni dei i. e. mundus superior] non potest manifestari in hoc mundo), sondern es gilt vielmehr (Tert. I, 19 „inquiunt Marcionitae"): „Immo deus noster, etsi non ab initio, etsi non per conditionem, sed per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Jesu' ", und (Tert. I, 17): „Marcionitae dicunt: ‚Sufficit unum hoc opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate sua omnibus locustis anteponenda' ", vgl. Tert., De resurr. 2: „Humana salus urgentior causa ante omnia requirenda." Weil das unerwartet und fremd ist (usque ad Christum „ipsam magnitudinem sui deus absconderat", Tert. IV, 24), so nannten die Marcioniten ihre Erkenntnis selbst eine „fremde" Freudenbotschaft (Clemens, Strom. III, 3, 12: *Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος τὴν ξένην, ὥς φασι, γνῶσιν εὐαγγελίζονται.*)

Obschon Adam den Weltschöpfer gekannt hat, so haben die Menschen ihn doch vergessen, so daß erst mit Abraham, den er sich erwählt hat, und sodann durch Moses seine Kenntnis wieder begonnen hat; Tert. schreibt (I, 10): „Noli priorem Abraham constituere quam mundum; etsi unius familiae deus fuisset creator, tamen posterior tuo non erat, etiam Ponticis ante eum notus", und: „Si Moses primus videtur in tempore litterarum suarum deum mundi dedicasse, idcirco a Pentateucho natales agnitionis non supputabuntur." M. hatte (I, 11) ausgeführt, um das späte Erscheinen seines Gottes zu rechtfertigen, daß ja auch der Weltschöpfer erst bekannt geworden sei durch die, die er sich erwählt hat („sui"); „extranei" konnten ihn nicht erkennen; M. sagte: „Quis non tam suis notus est quam extraneis? nemo."

Der Weltschöpfer wurde von M. an mehreren Stellen der Paulusbriefe einfach „der Welt" gleichgesetzt; s. Tert. V, 4 (zu Gal. 6, 14): „Mundus i. e. dominus mundi"; V, 5 (zu I Kor. 1, 20f.): „Subtilissimi haeretici hic vel maxime mundum per dominum mundi interpretantur", V, 7 (zu I Kor. 4, 9): „Mundum deum mundi interpretatur", V, 11 (zu II Kor. 3, 14): *τὰ νοήματα τ. κόσμου* = *τ. ν. τοῦ θεοῦ τ. κόσμου*; V, 17 (zu Eph. 2, 2). Auch „lex" = „deus legis" (V, 13).

Nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, daß es M. gewesen ist, der an seine Gegner die Frage gerichtet hat, was denn Christus Neues gebracht habe, wenn alles schon im Gesetz und in den Propheten über ihn und von ihm enthalten war; Iren. IV, 33, 14 f.: „Si autem subit vos huiusmodi sensus, ut dicatis: ‚Quid igitur novi dominus attulit veniens?'" etc. — —

Den Gegensatz des bekannten und unbekannten Gottes hat (Iren. I, 27, 1) schon Cerdo aufgestellt (auch andere Gnostiker), nicht aber den Gegensatz: Der Bekannte und der Fremde.

(10) Der gute Gott hat niemals etwas Widerspruchsvolles angeordnet oder getan, er ist weise (Zusatz von *σοφία* in I Kor. 1, 18; Iren. III, 24, 2 f; Chrysost., Hom. 42(41), 2 in Joh.; der Marcionitische Vers Röm. 16, 27: *μόνος σοφὸς θεός*; Marcioniten, Prol. in Kor.) und „einfältig" (Tert., de carne 5); aber der Weltschöpfer, der „mobilis et instabilis" und „levis et improvidus" ist, bereut seine eigenen Anordnungen und Taten und hat „contrarietates praeceptorum" gegeben. Es reut ihn, daß er die

Menschen gemacht hat, weil sie böse geworden sind, und will sie nun richten und vertilgen (Megethius, Dial. II, 6 und Ephraem, Lied 20, 4). Er verbietet am Sabbat zu arbeiten und gebietet, bei der Eroberung von Jericho die Bundeslade acht Tage umherzutragen. Er verbietet ein Abbild zu machen und gebietet eine eherne Schlange aufzurichten und Bilder der Cherubim und Seraphim herzustellen. Er gebietet Opfer zu bringen und spricht sein Wohlgefallen an den Opfern Abels und Noahs aus, aber er verbietet durch die Propheten die Opfer. Er verwirft die, die er einst approbiert hat (z. B. Saul) und approbiert, die er später fallen lassen muß (z. B. Salomo): ,,Judicia sua aut damnat praeterita aut ignorat futura". Er empfindet nach der Menschenschöpfung Reue über sein eigenes Tun (auch in der Geschichte Sauls und in der Geschichte von Jonas und den Niniviten; war die Bestrafung der Niniviten schlecht, so durfte sie nicht verhängt, war sie gerecht, so durfte sie nicht bereut werden; Tert. II, 21 bis 24). Tert. II, 28: ,, ‚Mutavit sententiam creator . . . paenituit in aliquo creatorem . . . nesciit quales adlegeret' ". Tert. IV, 1: ,,Marcion solet creatorem mobilitatis et inconstantiae nomine reprehendere, prohibentem quae iubet et iubentem quae prohibet". Tert. IV, 27: ,, ‚Creator inaequalis et ipse, inconstans, levis, aliud docens aliud faciens' ". II, 7: ,, ‚Creator dominus futilis, instabilis, infidelis, rescindens quae instituit' ". V, 4: ,, ‚Quae ipse constituerat, creator erasit' ". Iren. II, 3, 1: ,,Instabilis . . . est Marcionis deus".

(11) Christus kannte die Gedanken der Menschen und zeigte überall die wahrhaft göttlichen Eigenschaften; aber der Weltschöpfer zeigt ,,pusillitates et infirmitates et incongruentias" . . . ,, ‚Inclamat deus: Adam ubi es? (Vgl. Megethius bei Adamant. I, 17: *Ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐδὲ ᾔδει ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ Ἀδάμ, λέγων· Ποῦ εἶ; ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾔδει)* scil. ignorans ubi esset et causato nuditatis pudore an de arbore gustasset interrogat, scil. incertus' ". ,, ‚De Cain sciscitatur, ubinam frater eius.' " ,, ‚Ad Sodomam et Gomorram descendens: Videbo, ait, si secundum clamorem pervenientem ad me consummantur, si vero non, ut agnoscam — et hic videlicet ex ignorantia incertus et scire cupidus'." ,,Descensum quoque dei inrides, quasi aliter non potuerit perficere iudicium, nisi descendisset" . . . ,, ‚Iurat deus

per semetipsum'." ,,‚Alium deum super se esse non scivit'" (Tert. I, 11: ,,‚Ignorat esse alium super se deum'"; II, 26. 28). ,,‚Pusillus etiam deus in ipsa ferocia sua, cum ob vituli consecrationem efferatus in populum de famulo suo postulat Moyse: Sine me, et indignatus ira disperdam illos et faciam te in nationem magnam.' unde meliorem soletis adfirmare Moysen deo suo, deprecatorem, immo et prohibitorem irae; non facies enim, inquit, istud, aut et me una cum eis impende." ,,Marcionitae deum in figura et in reliquo ordine humanae conditionis deversatum credunt" (Tert. II, 25—28). ,,‚Adam aliquando quaesierat creator ignorans: Adam ubi es?'" (Tert. IV, 20). ,,‚Creator Christum ignorabat, cum praedicabat'" (Tert. V, 5). ,,‚Ignoravit creator esse aliquem super se'" (II, 28). Orig., Hom. IV, 6 in Gen. 18, 21 (T. VIII p. 168): ,,‚Ecce nesciebat deus legis, quid ageretur in Sodomis, nisi descendisset, ut videret, et misisset, qui discerent'". Orig., Hom. VIII, 8 in Gen. 22, 12 (l. c. p. 202): ,,‚Deus nunc se cognovisse dicit, quia Abraham timeat deum, quasi qui antea ignoraverit'". Tert. II, 27: ,,Lenitatem creatoris ut pusillitatem depretiatis".

Die pusillitates des Weltschöpfers zeigen sich in dem Kläglichen der Schöpfung: ,,Narem contrahentes impudentissimi Marcionitae convertuntur ad destructionem operum creatoris; nimirum, inquiunt, grande opus et dignum deo mundus!" (Tert. I, 13). ,,Animalia minutiora inridet Marcion" (Tert. I, 14; vgl. ebendort ,,haec paupertina elementa" und ,,haec cellula creatoris"). Aus dieser Stelle folgt, daß M. über die Insekten gespottet haben muß (bez. daß ihr Anblick ihn mit Abscheu erfüllt hat); daher Tert. (I, 11): ,,Unam saltem cicerculam deus Marcionis protulisse debuerat"; s. auch I, 17 (,,locustae"); IV, 24 (,,Marcionis deus nec unius lacertae deus"); IV, 26 (,,Deus Marcionis non habet scorpium"). Vgl. auch Hieron., Comm. in Isaiam l. VII, 18 T. IV p. 285 (wohl nach Orig.): ,,Sceleratior Epicuro M. et omnes haeretici, qui Vetus lacerant Testamentum ... accusant creatorem et asserunt eum in plerisque operibus erasse et non ita fecisse, ut facere debuerat. ad quam enim utilitatem hominum serpentes, scorpios, crocodilos et pulices cimicesque et culices pertinere". Zu den anstößigen pusillitates, zumal da sie mit Blutvergießen verbunden, gehört auch die Beschneidung (öfters).

(12) Wie für das Gesetz gilt, daß es weder ἀγαθός noch κακός ist, sondern δίκαιος (s. o. S. 263*) und πονηρός (schlimm beschwerlich), so gilt auch für den Weltschöpfer, daß er nicht ἀγαθός,, aber auch nicht κακός, sondern δίκαιος καὶ πονηρός ist (s. noch Theodoret, h. f. I, 24; δίκαιος καὶ πονηρός, vgl. auch Orig., Philoc. c. 10, 27). Seine πονηρία geht aber so weit, daß er, wie er selbst gesagt hat, auch die ,,mala" schafft; Jesaj. 45,7 bezeugt das: ,,Ego sum, qui condo mala" (Tert. I, 2), und zwar die allerschlimmsten (Wahrscheinlich hat M. Jesaij. 45, 7 besonders stark betont). Beispiele dafür, daß der Weltschöpfer im Gegensatz zum guten Gott ,,conditor malorum" sei, sind nach vielen Zeugen (auch Pseudotertullians Carmen) die Sintflut, die Vernichtung Sodoms usw. durch Feuer, die ägyptischen Plagen, die Verhärtung und Bestrafung Pharaos, die Bestrafung der Väter an den Kindern, die Begünstigung sündhafter Menschen usw. Dagegen verbietet Christus solche Taten (der Presbyter bei Iren. IV, 28, 1: ,,Tentant ex his quae acciderunt his, qui olim deo non obtemperabant, alterum patrem introducere, e contrario opponentes, quanta dominus ad salvandos eos qui reciperunt eum veniens fecisset miserans eorum". Tert. II, 13 f.). Tert. II, 27 saevitia, II, 28 malignitates creatoris. II,28: ,,Delictum et mortem et ipsum auctorem delicti diabolum et omne malum creator passus est esse". II, 28: ,,Mandavit fraudem creator .... mentitus est alicubi ... multos saevitia creatoris absumpsit .... creator aliquem iussit occidi". Vor allem schon aus der Paradies-Geschichte geht die malignitas creatoris hervor (,,Baum der Erkenntnis"; er barg den Tod in sich): ,,A ligno vitae longe transtulit hominem invidens ei lignum vitae" (Iren. III, 23, 6, vgl. Theoph. ad Autol. II, 26 und andere Zeugen): ,,Sciens praeceps ituros homines creator illos in praerupium imposuit" (Tert. IV, 38; vgl. 41). Ausführlich II, 5 schreibt Tert.: ,,Haec sunt argumentationum ossa, quae obroditis: ‚Si deus bonus et praescius futuri et avertendi mali potens, cur hominem, et quidem imaginem et similitudinem suam, immo et substantiam suam, per animae scil. censum, passus est labi de obsequio legis in mortem, circumventum a diabolo? si enim et bonus, qui evenire tale quid nollet, et praescius, qui eventurum non ignoraret, et potens, qui depellere valeret, nullo modo evenisset quod sub his tribus condicionibus divinae maiestatis evenire non posset. quod si evenit,

absolutum est e contrario deum neque bonum credendum neque praescium neque potentem; siquidem in quantum nihil tale evenisset, si talis deus id est bonus et praescius et potens, in tantum ideo evenit, quia non talis deus' "; II, 6 „.... ne tu hinc iam opponas non ita hominem institui debuisse, si libertas et potestas arbitrii exitiosa futura esset". S. auch Tert. IV, 41 (zu Luk. 22, 22), wo Tert. ausführt, daß die Argumentation M.s in bezug auf den Weltschöpfer und Adams Fall („ creatorem aut ignorasse aut noluisse aut potentem non esse") auch Christus und den Fall des Judas Ischarioth trifft. Die „Gerechtigkeit" des Weltschöpfers geht nach M. in habsüchtigen Eifer und in „iniquitas" über; s. Orig., Hom. IX, 3 in Gen. 22, 17 (T. VIII p. 214): „Iniquitate usus est dominus, ut eriperet gentes de potestate adversariorum et ad fidem suam ditionemque revocaret". Iren. I, 27, 2: „Is qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est deus malorum factor et bellorum concupiscens et inconstans quoque sententia et contrarius sibi ipse".

Orig., Sel. in Exod. 4, 21 f. (T. VIII p. 315): Pharaos Verstockung *δικαίου ἐστὶν θεοῦ*, vgl. ib. zu c.10, 27 (l. c. p. 299 ff.). Orig., Sel. in Exod. 20, 5 f. (l. c. p. 325): *Ὁ τοῦ νόμου θεὸς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθός, ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱούς.* Das „*οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος*" ist von Orig. hinzugesetzt; s. Hom. VIII, 6 in Exod. 20, 5 f (T. IX p. 103): „In hoc sermone solent nos haeretici suggillare, quod non sit boni dei sermo, qui pro peccatis alterius alium plecti dicat. sed secundum ipsorum rationem, qui deum legis haec mandantem licet non bonum, iustum tamen dicunt, ne ipsi quidem possunt ostendere, quomodo secundum sensum suum iustitiae convenire videatur, si alius alio peccante puniatur". Orig., Hom. VIII, 1 in Num. 14, 34 (T. X p. 71): „Non convenit bonitati dei, ut pro unius diei peccato annum suppliciorum rependat .... quamvis iustus, non tamen clemens videtur esse aut benignus".

Die Begünstigung schlimmer Menschen seitens des Weltschöpfers: er deckt den ehebrecherischen David, den unzüchtigen Salomo, Lot und seine Töchter (der Presbyter bei Irenäus IV, 27. 31), den Totschläger Moses (Orig., Hom. VII, 1 in Num., T. X p. 54), den grausamen Josua (Orig., Hom. X, 2 in Jes. Nave 9, 9 f. 24, T. XI p. 103: „Nihil humanitatis habuit Jesus filius Nave, ut hominibus Gabaonitis, qui ad se supplices venerant, salutem concedens notam eis infamiae et iugum servitutis in-

fligeret"; l. c. Hom. XII, 1 ff.: „Josua hat mit Gewalt und Grausamkeit das h. Land erobert; Christus aber verbietet alle Gewalt und predigt Barmherzigkeit und Friede; der richtende Gott des Gesetzes predige Grausamkeit).

Aber schließlich ist der Hauptbeweis für die lästige schlimme Natur des Weltschöpfers die Welt als solche, weil sie nicht nur kleinlich und gering (s. u.), sondern auch, vor allem als *γένεσις*, schlecht ist; s. Tert. öfters und Clem., Strom. III, 3, 12: *Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος κακὴν τὴν γένεσιν ὑπειλήφεσαν . . . φύσιν κακὴν ἔκ τε ὕλης κακῆς καὶ ἐκ δικαίου γενομένην δημιουργοῦ.* Strom. IV, 7, 45: *Μαρκίων ἀχαρίστως ἐκδέχεται τὴν δημιουργίαν κακήν* (vgl. IV, 8, 66).

Vor allem schlecht und schmutzig sind Ehe und Zeugung; s. I, 29: Coniugium accusatur spurcitiae nomine in destructionem creatoris .... deus Marcionis matrimonium ut malum et impudicitiae negotium reprobat" (Tert. I, 29). „Deus vester aspernatus est carnem ut terrenam et, ut dicitis: ‚stercoribus infersam'." Die realistischen Ausführungen Tert.s über das Schmutzige der Zeugung, Schwangerschaft, Geburt und Säuglingszustände (III, 11; IV. 21: „Marcionitae omnem nativitatis et educationis foeditatem et ipsius etiam carnis indignitatem, quanta amaritudine possunt, perorant"; de carne 4 usw.) gehen also auf M. zurück („age iam, perora in illa sanctissima et reverenda opera naturae"; „invehere iam et in ipsum mulieris enitentis pudorem" usw.). De resurr. 4: „..... convicium carnis (hört man überall von den Häretikern) in originem, in materiam, in casum, in omnem exitum eius, immundae a primordio ex faecibus terrae, immundioris deinceps ex seminis sui limo, frivolae, infirmae, criminosae, onerosae, molestae et post totum ignobilitatis elogium caducae in originem, terram, et cadaveris nomen, et de isto quoque nomine perituro in nullum inde iam nomen, in omnis iam vocabuli mortem". Das Unreine, Häßliche und Verabscheuungswürdige des Leibes auch bei Ephraem., Lied 47, 1.

Da der Mensch trotz seiner sinnlichen Materialität doch ganz und gar die Schöpfung des Demiurgen ist, so trägt dieser die volle Verantwortung für ihn; ja da die Seele der Hauch Gottes und auch das sündigende Subjekt ist, so ist Gott direkt der Sünder. „„Quoquo', inquis, ‚modo substantia creatoris delicti capax invenitur, cum adflatus dei, i. e. anima, in homine

deliquit, nec potest non ad originalem summam referri corruptio portionis' " (Tert. II, 9) .... ,,sed etsi ab homine in diabolum transscripseris mali elogium, ut in instinctorem delicti, uti sic quoque in creatorem dirigas culpam ut in auctorem diaboli" (II, 10, im Sinne M.s gesagt).

Hieron. (wohl nach Orig.) bezeugt auch M.s Kritik an der Geschichte vom Sündenfall (Dial. adv. Pelag. l. III, T. II p. 787 f.): ,,Quaerit hoc M. et omnes haereticorum canes, qui Vetus laniant Testamentum et huiuscemodi syllogismum texere consueverunt: ,,Aut scivit deus hominem in paradiso positum praevaricaturum esse mandatum illius aut nescivit. si scivit, non est in culpa is qui praescientiam dei vitare non potuit, sed ille qui talem condidit, ut dei non posset scientiam devitare. si nescivit, cui praescientiam tollis, aufers et divinitatem".

Tert. I, 17: ,,Malitia creatoris, adversus quam deus ut bonus subvenit". Die malitia creatoris, um deren willen M. den Weltschöpfer ,,mala arbor" und ,,mala radix" genannt hat (s. o. S. 261*), ist trotz allem eine sekundäre Eigenschaft an ihm.

(13) *Ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦδε τοῦ παντός > ἄλλος μείζων ὤν, ὃς τὰ μείζονα παρὰ τοῦτον πεποίηκεν* (Justin., Apol. I, 26).

,,Deus superior (sublimior) ... deus inferior" — dieser Gegensatz öfters, z B. Tert. V, 18: I, 11; II, 2.

Die Inferiorität des Weltschöpfers ergibt sich auch aus seiner Stellung im Raum (beide Götter sind ,,infinita distantia separati ab invicem" Iren. IV, 33, 2; ,,M. nimmt zwei Götter an; den einen befestigte er an der Erde, den anderen versetzte er in den Himmel" Ephraem); er ist *ὁ κάτω πάντα κρατῶν θεός* und der allmächtige, gute Gott ist ,,super ipsum" (Iren. I, 27, 2; II, 3, 1 und Tert. öfters). Wenn daher der Christus des guten Gottes aus seinem ,,dritten Himmel" (so nach II Kor. 12, 2 öfters) auf die Erde herabsteigt, muß er den Himmel des Weltschöpfers passieren (s. z. B. IV, 7: ,,descendit in civitatem Galilaeae de caelo creatoris, in quod de suo ante descenderat"). Iren. II, 5, 1: ,,Adversus eos qui dicunt, sub bono deo hunc mundum factum."

Der wahre Gott ist ,,super omnia"; ,,,si autem coelum thronus dei (scil. creatoris) et terra suppedaneum eius, dictum est autem praeterire caelum et terram, his praetereuntibus oportet etiam hunc deum, qui supersedeat, praeterire, et ideo non hic

est deus qui est super omnia' " (Iren. IV, 3, 1). Hierzu ist auch IV, 4, 1 zu vergleichen: ,,Adhuc et de Hierusalem et de domino audent dicere, quoniam si esset, ‚Magni regis civitas' " non deliqueretur".

(14) Der Weltschöpfer ist, obgleich ,,Gott" (Tert. I, 6: ,,M. non negat creatorem deum"; II, 2. 16; V, 7), doch nicht voller Gott; s. Tert. l. c.: ,,Non potest admitti, ut summo magno aliquam adscribat deminutionem" und der Presbyter bei Iren. IV, 27, 3: ,,Mundi fabricator est in deminutione" (also ein Ausdruck M.s, wohl = *ἐν μειώσει*). Tert. I, 6: ,,Marcion non duos pares (deos) constituit". Celsus bei Orig. c. Cels. V, 54: *ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ ἐλάττων* > *ὁ κρείττων*. Tert. I, 8: ,,Nomine magnitudinis et nomine benignitatis praelatior deus ignotus nostro creatore". Megethius (Dial. I, 4): *Ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα.* Orig. bei Hieron., Comm. in Eph. 5, 9: *Ὁ δίκαιος . . . ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀγαθός.* Irenäus unterscheidet nach M.s Worten (III, 7, 1) die beiden Götter als ,,deus saeculi huius" und ,,deus, qui est super omnem principatum et initium (*ἀρχήν*) et potestatem". Damit trifft zusammen, daß Gal. 4, 26 M.s Text lautete: *ἄλλη δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννῶσα καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας κτλ.*

Über die Inferiorität des Weltschöpfers s. o. S. 269*ff., seine ,,pusillitates et infirmitates": er ist nicht allwissend (er weiß nicht einmal um die Existenz des anderen Gottes vor der Erscheinung Christi), nicht allmächtig und wird vom Christus des guten Gottes besiegt; s. Megethius (Dial. I, 4): *Ὁ ἐλθὼν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸν διάβολον ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δόγματα ἀνέτρεψεν,* Tert. IV, 20 zu Luk. 8, 25: ,, ‚Iste qui ventis et mari imperat, novus dominator atque possessor est elementorum subacti iam et exclusi creatoris' "; IV, 26 zu Luk. 11, 22 (der Starke, der vom Stärkeren überwältigt wird): ,, ‚creator ab alio deo subactus' ". Der Christus des guten Gottes schaltet in der Unterwelt des Weltschöpfers als Sieger (s. u.).

Die Gleichheit der beiden Götter in den Namen (Tert. III, 15: ,,Commune est apud vos Christi nomen quemadmodum et dei, ut sicut utriusque dei filium Christum competat dici, sicut utrumque patrem deum") ist also in Wirklichkeit nach M. nur eine nominelle. Am deutlichsten zeigt sich die Inferiorität des Weltschöpfers darin, daß er am Schluß des Weltdramas diejenigen dem Feuer übergibt, die der gute Gott nicht angenommen hat (s. o. S. 265*).

Von hier aus erscheint Hippolyt's Bemerkung (c. Noëtum 11) für M. als nicht ganz unrichtig: *Πάντες ἀπεκλείσθησαν εἰς τοῦτο ἄκοντες εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἕνα ἀνατρέχει. εἰ οὖν τὰ πάντα εἰς ἕνα ἀνατρέχει καὶ κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον καὶ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα, Κήρινθόν τε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκείνων φλυαρίαν, καὶ ἄκοντες εἰς τοῦτο περιέπεσαν, ἵνα τὸν ἕνα ὁμολογήσωσιν αἴτιον τῶν πάντων, οὕτως οὖν συντρέχουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ θέλοντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἕνα θεὸν λέγειν ποιήσαντα ὡς ἐθέλησεν.* Der Weltschöpfer wird nicht in alle Ewigkeit bleiben; der gute Gott ist als *θεὸς αἰώνιος* von ihm unterschieden; s. die Marcionitischen Verse Röm. 16, 25 f.

Übrigens bemerkt Tert., daß M. nie Christo selbst die ausdrückliche Lehre von den zwei Göttern in den Mund gelegt hat (IV, 17: „In hoc solo adulterium Marcionis manus stupuisse miror").

(15) Der gute Gott bzw. sein Christus braucht für die Taten und Wunder, die er tut, keine Instrumente und keinen Stoff; dagegen „Creator mundum ex aliqua materia subiacente molitus est, innata et infecta et contemporali deo" . . . „amplius et malum materiae Marcion deputat" (Tert. I, 15). „M. collocat cum deo creatore materiam de porticu Stoicorum" (V, 19). Ephraem, Lied 14, 3: „M. hat die Materie in seinen Schriften dem Schöpfer entgegengestellt"; auch Lied 49, 1. Chrysostomus, Hom. 2, 3 in Gen. c. 1: M. lehrt die Praeexistenz der Materie. Theodoret., Haeret. fab. I, 24: *Ὁ ἀγαθός τε καὶ ἄγνωστος, ὃν καὶ πατέρα προσηγόρευσε τοῦ κυρίου — ὁ δὲ δημιουργός τε καὶ δίκαιος, ὃν καὶ πονηρὸν ὠνόμαζε — πρὸς τούτοις ἡ ὕλη, κακή τε οὖσα καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλῳ κακῷ τελοῦσα.* Esnik: „M. führt irrend eine Fremdheit ein gegenüber dem Gott der Gesetze, neben ihn auch die Materie aufstellend als aus sich seiend" . . . „Alles, was der Schöpfer erschaffen hat, hat er in Gemeinschaft mit der Materie erschaffen!" M. lehrte also nach allen diesen Zeugen zwei Götter und drei unerschaffene Wesen. Die Schöpfung ist eine *φύσις κακὴ ἔκ τε τῆς ὕλης κακῆς καὶ ἐκ δικαίου γενομένη δημιουργοῦ* (Clem., Strom. III, 3, 12), s. o. u. III, 3, 19. Auch bei seinen Wundertaten braucht der Weltschöpfer „Mittel"; s. u. bei Elisa.

(16) Zu dem Gesetz des Weltschöpfers, wie es in den Büchern Moses steht, bemerkte Marcion, daß es aus der niedrigen Gesinnung, der „pusillitas" und „duritia creatoris" stamme (Tert. II, 19), ferner daß ein Teil sich mit „menschlichen" Geboten

decke, ein Teil (die Speisegesetze) tadelnswert sei, ein anderer (die Opfergesetze) die niederen Bedürfnisse und den Blutdurst dieses Gottes verrate (Tert. II, 17 f.; Ephraem, Lied 36, 4). Vgl. Tert. V, 5: „,Stultitia, infirmitas, inhonestas, pusillitas, contemptus: quid stultius, quid infirmius quam sacrificiorum cruentorum et holocaustomatum nidorosorum a deo exactio? quid infirmius quam vasculorum et grabattorum purgatio? quid inhonestius quam carnis iam erubescentis alia dedecoratio? quid tam humile quam talionis indictio? quid tam contemptibile quam ciborum exceptio?'" Das Bedenklichste am Gesetz ist aber, daß es, wie Paulus sagt, gegeben wurde, um die Sünde, die es vorher nicht gab, entstehen und wuchern zu lassen [s. Orig., Comm. IV, 4 in Rom. (zu c. 4, 14 f.), T. VI p. 254; Comm. V, 6 in Rom. (zu c. 5, 20 f.), T. VI p. 368 f.].

(17) M. hat sich schwerlich damit begnügt, nur gelegentlich in den Antithesen bei der Erklärung der Bibel seinen asketischen Grundsätzen Ausdruck zu geben, vielmehr muß er sie prinzipiell zum Ausdruck gebracht und nachdrücklich dargelegt haben, und zwar stand alles bei ihm unter dem leitenden Gesichtspunkt, die Welt des Weltschöpfers nicht zu erfüllen, sondern zu reduzieren und so wenig wie möglich aus ihr zu brauchen, um den Schöpfer dadurch zugleich zu meiden und zu betrüben; auch wollte er nichts in dieser schlechten Welt zurücklassen (Clemens, Strom. III, 4, 25: *Μαρκίων δι' ἀντίταξιν τὴν πρὸς δημιουργὸν τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν κοσμικῶν παραιτούμενος*, l. c. III, 3, 12: *Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸν κόσμον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γενόμενον συμπληροῦν, ἀπέχεσθαι γάμου βούλονται, ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν σφῶν καὶ σπεύδοντες πρὸς τὸν κεκληκότα ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ὥς φασι θεὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ, ὅθεν οὐδὲν ἴδιον καταλιπεῖν ἐνταῦθα βουλόμενοι οὐ τῇ προαιρέσει γίνονται ἐγκρατεῖς, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πεποιηκότα ἔχθρᾳ, μὴ βουλόμενοι χρῆσαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθεῖσιν.* Hipp., Ref. X, 19: *ἐν τούτοις νομίζων λυπεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, εἰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων ἢ ὡρισμένων ἀπέχοιτο).* Daß M. die Eheschließung verbot und den Eheleuten absolute Enthaltung auferlegte, bestätigen alle Hauptzeugen. Er nannte die Ehe „*φθορὰ καὶ πορνεία*" (Iren., I, 28, 1; Hipp., Ref. l. c.); er taufte nur Ehelose oder Getrennte (Tert. IV, 11: „coniunctos non admittit, neminem tingit nisi caelibem aut spadonem, morti aut repudio baptisma servat"; vgl. I, 1. 24. 26. 29; IV, 17.

23. 29. 34; V, 7. 8. 12. 15; de praescr. 33; ein unbekannter Syrer [Schäfers S. 59]: „Sie beschmutzen den Bräutigam und die Braut, von denen sie sagen, daß sie unrein sind") und gestattete nur ihnen das Abendmahl (IV, 34). Weil wir Söhne des Höchsten geworden sind, soll die leibliche Sohnschaft aufhören (zu Luk. 6, 35). Irgendwo in den „Antithesen" muß auch eine Auseinandersetzung über die Entmannung im Anschluß an die aus Matth. 19, 12 ff. stammende Perikope gestanden haben; s. Orig., Comm. XV, 3 in Matth. T. III p. 333: *Μαρκίων φάσκων μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν γραφὴν καὶ τοὺς τόπους (λόγους?) τούτους ἠθέτησεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένους, νομίσας δεῖν ἤτοι παραδέξασθαι μετὰ τοῦ φάσκειν τὸν σωτῆρα ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν ἑαυτὸν παραδιδοναι πεισόμενον τὸν πεπιστευκότα, ἢ μὴ ἂν εὐλόγως τολμήσαντα τὰ τηλικαῦτα, ἐσόμενα εἰς δυσφημίαν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ λόγου, μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος τοὺς λόγους, εἴγε μὴ ἀλληγοροῦνται.* In bezug auf Speisen lehrte er eine „perpetua abstinentia" (Hipp., Ref. VII, 30; X, 19; Tert., De ieiun. 15 u. sonst) „ad destruenda et contemnenda et abominanda opera creatoris" (Hieron., Adv. Jovinian. II, 16; s. Theodor v. Mops. zu I Tim. 4, 1 ff. [Swete II p. 139 f.]: „Escarum usum quasi inhonestum criminant"). Speziell verurteilte er den Fleischgenuß, erlaubte aber Fische (Tert. I, 14; Esnik) und ordnete gegen den Gott des Gesetzes totales Fasten am Sabbat an (Epiph., h. 42, 3). M. erklärte, bei ihm sei eine „plenior disciplinarum ratio" (Tert. I, 26).

(18) Das doppelte Sündenregister des ATlichen Gottes in den Homilien des Pseudoklemens (II, 43) stammt wohl aus den Antithesen:

ψεύδεται, πειράζει ὡς ἀγνοῶν, ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ μεταμελεῖται, ζηλοῖ, σκληρύνει καρδίας, τυφλοῖ καὶ κωφοῖ, ἀποστερεῖ, συμβουλεύει, ἐνπαίζει, ἀδυνατεῖ, ἀδικεῖ, κακὰ κτίζει, κακὰ ποιεῖ, τὸ πῖον ὄρος ἐπιθυμεῖ,

ψεύδεται, ἐν σκηνῇ οἰκεῖ, ὀρέγεται κνίσης καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ θυμάτων καὶ προσχύσεων, λύχνοις καὶ λυχνίαις τέρπεται, ἐν γνόφῳ καὶ σκότῳ καὶ θυέλλῃ καὶ καπνῷ σύνεστιν, διὰ σαλπίγγων καὶ ὀλολυγμῶν καὶ βολίδων καὶ τοξευμάτων προσέρχεται, πολέμους ἀγαπᾷ, τὰ κακὰ κτίζει, ἄστοργος, πιστὸς οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται, πονηροὺς καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ φονεῖς ἀγαπᾷ, μεταμελεῖται, κακοὺς ἐκλέγεται.

Ebenso l. c. III, 38 ff.: *Περὶ οὗ ἔφης θεοῦ* (sagt Simon Magus gegen Petrus) *⟨δείξω⟩ μὴ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πάντα δυνα-*

μένην δύναμιν, καθὸ ἀπρόγνωστός ἐστιν, ἀτελής, ἐνδεής, οὐκ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ μυρίοις χαλεποῖς ὑποκείμενος πάθεσιν· ὅθεν τούτου δειχθέντος ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἕτερος ἀγράφως περιλείπεται προγνωστικός, τέλειος, ἀνενδεής, ἀγαθός, πάντων χαλεπῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος παθῶν· ὃν δὲ σὺ φῂς δημιουργόν, τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποκείμενος τυγχάνει. αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς Ἀδὰμ καὶ τυφλὸς κτίζεται καὶ γνῶσιν ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ οὐκ ἔχων παραδέδοται καὶ παραβάτης εὑρίσκεται καὶ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐκβάλλεται καὶ θανάτῳ τιμωρεῖται. ὁμοίως τε καὶ ὁ πλάσας αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ μὴ πανταχόθεν βλέπει, ἐπὶ τῇ Σοδόμων καταστροφῇ λέγει· ,,Δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες ἴδωμεν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐρχομένην πρὸς μὲ συντελοῦνται· εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα γνῶ", καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἑαυτὸν δείκνυσιν. τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ· ,,Ἐκβάλωμεν αὐτόν, μήπως ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἅψηται τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,, — τὸ εἰπεῖν ,,μήπως" ἀγνοεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπαγαγεῖν ,,μήπως φαγὼν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα" καὶ φθονεῖ. καὶ τὸ γεγράφθαι ὅτι ,,Ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον", καὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ἀγνοεῖ· τὸ γὰρ ,,ἐνεθυμήθη" σκέψις ἐστίν, ᾗ τις δι' ἄγνοιαν ὧν βούλεται τὸ τέλος ἀκριβῶσαι θέλει, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀποβάντι μεταμελουμένου. καὶ τὸ γεγράφθαι· ,,Καὶ ὠσφράνθη κύριος ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας", ἐνδεοῦς ἐστί, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κνίσῃ σαρκῶν ἡσθῆναι οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ. τὸ δὲ πειράζειν — ὡς γέγραπται· ,,Καὶ ἐπείρασεν κύριος τὸν Ἀβραάμ,, — κακοῦ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἀγνοοῦντος. (40) *ὁμῶς ὁ Σίμων πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ἐδόκει δεικνύειν τὸν θεὸν παντὶ πάθει ὑποκείμενον.* Vgl. III, 54 ff.

Auch die große Ausführung über den gerechten und den guten Gott (jener ist nicht der oberste; er ist der Schöpfer und der Gesetzgeber; dieser ist *μόνος ἀγαθός* und *μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγνωστος;* er ist erst von Jesus verkündigt worden) und über die Mangelhaftigkeiten des Gesetzes geht auf M. zurück (XVIII. Buch).

(19) Zu Gen. 1, 2 hat M. böse Deutungen gegeben (Ephraem, Lied 50); solche zum Sündenfall s. o.; der Satan ist ,,angelus creatoris" (Tert. V, 16), daher der Weltschöpfer ,,auctor diaboli" (II, 10).

(Abraham, der Freund des Weltschöpfers) hat den wahren Gott nicht gekannt und von Christus nichts gewußt; Iren. IV, 5 ff.: ,,Marcion et qui ab eo expellentes ab haereditate Abraham"; Tert. vv. ll.

Ὁ θεὸς τῆς γενέσεως (Gen. 27, 1) *ὑποχυθέντα τὸν Ἰσαὰκ οὐκέτι ἐποίησε διαβλέψαι, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, πολλῶν τυφλῶν*

(Luk. 7, 21) *ἤνοιξεν ὀφθαλμούς* (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 20).

,,Moyses rixantibus fratribus ultro intercedit (Exod. 2, 13 f.) et iniuriosum increpat: Quid proximum tuum percutis? et reicitur ab illo: Quis te constituit magistrum aut iudicem super nos? Christus vero postulatus a quodam, ut inter illum et fratrem ipsius ⟨de⟩ dividenda hereditate componeret, operam suam, et quidem tam probae causae, denegavit (Luk. 12, 13 f.) .... optimi et non iudicis dei Christus, Quis me, inquit, iudicem constituit super vos" (Tert. IV, 28).

'Ο θεὸς τῆς γενέσεως ἐντέταλται Μωσεῖ ἐκβαίνοντι ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου λέγων (Exod. 3, 22; 11, 2; 12, 35)· *,"Ετοιμοι γίνεσθε, τὴν ὀσφὺν ἐζωσμένοι, τοὺς πόδας ὑποδεδεμένοι, τὰς ῥάβδους ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑμῶν, τὰς πήρας ἔχοντες ἐφ' ἑαυτούς· χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀπενέγκασθε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων"· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀγαθός, ἀποστέλλων τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει* (Luk. 9, 3; dazu Matth. 10, 9)· *,Μήτε ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν, μήτε πήραν* (,neque pera neque virga' Rufin) *μήτε δύο χιτῶνας, μήτε χαλκὸν ἐν ταῖς ζωναῖς ὑμῶν* (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 10).

Diese von M. besonders hervorgehobene Antithese erwähnen auch der Presbyter bei Iren. IV, 30, 1. 3; IV, 31, 1 und Tertull. II, 20; IV, 24 (,,obicientes creatori vel maxime fraudem illam et rapinam auri et argenti mandatam ab illo Hebraeis in Aegyptios". ,,profectionem filiorum Israhelis creator etiam illis spoliis aureorum et argenteorum vasculorum et vestium praeter oneribus consparsionum offarcinatam educit ex Aegypto, Christus autem nec virgam discipulis praeferre praescripsit" — ausdrücklich von Tert. als Antithese M.s bezeichnet). V, 13: ,,Creator furari vetans fraudem mandavit in Aegyptios auri et argenti". Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (Brief des Diodorus S. 64 ff.); hier sind Luk. 14, 33 und 6, 29 der ATlichen Geschichte gegenübergestellt. Epiph., Ancorat. 111: *Τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ἐργασαμένοις τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις ἀμισθὶ οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν κἂν ἐπὶ τέλει;* Zu Exod. 19, 10—15 (Sinai) hat M. böse Deutungen gegeben (Ephraem, Lied 50).

'Εν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει (Exod. 21, 24; Deut. 19, 21)· *,'Οφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος'. ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, λέγει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* (Luk. 6, 29; dazu Matth. 5, 38 f.). *,'Εάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην'* (Megethius

bei Adamant., Dial. I, 15; Theodoret., Haer. fab. I, 24). Dazu: *Πῶς οὖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει* (wo?). *‚Ἱμάτιον ἀνθ' ἱματίου'. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς κύριος λέγει* (l. c.)· *‚Ἐάν τίς σου ἄρῃ τὸ ἱμάτιον, πρόσθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα* (l. c. I, 18). Zu dieser Antithese s. Celsus-Origenes (VII, 25); jener muß die evangelische Stelle so angeführt haben, daß sich dieser an die Marcionitische Antithese erinnert sah (mit Exod. 21, 24) und bemerkte: *Περιηχηθεὶς οἶμαι ὁ Κέλσος ἀπὸ τῶν διαιρούντων τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θεότητα ἐκ τῆς νομικῆς θεότητος.* Ferner Tertull. II, 18; IV, 16 („Sed quae potius legis bona defendam quam quae haersis concupiit [Kroymann: ‚concutere concupiit'], ut talionis definitionem, oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente et livorem pro livore repetentis". „Novam plane patientiam docet Christus, etiam vicem iniuriae cohibens permissam a creatore, oculum exigente pro oculo et dentem pro dente, contra ipse alteram amplius maxillam offerri iubens et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi" .... „creator dixit: ‚Mihi vindictam et ego vindicabo' "). Vgl. Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (Brief Diodors S. 64 ff.); auch hier ist Luk. 6, 29 dem jus talionis entgegengesetzt. Das Gebot Christi, siebenmal usw. dem Bruder zu vergeben (Luk. 17, 4) ist ein neues Gebot (Tert. IV, 35) S. auch Tert. IV, 38.

Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως (Exod. 17, 8 ff.) *πολέμου συστάντος πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἵνα πολλοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ ἀνέλῃ· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας* (s. den Kreuzestod) *αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ τοῦ σῶσαι* (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 11).

Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως, ἵνα πολεμῶν πλείονας ἀνέλῃ, ἔστησε τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ μὴ δῦσαι μέχρι συντελέσῃ ἀναιρῶν τοὺς πολεμοῦντας πρὸς τὸν λαόν (Jos. 10, 12 ff)· *ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, λέγει* (Eph. 4, 26)· *‚Ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν'* (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 13). Vgl. Tert. IV, 31 (u. sonst): „Negat Marcion moveri deum suum".

Καλὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου ὃς ἐπλεονέκτησε τοὺς Χαναναίους, ἵνα δῷ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὸν αὐτῶν τόπον, οἰκίας ἃς οὐκ ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ ἐλαιῶνας καὶ συκῶνας καὶ ἀμπελῶνας οὓς οὐκ ἐφύτευσαν; Epiph., Ancorat. 111).

„Aliquando David in recuperatione Sionis offenderant caeci, resistentes quomodo admitterentur (II Reg. 5, 6 ff.); ideo Christus ex diverso caeco subvenit (Luk. 18, 35 ff.), ut hinc se ostenderet

non esse filium David, ut ex animi diversitate bonus caecis, quos ille iusserat caedi" (Tert. IV, 36, ausdrücklich als Antithese bezeichnet).

Die Marcioniten schmähen David als Mörder und Ehebrecher (Chrysost., Hom. 26 [27], 6 in Matth.).

,,Repraesentat creator ignium plagam Helia postulante"; Christus dagegen (Luk. 9, 51 ff.) verbietet den Jüngern Feuer vom Himmel zu erbitten (Tert. IV, 23).

Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως (II Reg. 2, 14) *ἐκ δρυμοῦ ἄρκτοις εἶπεν ἐξελθεῖν καὶ καταφαγεῖν τοὺς ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ παῖδας· ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς κύριος· ,Ἄφετε', φησί* (Luk. 18, 16, dazu Matth. 19, 14), *τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (Megethius Dial. I, 16).

S. dazu Tert. IV, 23: ,,Ecce Christus diligit parvulos, tales docens esse debere qui semper maiores velint esse, creator autem ursos pueris immisit, ulciscens Heliseum propheten convicia ab eis passum" (dazu Tert.: ,,satis impudens antithesis").

,,Helisaeus prophetes creatoris (IV Reg. 5, 9ff.) unicum leprosum Naaman Syrum ex tot leprosis Israhelitis emundavit: hoc M. ad diversitatem facit Christi, hoc modo melioris, dum Israheliten leprosum emundat extraneus, quem suus dominus emundare non voluerat (Luk. 5. 12 ff) .... et hoc opponit Marcion, Helisaeum quidem materia eguisse, aquam adhibuisse, et eam septies, Christum vero verbo solo, et hoc semel functo, curationem statim repraesentasse". Auch daß Elisa nur einen Aussätzigen geheilt habe, Jesus aber zehn, hat M. hervorgehoben (Tert. IV, 9; s. auch 35). Dazu Tert. IV, 15: ,,Marcionis est, morositatem legis opponere (zu Luk. 17, 11 ff. und 4, 27), ut et hic Christum aemulum eius adfirmet, praevenientem sollemnia legis etiam in curatione decem leprosorum, quos tantummodo ire iussos, ut se ostenderent sacerdotibus, in itinere purgavit sine tactu iam et sine verbo, tacita potestate et sola voluntate".

Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως λέγει (Jes. 5, 28, dazu Deut. 32, 23)· *,Τὰ τόξα μου ἐντεταμένα καὶ τὰ βέλη μου ἠκονημένα εἰς αὐτούς'. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολός φησιν* (Eph. 6, 11. 16)· *,Ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι'* (Megethius Dial. I, 19).

,,Creator auditum ademit (Jes. 6, 9), ex diversitate Christus (Luk. 8, 8: ,Wer Ohren hat zu hören, der höre') permisit" (Tert. IV, 19).

(20) „Duo Christi, alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio, alter qui a creatore promittitur" (Tert. I, 15); beide sind als „filii dei", wenn auch verschieden in der Art ihres Ursprungs, die genauen Darsteller ihrer Väter. „Commune est apud Marcionitas Christi nomen quemadmodum et dei, ut sic utriusque dei filium ‚Christum' competat dici, sicut utrumque patrem ‚deum' " (Tert. III, 15); „ ‚quomodo' (l. c.), inquit M., ‚inreperet Christus in Judaeorum fidem nisi per solemne apud eos et familiare nomen?' " Andrerseits geht aus diesem Kapitel hervor, daß M. Wert darauf legte, der Name „Jesus" sei ein neuer, d. h. er sei nicht für den Messias des AT geweissagt.

Ein dem M. eigentümlicher Name für seinen Christus war neben dem Namen „der Fremde" (s. o. S. 265*ff; dazu Tert. III, 6: „Christus alienus et extraneus Judaeis") der Name „*Ὁ ἐπερχόμενος*". Tert. hat ihn IV, 23 u. 25 griechisch in seinen Text aufgenommen (Kroymanns Konjektur ist unverständig). Der Name wird aus Luk. 11, 22 stammen. M. hat auch dem Namen „Menschensohn" für seinen Christus aus dem Ev. nicht getilgt, aber parabolisch verstanden. Nach Hippol., Refut. X. 19, hat M. Christus „*Ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*" genannt; aber ist das zuverlässig und was soll es bedeuten? [1] Nach Esnik (S. 179) nannten die Marcioniten ihren Christus auch den „Guttäter".

Ἡ παρουσία (ἐπιδημία) τοῦ Χριστοῦ („adventus Christi") war term. techn. bei M. (s. den Presbyter bei Iren., Irenäus selbst u. v. Zeugen) im Gegensatz zu dem weltoffenbaren und sich stets bezeugt habenden Weltschöpfer. „Constituit M. alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a deo quodam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium, alium qui a deo creatore in restitutionem Judaici status sit destinatus, quandoque venturus inter hos magnam et omnem differentiam scindit, quantam inter iustum et bonum, quantam inter legem et evangelium, quantam inter Judaismum et Christianismum" (Tert. IV, 6). Auch der jüdische Christus wird ein Evangelium bringen (V, 2 zu Gal. 1, 18), aber keine Botschaft vom „regnum caeleste"; denn das kennt er

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1 Es gibt in der alten Dogmengeschichte noch eine merkwürdige Stelle in bezug auf diesen Ausdruck. Im Synodalbrief gegen Paul v. Samosata (Loofs, P. v. S., 1924, S. 332) wird als seine Lehre mitgeteilt: *τὸν θεὸν-λόγον ἐν Χριστῷ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος.*

nicht (III, 24), wie er ja auch das e w i g e Leben nicht kennt (M. strich in seiner Bibel *αἰώνιος* bei *ζωή*, wo vom Weltschöpfer und seinem Christus die Rede war).

Celsus hat über die beiden Christus M.s gespottet (Orig. c. Cels. VI, 74: . . . *δύο υἱοὶ θεῶν, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ εἷς καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα θεοῦ ἕτερος . . . αὐτῶν μονομαχίαι).* L. c. V, 54: *Οὕτω οὐ μόνος ἱστόρηται ὁ Ἰησοῦς* — so behauptet M. — *ἐπιδεδημηκέναι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ τοὺς προφάσει τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ ἀποστάντας τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ὡς ἐλάττονος καὶ προσεληλυθότας ὡς κρείττονί τινι θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος φάσκειν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἐπεδήμησάν τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ* (die Propheten) *τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* C. denkt auch an andere Häretiker.

Herabgestiegen ist Christus *ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων* (Epiph., Haer. 42, 4). „Aus Barmherzigkeit hat es der gute Gott getan, sehend die Seelen der den Qualen Unterworfenen bedrängt in der Hölle, sandte er zur Erlösung seinen Sohn" (Esnik S. 192). Ähnlich viele Zeugen: „‚Hominem, opus creatoris, deus melior a d a m a v i t, propter quem in haec paupertina elementa de tertio caelo descendere laboravit, cuius causa in hac cellula creatoris etiam crucifixus est' " (Tert. I, 14). „Christus non in sua venit, sed in aliena" (Iren. III, 11, 2; öfters bei Tert.). Über die Suffizienz der Erlösung, neben der eine sichtbare Schöpfung unnötig, s. o. S. 267*.

(21) Unvorbereitet und plötzlich erschien Christus (Tert. III, 2 f.; IV, 11; de carne 2 usw.). „Anno XV. Tiberii Christus Jesus de caelo manare dignatus est, spiritus salutaris' " (I, 19). „Anno XV. principatus Tiberii proponit Christum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capernaum, utique de caelo creatoris, in quod de suo ante descenderat" (IV, 7). Von keinem Propheten ist er angekündigt und seine Geschichte von niemandem geweissagt worden; s. Celsus bei Orig., l. c.: er fragt *πόθεν ἀποδειχθήσεται θεοῦ παῖς ὁ τοιαῦτα κολασθείς, εἰ μὴ περὶ τούτου προείρηται;* Tert. III, 3: „‚Non fuit', inquis, ‚ordo eiusmodi necessarius, quia statim se et filium et missum et dei Christum rebus ipsis esset probaturus per documenta virtutum'"; das Folgende zeigt, daß M. die virtutes Christi als „novae" betrachtet hat. Tert. IV, 4 (auf Grund des Eindrucks der Antithesen an diesem Punkte): „Dedignatus, opinor, est (Christus Marcionis) imitari ordinem

dei nostri, ut displicentis, ut cum maxime revincendi. novus nove venire voluit, filius ante patris promissionem et missus ante mandatoris auctoritatem, ut et ipsam fidem monstruosissimam induceret, qua ante crederetur Christum venisse quam sciretur fuisse.“ Cyrill. Hieros., Catech. VI, 16: *Ὁ Μαρκίων πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν ἐκκόψαι τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἀμάρτυρον ἀφεῖναι τὸν καταγγελλόμενον λόγον τῆς πίστεως*, vgl. XVI, 3. Besonders scharf und stark Orig.. Comm. II § 199 f. in Joh. (zu c. 1, 7) Preuschen (möglich daß Apelles gemeint ist): *Τῶν ἑτεροδόξων τινὲς πιστεύειν φάσκοντες εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀναπλάσσειν ἕτερον ⟨θεὸν⟩ παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὡς ἀκόλουθον αὐτοῖς οὐ προσιέμενοι τὴν ἐπιδημίαν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν προκατηγγέλθαι, ἀνατρέπειν πειρῶνται τὰς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας, φάσκοντες μὴ δεῖσθαι μαρτύρων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔχοντα τὸ τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι ἄξιον ἔν τε οἷς κατήγγειλε σωτηρίοις λόγοις δυνάμεως πεπληρωμένοις καὶ ἐν τεραστίοις ἔργοις αὐτόθεν καταπλήξασθαι πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν δυναμένοις.* (s. o. Tert. III, 3). *Καί φασιν· ,Εἰ Μωυσῆς πεπίστευται διὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐ δεηθεὶς μαρτύρων πρὸ αὐτοῦ τινων αὐτὸν καταγγειλάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν προφητῶν παρεδέχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀποσταλείς, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν διαφέρων δύναται, χωρὶς προφητῶν μαρτυρούντων τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀνύσαι ὃ βούλεται καὶ ὠφελῆσαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος;* Der, der das geschrieben, brauchte keineswegs an Moses und die Propheten zu glauben. Auch Markus (bei Adamant., Dial. II, 13 f.) drückt es stark aus, daß Christus vorher von niemandem gewußt und von niemandem geweissagt oder bezeugt sei. Daß das Judenvolk Christus nicht anerkannt hat, ist eine Folge der Unwissenheit seines Gottes; Tert. III, 6: ,,M. non in Christum, sed in ipsum potius deum referre vult omnem Judaicae ignorantiae de pristino reputationem, nolens etiam retro sermonem et spiritum i. e. Christum creatoris despectum ab eis et non agnitum“.

Die Fragen, ob nach M. Christus den Weltschöpfer bessern wollte, bzw. gebessert hat, läßt Tert. (III, 4) offen; für die Gegenwart gilt (l. c.): ,,Christus non compescuit creatorem; manet creator, qualis omnino est, d. h. bis zum nahe bevorstehenden Ende hat er noch in der Welt die Macht. Aber es ist gewiß M.s Meinung, wenn Tert. fortfährt: ,,aliud est, si (Christus boni dei post Christum creatoris) rursus adveniet, ut primo quidem adventu processerit adversus creatorem, legem et prophetas destruens eius, secundo

vero procedat adversus Christum (creatoris), regnum redarguens eius, tunc ergo conclusurus ordinem suam".

(22) Der gute Gott und sein Christus stehen sich so nahe bzw. sind so sehr eins, daß M. auch die Personen vertauscht; s. Megethius (bei Adamant., Dial. II, 9): *Ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο.* Daher ist Tert.s Bemerkung (IV, 38): ,,Nisi M. Christum non subiectum patri infert" zu verneinen, während Tert. ihre Bejahung für selbstverständlich hält, obgleich er selbst M.s Wort wiedergibt (I, 19), daß sich der gute Gott per semetipsum offenbart habe.

(23) Christus ist nicht geboren, hatte nichts Menschliches an sich, sondern war und blieb Geist und erschien *(δοκήσει)* ,,in hominis forma", d. h. in einem Scheinleibe *(φάντασμα);* denn er ist ,,naturaliter impassibilis" (Iren. III, 16, 1). Also gibt es keine *ἔνσαρκος Χριστοῦ οἰκονομία* (s. Melito bei Anastasius Sinaita, *Περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ* [Otto, Corp. Apol. IX p. 415 f.] u. alle Gegner M.s); ,,substantia (boni dei) non potuit manifestari in hoc mundo" (Tert. I, 15). ,,Christus = spiritus salutaris" (Tert. I, 19). Gegen den Einwurf, daß man ihn doch für einen Menschen halten mußte: ,,,Satis erat Christo conscientia sua"' (De carne 3).

Der Leib Christi ist nach Analogie der Körper zu denken, welche die Engel des Weltschöpfers bei ihren Erscheinungen annahmen; s. III, 9: ,,,Et angeli creatoris in phantasmate, putativae utique carnis, egerunt apud Abraham et Loth et tamen vere sunt et congressi et pasti et operati quod mandatum eis fuerat"'; vgl. de carne 3, wo außerdem steht: ,,Quaeris corpus columbae ubi sit resumpto spiritu in caelum, aeque angelorum". Ephraem, Ev. Conc. Expos. p. 255: ,,Dicunt, corpus salvatoris nostri speciem quandam fuisse ut corpus angelorum, qui in domo Abrahae ederunt". ,,Wie hätte denn auch Christus mit den Menschen verkehren können, ,,nisi per imaginem substantiae humanae?" (III, 10). Weil die Geburt etwas ganz Unwürdiges ist, darum konnte der Leib nur ein Scheinleib sein; s. Tert. III, 11: ,,Totas istas praestigias putativae in Christo corpulentiae M. illa intentione suscepit, ne ex testimonio substantiae humanae nativitas quoque eius defenderetur" ... ,,turpissimum dei nativitas". Über das Schmutzige und Schmähliche der Geburt s. oben S. 273*. 277* u. Ephraem, Evang. Conc. Expositio (Moesin-

ger) p. 47: „Jesus hätte sich durch das Geborenwerden einen Makel zugezogen".

Ganz sicher ist nicht, aber wahrscheinlich, daß M. folgende Erwägung (Tert., De carne 3) zuzuschreiben ist: „„Si Christus natus fuisset et hominem vere induisset, deus esse desisset, amittens quod erat, dum fit quod non erat;"' „„ideo', inquis, ‚nego deum in hominem vere conversum, ita ut et nasceretur et carne corporaretur, quia qui sine fine est etiam inconvertibilis sit necesse est; converti enim in aliud finis est pristini. non competit ergo conversio cui non competit finis"'. Vgl. Iren. III, 16, 1: „Putative eum passum dicunt, naturaliter impassibilem existentem".

Hipp., Refut. VII, 31: M. leugnet die Geburt Jesu, *ἄτοπον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὸ τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ ὀλεθριωτάτου νείκους γεγονέναι τὸν λόγον τὸν τῇ φιλίᾳ συναγωνιζόμενον, τουτέστι τῷ ἀγαθῷ . . . . ἀγέννητος κατῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, φησίν, ἵνα ᾖ πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένος κακίας.* Orig., Comm. in Tit., T. V p. 283 f.: „Qui sub specie quasi amplioris gloriae Jesu domino deferendae omnia, quae ab eo gesta sunt, visa geri magis quam vere gesta esse testantur, quique neque de virgine natum fatentur, sed XXX annorum vivum eum apparuisse in Judaea". Orig., Fragm. in Luc. T. V p. 237: *Κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐδραματούργει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν* u. a. a. St.

Chrysost., zu Phil. 2, 7: M. sagt: *‚οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος'.* Nicephor., Antirrhet. adv. Euseb. (Pitra, Spic. Solesm. I p. 406): *Φάσκει ὁ Μαρκίων· δοκήσει τὸν Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ταφῆναι, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν* (daß die erste Hälfte dieses Satzes ein wörtliches Zitat ist, ist nicht sicher).

Chrysost., Hom. 23, 6 in Eph.: *Μαρκίων ὅρα τί φησίν· ‚Οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὁ θεὸς σάρκα ἀναλαβὼν μεῖναι καθαρός'.*

Christus ist vom Weltschöpfer, der ihn nicht kannte, ans Kreuz gebracht worden (öfters bezeugt, s. z. B. Megeth., Dial. II, 9: *Ὁ δημιουργός, ἰδὼν τὸν ἀγαθὸν λύοντα αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνετο . . . Ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς [ὁ ἀγαθὸς] εἵλετο, οὐ γὰρ ἠδικεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου).* S. auch Tert. V, 6: „Argumentatur haereticus, ⟨quod⟩ principes huius saeculi dominum, alterius scil. dei Christum, crucifixerint, ut et hoc in ipsum redigat creatorem" (gemeint sind die weltlichen Machthaber).

(24) So ,,fremd" waren wir dem erschienenen Christus und dieser dem Weltschöpfer, daß Paulus sagt (Gal. 3, 13; auch 2,20 las M. *ἀγοράσαντος* für *ἀγαπήσαντος)*: ,,Christus hat uns erkauft' — offenbar als Fremde; denn niemand kauft jemals solche, die ihm angehören, sondern Fremde (Aus dem Folgenden geht hervor, daß der Weltschöpfer der Verkäufer ist, nicht ,,die Sünde": *παρὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἠγόρασε· οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι ἡ ἁμαρτία κύριός ἐστιν)*. Der Kaufpreis war das Blut Christi (daß dies die Marcionitische Meinung war, folgt daraus, daß der katholische Gegner gegen diese Behauptung die Auferstehung Christi geltend macht, aus der sich doch ergibt, daß der Weltschöpfer das Blut [das Leben] Christi nicht behalten, also auch nicht gekauft hat), das nicht auf Sündenvergebung zu beziehen, sondern als Ablösung des Eigentumsrechts des Weltschöpfers zu betrachten ist (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 27).

Orig., Hom. VI, 9 in Exod. (T. IX p. 68): ,,Haeretici dicunt (zu I Kor. 7, 23) de salvatore, quia non erant ‚sui', quos ‚acquisivit'; dato enim pretio mercatus est homines, quos creator fecerat; et certum est, aiunt, unumquemque illud emere, quod suum non est; apostolus enim ait: Pretio empti estis". Epiphan., Haer. 42, 8: *Εἰ ἦμεν αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἠγόραζεν· ἀγοράσας δὲ εἰς ἀλλότριον κόσμον ἦλθεν ἡμᾶς ἐξαγοράσαι τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας αὐτοῦ· ποίημα γὰρ ἦμεν ἑτέρου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἠγόραζεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωήν.* Tert., De carne 4: ,,,Christus magis adamavit hominem, quando alienum redemit;"' l. c. 5: ,,M. passiones a Christo non recidit." S. auch oben S. 267*, das zum ,,unbekannten Gott' u. S. 263* das zum ,,barmherzigen Gott" Bemerkte. — Daß die Erlösung auf dem T o d e Christi nach M. beruhte, ist oft bezeugt.

Der Weltschöpfer sagt: ,,Maledictus omnis qui pependerit in ligno"; Christus aber hat den Kreuzestod erlitten (Tert. III, 18: ,,De exitu Christi plane puto diversitatem temptatis inducere, negantes passionem crucis in Christum creatoris praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut in id genus mortis exposuerit creator filium suum, quod ipse maledixerat: maledictus, inquit, omnis qui pependerit in ligno"). Vgl. V, 3: ,,Neque quia creator pronuntiavit: ‚Maledictus omnis ligno suspensus', ideo videbitur alterius dei esse Christus et idcirco a creatore iam tunc in lege maledictus". I, 11: ,,Admisit maledictum in se creatoris ligno suspensus". Tert. läßt es (III, 19) dahinge-

stellt, ob nach M. der Tod des (ATlichen) Christus geweissagt sei[1]. Ps. 21 hat M. (III, 19) nicht auf den Juden-Messias, sondern, auf einen unbestimmten Leidenden bezogen.

„Christum alterius dei dicitis a creatoris virtutibus et potestatibus, ut aemulis, in crucem actum" (Tert. III, 23).

Christus hat sich selbst auferweckt (Orig. bei Hieron. im Comm. zu Gal. 1, 1; hier hat M. den Text korrigiert, um die Selbstauferweckung zum Ausdruck zu bringen); der gute Gott und sein Christus sind also e i n s.

(25) „Judaicus quidem Christus populo (Judaico) soli ex dispersione redigendo destinatur a creatore, noster vero omni humano generi liberando conlatus est a deo optimo (Tert. III, 21, ausdrücklich als „iniectio" bezeichnet; die folgende Ausführung zeigt, daß M. die im AT verheißene Bekehrung der Heiden auf die Proselyten bezog; „revictus de nationum vocatione convertere iam in proselytis quaeris [Jes. 16, 4], qui de nationibus transeunt ad creatorem" .... „proselytos in nationum praedicatione substituis"). M. muß die Universalität der Berufung durch den guten Gott im Gegensatz zum Judengott stark betont haben (s. besonders auch V, 11: „liberavit genus humanum", d a h e r ist er der Vater der Barmherzigkeit und Gott alles Trostes; Markus, Dial. II, 1 f.: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς εἰς πάντας ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς, ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλεται σώζειν . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ σώζει, οὐ μὴν κατακρίνει τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας σώζων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς κρίνει τε καὶ κολάζει)*, da ihm der Presbyter bei Irenäus in seinen „Synthesen" das evangelische Wort entgegenhält: „Viele sind berufen, aber wenige sind auserwählt" (Iren. IV, 27, 4 ff.). Doch sagte M. selbst (Clem., Strom. III, 10, 69): *Μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ὁ δημιουργός ἐστιν ὁ γενεσιουργὸς θεός, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ ὁ σωτήρ, ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸς πεφυκώς*, vgl. Tert. I, 24: „Non omnes (secundum Marcionem) salvi fiunt, sed pauciores omnibus et Iudaeis et Christianis creatoris." — Das Judenvolk ist nach M. ein besonders schlimmes, gegen seinen Gott störrisches und untreues Volk; es treibt die Teufel aus durch Beelzebul

1 Offen muß es bleiben, ob M. Ps. 96, 10 gelesen hat (überhaupt und in dem Wortlaut: „Dominus regnavit a ligno", s. III, 19).

(Tert. IV, 26); es sündigt wider seinen Gott fort und fort (V, 15 und sonst); es tötet seine eigenen Propheten.

Christus kann nicht der Sohn des Gerechten sein, vielmehr ist der Christus des Gesetzes noch nicht gekommen, und viele ATlichen Weissagungen, sofern sie nicht schon in David, Salomo usw. sich erfüllt haben, müssen sich noch erfüllen (dagegen Tert. III, 20: „Non potest futurum dici, quod vides fieri"); denn nach Ps. 2, 1. 2. 8. 9 heißt es, daß die Heiden und Völker sich gegen den Herrn und seinen Gesalbten auflehnen werden und daß er sie mit eiserner Rute weiden wird; das ist bei Christus nicht eingetroffen (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 24). Ähnlich bei Tert. III, 20 („Non poteris magis David filium eius Ps. 2, 7 f. vindicare quam Christum aut terminos terrae David potius promissos"), der auch mitteilt, daß M. Jesaj. 55, 4 ff. auf David u. Ps. 131, 11 u. II Reg. 7, 12 auf Salomo deutet. Nach V, 9 bezog M. wahrscheinlich (mit den Juden) Ps. 109 auf Ezechias und Ps. 71 auf Salomo. Zu Jes. 11, 1 ff. bemerkte er (V, 8): „Prophetia ad eum Christum pertinet, qui ut homo tantum ex solo censu David postea consecuturus est dei sui spiritum". In den Kontroversen zwischen den Katholiken und Marcioniten scheinen diese auf Grund der prophetischen Rügen zugestanden zu haben, daß die Juden häufig in Unwissenheit über Gott zurückgefallen sind; sie behaupteten aber, in bezug auf die Erscheinung, das Wesen und die Taten des Messias hätten sie sich nicht geirrt. Diesem gegenüber aber sei Jesus Christus eine total andere Erscheinung.

(26) Iren. IV, 34, 3 f: „Si quis Iudaeis advocationem praestans erectionem templi, quae, posteaquam in Babylonem transmigraverunt, facta est sub Zorobabel et discessionem populi quae facta est post LXX annos dicat hoc esse novum testamentum, cognoscat" etc. Auch die Weissagung Jes. 2, 3 f. und Micha 4, 2 f. geht nach M. nicht auf Christus, sondern auf einen anderen .... „Dicunt Marcionitae prophetas ab alio deo, ab altero autem patre dominum nostrum".

„‚Primo' enim, inquis, ‚Christus Esaiae Emmanuhel vocari habebit, dehinc virtutem sumere Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum (Jes. 7, 14; 8, 4); porro iste qui venit neque sub eiusmodi nomine est editus neque ulla re bellica functus

est' " (Tert. III, 12: ,,Provoca nunc, ut soles[1], ad hanc Esaiae comparationem Christi, contendens illam in nullo convenire"). Der ATliche Christus ist als ,,bellipotens" verheißen; unser Christus ist ,,paciferus" (III, 21). ,,Putas militarem et armatum bellatorem (Christum in V. T.) praedicari, non figurate nec allegorice" (Tert. IV, 20).

III, 13: ,,Si accipis quasi bellatorem (vgl. c. 14) haec verba portendant Christum creatoris"; auf den Einwurf aber, die Stelle sei bildlich zu verstehen, denn ein Säugling könne nicht Krieger sein, antwortet M.: ,,Sed et virginem parere natura non patitur, et tamen creditur prophetae". Auch auf Ps. 44, 4 berief sich M. (III, 14): ,,Accingere ensem super femur."

Merkwürdig ist, daß M., bzw. die Marcioniten selbst die Formel ,,Nobiscum deus" (nur bei Matth. 1, 23) gebraucht haben; denn das geht aus Tert. III, 12 hervor: ,,Non negabis, utpote qui et ipse dicas: ‚Deus nobiscum', i. e. Emmanuhel; aut si tam vanus es, ut, quia penes te ‚Nobiscum deus' dicitur, non Emmanuhel, idcirco nolis venisse illum, cuius proprium sit, vocari Emmanuhel, quasi non et hoc sit, ‚Deus nobiscum', invenies apud Hebraeos Christianos, immo et Marcionitas, Emmanuhelem nominare, cum volunt dicere ‚Nobiscum deus', sicut et omnis gens, quoquo sono dixerit ‚Deus nobiscum', Emmanuhelen pronuntiabit". Vgl. Chrysostomus, Comm. in Jes. 7, 6.

Daniel sagt (2, 34. 35), daß ein Stein aus den Bergen ohne Hände gebrochen und daß er ,,das Bild" zu Staub zerschmettern werde; der Stein ist das glanzvolle Reich des Weltschöpfers und das Bild das irdische Reich. Also ist offenbar der durch das Gesetz und die Propheten verheißene Messias noch nicht gekommen; denn wenn er gekommen wäre, gäbe es nur sein Reich auf Erden; nun aber bestehen noch alle Reiche (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 25).

(27) Die Seligpreisungen (Luk. 6, 20 ff.) sind sozusagen das ,,Edictum" Christi, auf welchem die proprietas der christlichen

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[1] Also waren diese messianischen Stellen bei Jesajas die loci classici M.s für den Juden-Messias und sind von ihm häufig verwertet worden.

Lehre zu gründen ist im Gegensatz zu den harten Gesetzen des Weltschöpfers (Tert. IV, 14).

„‚In evangelio est dei regnum, Christus ipse‘“ (IV, 33).

Alles ist in dem Evangelium n e u — unter anderem lehrt es auch „eine neue Geduld“ (IV, 16; s. o. unter Nr. 19). „... etiam forma sermonis in Christo n o v a, cum similitudines obicit, cum quaestiones refutat“ (Tert. IV, 11); der Gegensatz sind die peremptorischen starren Gesetze des Weltschöpfers. Vgl. Tert. IV, 19 (zu Luk. 8, 4): M. hat die Parabel als eine Jesu eigentümliche Redeform bezeichnet. Im übrigen aber sind die Reden Jesu *ψιλαί* (nicht *νοηταί*) und müssen so verstanden, dürfen also nicht allegorisiert werden (Megeth. bei Adamant. I, 7).

„In lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio“ (Tert. V, 3). „Lex maledicit“ > Röm. 12, 14: „Benedicite et nolite maledicere“ (Orig., Hom. XV, 3 in Num. 23, 8, T. X. p. 174).

„Creator quidem fratribus dari iussit, Christus vero (Luk. 6, 30) omnibus petentibus; hoc est novum et diversum“ (Tert. IV, 16).

„‚In lege dixit deus (Prov. 22, 2): Ego divitem et pauperem facio; hic vero Jesus beatos dicit pauperes‘“ (Luk. 6, 20): Mani bei Hegemonius, Acta Archel., im fingierten Brief des Diodorus c. 44 f. S. 64 ff.; höchst wahrscheinlich nach Marcion; denn s. Esnik S. 193: „In den Gesetzen des Gerechten wird das Glück den Reichen gegeben und das Unglück den Armen; im Evangelium aber umgekehrt“.

Ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κύριος λέγει (Lev. 19, 18, vgl. Matth. 5, 43)· *‚Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ἀγαπῶντά σε καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου‘· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸς ὢν λέγει* (Luk. 6, 27, dazu Matth. 5, 44)· *‚Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς‘* (Megethius bei Adamant., Dial. I, 12; Theodoret., Haer. fab. I, 24) [1].

Das Vorbild hier hat der gute Gott selbst gegeben, da er sich unserer, die wir als F r e m d e seine F e i n d e waren, erbarmt hat, s. Tert. I, 23 (s. o. S. 263*); Orig., Hom. IX, 4 in Num. 16, 46, T. X p. 80 f.

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1 Esnik (S. 193) bringt als Marcionitische Antithesen: „In den Gesetzen des Gerechten sagt er: Töte nicht, und hier sagt er: Wer seinem Nächsten ungerecht zürnt, der ist schuldig der Hölle. Dort sagt er: Du sollst nicht ehebrechen, und hier sagt er: Wer auf ein Weib hinschaut, um es zu begehren, hat dadurch die Ehe gebrochen in seinem

Der Weltschöpfer hat den Sabbat angeordnet; Christus (Luk. 6, 1 ff) hebt ihn auf (Tert. IV, 12; s. auch Iren. IV, 8, 2 ff); vgl. Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (Brief Diodors S. 64 ff.): „Moyses eum qui sabbato opus fecisset et non permansisset in omnibus quae scripta sunt in lege puniri lapidarique praecepit, sicut factum est ei, qui adhuc ignorans in sabbato fascem ligni collegerat (Num. 15, 32); Jesus vero in sabbato (? ist nicht überliefert, s. jedoch Joh. 5, 8 ff., also gehört es nicht M. selbst an) etiam lectum portare praecepit a se curato (Luc. 5, 24), sed et discipulos in die sabbati vellere spicas ac manibus confricare non prohibet" (l. c. 6, 1).

Dem Weltschöpfer galten die Zöllner als „extranei legis et Iudaismi profani"; Christus nimmt den Zöllner an (Tert. IV, 11 zu Luk. 5, 27 ff).

„Lex a contactu sanguinantis feminae summovet, Christus vero (Luk. 8, 45) idcirco gestivit non tantum contactum eius admittere, sed etiam sanitatem donare" (Tert. IV, 20).

Christus divortium inhibet dicens (Luk. 16, 18): ‚Qui dimiserit uxorem suam" etc. Moyses vero permittit repudium in Deuteronomio (24, 1): ‚Si sumpserit quis uxorem' etc. Vides diversitatem legis et evangelii, Moysis et Christi" (Tert. IV, 34). Vgl. V, 7 (zu 1. Kor. 7, 1 ff.): „Christus vetat divortium, Moyses vero permittit".

(28) „Christus (Veteris Testamenti) pristinum statum Iudaeis pollicetur ex restitutione terrae et post decursum vitae apud inferos in sinu Abrahae refrigerium; noster Christus faciet regnum dei aeternae et caelestis possessionis" (Tert. III, 24, eingeführt mit: „‚Immo', inquis, ‚spero ab illo [dono bono] quod et ipsum faciat ad testimonium diversitatis' "). „‚Creatoris quidem terrenae promissiones fuerunt, Christi vero caelestes' " (Tert. IV, 14).

Herzen. Dort sagt er: Du sollst nicht falsch schwören, sondern halte dem Herrn deine Schwüre, und hier sagt er: Ihr sollt gar nicht schwören." Von M. selbst können diese Antithesen nicht sein, da sie zu Matth. 5, 22. 28. 33 gehören; aber Esnik wird sie nicht erfunden haben (oder sein Gewährsmann). Dann sind sie ein Beweis, daß spätere Marcioniten eklektisch auch die anderen Evangelien benutzt haben.

Tert. I, 24: ,,M. putat se liberatum esse de regno creatoris, de futuro, non de praesenti". III, 24: ,, ‚Caeleste regnum non praedicatum est apud creatorem' ", daher sei bewiesen, ,, ‚Christum alterius dei esse, a quo primo et solo est revelatum' "; dazu Tert.: ,,Tu hinc quoque alium argumentaris Christum, quod regnum novum adnuntiet".

,, ‚Utraque merces creatoris sive tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos est eis posita, qui legi et prophetis oboedierint, Christi vero et dei eius caelestis sinus et portus, qui non a creatore promulgatus est' " (Tert. IV, 34). Clem. Strom. V, 1, 4: *Ἐάν τις τολμήσας λέγῃ Μαρκίωνι ἑπόμενος τὸν δημιουργὸν σώζειν τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν, παρευδοκιμηθήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δύναμις ὀψὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐφημούμενον* [*δυσφημούμενον* ist zu lesen oder zu verstehen] *δημιουργὸν ἐπιβαλλομένῃ σώζειν καὶ αὐτὴ ἤτοι μαθήσει ἢ καὶ μιμήσει τούτου.*

Zur Parabel von Lazarus bemerkt Markus (Dial. II, 10 f.): *Ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀβραάμ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ συνομιλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν πλούσιον δείκνυνται ὁμοῦ ὄντες.*

,, ‚Christus evangelizans pacem, evangelizans bona, adnuntians locum aeternum, aedificans discipulis ascensum suum in caelum' " (Tert., IV, 34).

(29) ,,Marcion dicit, Cain et eos qui similes sunt ei et Sodomitas et Aegyptios et similes eis et omnes omnino gentes, quae in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a domino, cum descendisset ad inferos et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumpsisse regnum, Abel autem et Enoch et Noe et reliquos iustos et eos qui sunt erga Abraham patriarchas cum omnibus prophetis et his qui placuerunt deo non participasse salutem; quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentantem eum suspicati non accurrerunt Jesu neque crediderunt annuntiationi eius, et propterea remansisse animas eorum apud inferos dixit" (Iren. I, 27, 3; Theodoret., Haer. fab. I, 24).

So schon der Presbyter bei Iren. IV, 27, 2.

Καὶ ἄχρι Ἅιδου καταβεβηκέναι τὸν κύριον, ἵνα σώσῃ τοὺς περὶ Κάϊν καὶ Κορὲ καὶ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρών, Ἡσαῦ τε καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ ἐγνωκότα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἄβελ καὶ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Νῶε καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Μωυσέα, Δαυίδ τε καὶ Σολομῶντα

ἐκεῖ καταλελοιπέναι διότι ἐπέγνωσαν, φησί, τὸν θεὸν Ἰουδαίων, ὄντα ποιητὴν καὶ κτιστήν, καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα αὐτοῦ πεποιήκασι καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀοράτῳ ἑαυτοὺς προσανέθεντο (Epiph., h. 42, 4).

(Ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεὸς) λάθρα πέμπει καὶ διαφθείρει τὰ δημιουργήματα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· εἰσβιάζεται κρύφα καὶ παραπείθει καὶ πλανᾷ (so stellt sich das für den Gegner M.s dar)· *τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατεγνωσμένους ἢ κατηραμένους, ὥς φατε, ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ δίκην ἀνδραποδιστοῦ τινος ὑπεξάγει· ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διδάσκει καὶ φεύγειν τὸν πατέρα· αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσποιεῖται, μὴ συγχωροῦντας τοῦ πατρός· ἐπάγγελται ὁ ἀγαθὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἶναι πατήρ . . . σεμνός γε ὁ θεὸς τῶν παρ' ἄλλων καταδίκων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀκλήρων καί, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, σκυβάλων ἐπιθυμῶν εἶναι πατήρ* (Celsus bei Orig. VI, 53).

(30) ,,Salutem solum animarum esse futuram earum quae eius doctrinam didicissent, corpus autem videlicet, quoniam a terra sit sumptum, impossibile esse participare salutem" (Iren. I, 27, 3; V, 4, 1 und andere Zeugen); vgl. Tert. I, 24: ,,(Deus Marcionis) ipsis, quos salvos facit, imperfectam salutem (praebet), scil. animam tenus salvis, carne deperditis, quae apud illum non resurgit". Ähnlich an vielen Stellen, bes. auch in der Schrift de resurr. carnis; wo sich auch c. 2 die Worte finden: ,,Omnes fere haeretici animae salutem, quoquo modo volunt, tamen non negant. viderit unus aliqui Lucanus (Marcionis discipulus) ne huic quidem substantiae parcens". Hipp., Refut. X, 19: *Χριστὸν πεπέμφθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν.* Megeth., Dial. II, 7: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἦλθε σῶσαι μόνην τὴν ψυχήν.*

Die Auferstandenen werden sein ,,wie die Engel"; s. Tert. III, 9: ,,Deus tuus v e r a m quandoquidem substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur" — ‚erunt enim', inquit, ‚sicut angeli'". Epiph., h. 42, 3: *ψυχῆς ἀνάστασιν εἶναι λέγει καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν μόνης.*

Vergeltung, bzw. Belohnung der guten Werke > Erlösung aus purer Gnade und Barmherzigkeit: dieser Gegensatz ist für M. oft bezeugt. Hauptstelle Tert. I, 23: ,,Marcionitae dicunt atquin hanc esse principalem et perfectam bonitatem, cum sine ullo debito familiaritatis in extraneos voluntaria et libera effundatur, secundum quam inimicos quoque nostros et hoc nomine iam extraneos diligere iubeamur". Dazu I, 17: ,,Sufficit unum opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate" (s. o. S. 263*. 267*).

(31) Tert. IV, 25: „Ex dilectione dei consequuntur vitam aeternam Marcionitae".

Sklavischer Gehorsam > Glaube. Das Gesetz hinderte den Glauben; s. Iren. IV, 2, 7: „Non quorundam infidelitatem legi adscribant; non enim lex prohibebat eos credere in filium dei". Aus der unter Nr. 9 S. 265* aus Esnik zitierten Stelle geht hervor, daß es nach M. allen eine Schuldigkeit ist, zum guten Fremden überzugehen (wegen seiner „Güte"), obschon sie ganz und gar die Geschöpfe des Demiurgen sind.

Die „fides" ist bei dem neuen Gott das Entscheidende, und zwar der Glaube an die Erlösungstat des Gott-Christus, der mit seinem Blute am Kreuz die Sünder losgekauft hat und sie durch den Glauben in gute umwandelt, s. Tert., IV, 18 („Aus dem Glauben erwuchs der großen Sünderin der zur Buße treibende Stachel"); IV, 20 („blutflüssiges Weib"); IV, 35 („die zehn Aussätzigen"); dabei definiert M. die fides als den Glauben, der das Gesetz verachtet (wie es die Blutflüssige durch die Berührung getan hatte). Megethius, Dial. II, 6: *Κακοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μετέβαλε διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ.* Markus, Dial. II, 1 f: *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ σώζει.* L. c. 19 f: *Τῶν πιστευόντων πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.* II, 9: „Der Tod des Guten ist das Heil der Menschen geworden". I, 3: „Der gute Gott hatte Mitleid mit den ihm Fremden als Sündern; weder als gute noch als böse begehrte er sie, sondern er erbarmte sich ihrer in herzlicher Rührung". — Besonders lehrreich ist, daß in den den Marcioniten gebührenden Versen Röm. 16, 25—27 als Zweckbestimmung des nun geoffenbarten Geheimnisses die *ὑπακοὴ πίστεως* angegeben wird. Apelles bei Euseb., h. e. V, 13: *Σώζεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἠλπικότας, μόνον ἐὰν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὑρίσκωνται.*

(32) Aus den zahlreichen Verfolgungen und den Ausbrüchen des Hasses, die uns treffen, ist offenbar, daß wir jetzt zu einem anderen, dem Weltschöpfer-Gott fremden Gott gehören; heißt es doch vom Weltschöpfer (Prov. 21, 1): *Καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ*; also ist klar, daß der Weltschöpfer-Gott selbst uns verfolgt hat, da er die Herzen der Könige in seiner Hand hat (Megethius bei Adam., Dial. I, 21). M. nannte seine Konfessionsgenossen „*συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενοι.*" (Tert., IV, 9. 36).

Erklärungen zum Evangelium und zu den paulinischen Briefen.

An zahlreichen Stellen hat Tert., dessen 4. und 5. Buch hier die Hauptquelle ist, nicht gewußt, wie M. sie gedeutet hat, und trägt daher ex hypothesi Alternativ-Auslegungen vor, bzw. gibt (seltener) eine hypothetische Auslegung. Alle diese Fälle sind im folgenden beiseite gelassen; doch ist die Unterscheidung von echten M.-Auslegungen nicht durchweg deutlich. Dazu kommt, daß an einigen Stellen dem Tert. zwei Marcionitische Auslegungen vorlagen, eine des Meisters und eine der Schüler, die, von den Gegnern bedrängt, die Erklärung des Meisters preisgaben. Aber auch diese Fälle sind nicht immer sicher zu unterscheiden. Die Auslegungen M.s zu Bibelstellen, aus denen er eigentliche Antithesen entwickelt hat, habe ich nur zum Teil wieder aufgenommen, und auch solche Auslegungen in der Regel beiseite gelassen, in denen er lediglich seine Hauptlehre ohne jede Nuance wiederholt oder die bereits oben mitgeteilt worden sind. Außer Tert. haben auch Origenes, Adamantius, Ephraem, Chrysostomus u. a. hier Material geliefert.

Zu Luk. 4, 27 s. o. die Antithese (S. 282*).

Zu Luk. 4, 30: M. bewies aus dem „Hindurchgehen" Jesu, daß er ein Phantasma gewesen sei (IV, 8).

Zu Luk. 4, 32 („Stupebant omnes"): „‚Quoniam adversus legem et prophetas docebat' " (IV, 7).

Zu Luk. 4, 35: „‚Atquin', inquis, ‚increpuit daemoniacum Iesus quasi mentitum, quod eum Iesum quidem, sed creatoris existimasset' " (IV, 7).

Zu Luk. 4, 41: Jesus hieß die ausgetriebenen Dämonen schweigen, weil sie ihn irrtümlich für den Christus des Weltschöpfers hielten (IV, 8).

Zu Luk. 5, 13: „‚Christus ut aemulus legis tetigit leprosum' .... ‚legem destruxit' " (IV, 9); ein Aussätziger durfte nach dem Gesetz nicht berührt werden. Christus unterlag augenscheinlich nicht der Ansteckungsgefahr, also war er ein Phantasma (die Stelle ist S. 188* abgedruckt).

Zu Luk. 5, 14: „‚Ut bonus', inquit, ‚praeterea sciens omnem, qui lepra esset liberatus, sollemnia legis executurum, ideo ita

praecepit' („Zeige dich dem Priester" usw.) ... ‚indulsit legi obsequium' " (IV, 9).

Zu Luk. 5,20 (Vergebungsspruch an den Gichtbrüchigen): „‚Nova ista Christi benignitas' " (IV, 10).

Zu Luk. 5, 27 ff. (Berufung des Zöllners): „Publicanum adlectum a domino in argumentum deducit, quasi ab adversario legis adlectum extraneum legis et Iudaismi profanum" (IV, 11).

Zu Luk. 5, 33 ff. (Johannesjünger „‚Iohannes nihil administravit' ... ‚Christus reiecit Iohannis disciplinam ut dei alterius et discipulos defendit, ut merito aliter incedentes, aliam scil. et contrariam initiatos divinitatem' " (IV, 11); vgl. Orig., Comm. I § 82 in Joh.: ‚*Ἑτέρου τυγχάνει θεοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀγνοῶν τὴν καινὴν θεότητα*'.

Zu Luk. 5, 36 ff. („Alte Schläuche, altes Kleid"): Das Ev. ist „‚alienum et contrarium' " in bezug auf das A T.; „‚etiam forma sermonis in Christo nova, cum similitudines obicit, cum quaestiones refutat' " (IV, 11; s. auch IV, 19 zu Luk. 8, 4).

Zu Luk. 6, 1 ff. („Ährenausraufen"): „‚E nova Christi institutione' " gegenüber dem Sabbatsgebot („sabbatum intervertit"); dies zeigt eine „‚alia a Christo demonstrata divinitas' " (IV, 12).

Zu Luk. 6, 20 ff. („Seligpreisungen") M. muß sie als die „‚ordinariae (= „die eigentlichen") sententiae Christi, per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit' " oder ähnlich bezeichnet haben, weshalb sie Tert. im Sinne M.s „edictum Christi" nennt (IV, 14).

Zu Luk. 6, 22: Der Ausdruck „Menschensohn" ist parabolisch (Megethius im Dial. I, 7).

Zu Luk. 6, 23 („Die Väter der Juden haben die Propheten gehaßt und verfolgt"): „‚Non statim', inquis, ‚prophetas tuebatur, si iniquitatem Iudaeorum adfirmatam volebat, quod nec cum prophetis suis pie egissent' " (IV, 15).

Zu Luk. 6, 24 ff. („Die Wehe, die Jesus ausspricht"): „‚Vae non tam maledictionis est quam admonitionis' " (IV, 15).

Zu Luk. 6, 27 ff. („Statt Wiedervergelten Segnen") „‚Novam plane patientiam docet Christus' " (IV, 16).

Zu Luk. 6, 30 („Man soll allen geben"): „‚Hoc est novum et diversum' " (IV, 16).

Zu Luk. 6, 35 („Söhne des Höchsten"); also soll es keine leiblichen Söhne mehr geben (IV, 17).

Zu Luk. 6, 37 f. („Richtet nicht"): „‚Deus non iudicat' " (IV, 17).

Zu Luk. 6, 43 ff. („Schlechter und guter Baum"): „‚Duo dei' " (IV, 17).

Zu Luk. 7, 9 („Solchen Glauben habe ich nicht einmal in Israel gefunden"): „‚Cur non licuerit illi alienae fidei exemplo uti?' " (IV, 18).

Zu Luk. 7, 11 ff. („Jüngling von Nain"): „‚Novum documentum' " der Macht und Güte Christi (IV, 18).

Zu Luk. 7, 16 („Die, welche das Nain-Wunder erlebt, priesen Gott"): „‚Illi quidem creatorem glorificabant, Christus vero non corrigebat' " (IV, 18), weil er geduldig war.

Zu Luk. 7, 20 ff. („Die Botschaft des Johannes"): „‚Scandalizatur Iohannes auditis virtutibus Christi, ut alterius dei' " (IV, 18) .... „Selig, wer sich nicht ärgert" ist gegen den Täufer gemünzt. „‚Ideo Iohannes subiectus ei, qui minor fuerit in regno dei, quia alterius est dei regnum, in quo modicus quis maior erit Iohanne, alterius Iohannes, qui omnibus natis mulierum maior est' " (IV, 18).

Zu Luk. 7, 50 („Dein G l a u b e hat den Bußstachel erzeugt und dich erlöst"): M. legte darauf das höchste Gewicht, daher ihn Tert. an das Glaubenswort des Habakuk erinnert (IV, 18).

Zu Luk. 8, 4 („Säemann-Gleichnis"): M. hat die Parabel als Jesu eigentliche Redeform bezeichnet (IV, 19).

Zu Luk. 8, 8 („Wer Ohren hat zu hören"); s. d. Antithese S. 282* (IV, 19).

Zu Luk. 8, 21 („Meine Mutter und Brüder"): „‚Ipse', inquiunt, ‚contestatur se non esse natum dicendo: Quae mihi mater et qui mihi fratres?' " (IV, 19) und schon zu Luk. 8, 20: „‚Quid enim, si temptandi gratia nuntiatum est ei?' " S. auch de carne 7. 8. Ephraem, Evang. Conc. Expos. p. 122 f: M. sagte, es war eine Versuchung Jesu seitens der Gegner.

Zu Luk. 8, 25 („Stillung des Sturms"): „‚Iste qui ventis et mari imperat, novus dominator atque possessor est elementorum subacti iam et exclusi creatoris'." Die ATlichen Parallelen lehnte M. als solche ab: „‚Quid ad haec' " (IV, 20).

Zu Luk. 8, 27 ff. („Der Dämonische bei den Gadarenern"): „‚Daemones ignoraverunt quod novi et ignoti dei virtus operaretur in terris' " (IV, 20).

Zu Luk. 8, 45 ff. („Blutflüssiges Weib"): s. die Antithese S. 293*; sodann betonte M. auch hier (8,48) stark, wie bei der großen Sünderin, den Glauben; Tert. schreibt: „At enim, si fidem mulieris invenimus ita meruisse, quis es, ut aemulationem legis interpreteris in isto facto, quod ipse dominus ex fidei remuneratione editum ostendit? (daß es „remuneratio" sei, leugnete M. wohl). sed hanc vis mulieris fidem constituere, qua contempserat legem" (IV, 20).

Zu Luk. 9, 21 („Petrusbekenntnis"): „Jesus legt dem Petrus nach dem Bekenntnis Schweigen auf; „ ‚quia non recte senserat, noluit mendacium disseminari' " (IV, 21).

Zu Luk. 9,28 ff. („Verklärung"): „ ‚Christus Moysis et Heliae destructor advenit: hoc (significat) vox illa de caelo: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite, i. e. non Moysen iam et Helian' " (IV, 22). — Zu 9, 33 („Hüttenbau") bemerkte M., die Worte: „Er wußte nicht, was er sagte", zeigen, daß Petrus glaubte, Christus sei der Christus des Moses und Elias" (l. c.).

Zu Luk. 9, 41: M. bezog die *γενεὰ ἄπιστος* auf die Jünger (IV, 22).

Zu Luk. 9, 57: M. scheint das Anerbieten des Ungenannten, ihm überall zu folgen, für Hochmut oder Heuchelei gehalten zu haben (IV, 23).

Zu Luk. 9, 60: *Κἂν συγχρήσωνται τῇ τοῦ κυρίου φωνῇ λέγοντος (τῷ Φιλίππῳ?): ,Ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, σὺ δὲ ἀκολούθει μοι' ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκοπείτωσαν ὡς τὴν ὁμοίαν τῆς σαρκὸς πλάσιν καὶ Φίλιππος φέρει νεκρὸν οὐκ ἔχων μεμιαμμένον κτλ.* (Clem., Strom. III, 4, 25).

Zu Luk. 10, 9 („Das Himmelreich ist nahe gekommen"): „ ‚Regnum dei Christus novum atque inauditum adnuntiavit' " (IV, 24).

Zu Luk. 10, 21 f. Die Hauptstelle M.s für die Lehre vom fremden und unbekannten, erst durch Christus offenbarten Gott: „ ‚Ipsam magnitudinem sui deus absconderat, quam cum maxime per Christum revelabat, in destructionem rerum creatoris, uti traduceret eas' " . . . . „ ‚Omnia mihi tradita = omnes nationes' " (IV, 24 f.). Chrysostomus, Hom. 38 (39), 2 in Matth.: „*Οὐ περὶ ἀγνώστου τινὸς θεοῦ καὶ μηδενὶ γενομένου γνωρίμου ταῦτα ἔφασκεν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Μαρκίων.*

Zu Luk. 10, 25 („Was muß ich tun, damit ich das Leben

erwerbe" [M. las „ewige" nicht]): „‚Doctor de ea vita videtur consuluisse, quae in lege promittitur a creatore longaeva, et dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedit' " (IV, 25).

Zu Luk. 10, 27 („Du sollst lieben" usw.): „‚Ex dilectione dei consequimur vitam aeternam' " (IV, 25).

Zu Luk. 11, 1 („Lehre uns beten"): „(Der Jünger bat so), ‚quia alium deum aliter existimaret orandum' " (IV, 26).

Zu Luk. 11, 8 („Der in der Nacht bittende Mann"): Weil er dem Schlafenden lästig ist, ist es offenbar, daß er ihm ein Fremder ist (IV, 26).

Zu Luk. 11, 19: „Marcion putat sic accipiendum: ‚Si ego in Beelzebule, filii vestri in quo?' quasi illos suggillaret in Beelzebule eicientes" (IV, 26).

Zu Luk. 11, 22 („Der Stärkere, der über den Starken kommt"): „‚Creator ab alio deo subactus' " (IV, 26). Aus dieser Stelle hat M. wahrscheinlich den Namen „ὁ ἐπερχόμενος" für seinen Christus entnommen (s. o. S. 283*).

Zu Luk. 11, 27 f.: M. folgerte aus der Antwort, die Jesus dem seine Mutter preisenden Weibe gegeben hat, daß er nicht von einem Weibe geboren sei (IV, 29). M. bei Ephraem, Evang. Conc. Exp. 122 f.: „‚His verbis solummodo tentarunt, num vere natus esset' " (Wie bei der Perikope von der Mutter und den Brüdern).

Zu Luk. 11, 38 f.: M. schloß daraus, daß Jesus nicht vor dem Essen eine Waschung vorgenommen hat, er habe das Gesetz aufgelöst (IV, 27).

Zu Luk. 11, 42 ff.: schloß aus dem Wehe über die Pharisäer, daß Jesus sie schelte, weil sie nicht den wahren Gott haben; aber dann: „‚Haec omnia (die Wehe) ad infuscandum creatorem Christus ingerebat ut saevum, erga quem delinquentes Vae habituri essent' " (IV, 27).

Zu Luk. 11, 46 („Die schweren Lasten"): „‚Onera legis suggillat detestator eius' " (IV, 27).

Zu Luk. 12, 1 („Der Sauerteig der Pharisäer"): „‚Fermentum, quod est hypocrisis i. e. praedicatio creatoris' " (IV, 28).

Zu Luk. 12, 2 f. („Nichts ist verhüllt" usw.): „‚Dei ignoti retro et occulti revelatio et adagnitio' " (IV, 28).

Zu Luk. 12, 5 („Fürchtet den, der in die Hölle werfen kann"): „Per haec severitatem creatoris infuscat, non remissuri blasphe-

miam et occisuri etiam in gehennam" (IV, 28). Den Vers 10 verstand M. antithetisch (das gegen Christus gesprochene Wort vergibt er, aber der Weltschöpfer vergibt die Blasphemie gegen den h. Geist nicht); IV, 28.

Zu Luk. 12, 13 f. („Erbschlichter"), s. d. Antithese S. 280* (IV, 28).

Zu Luk. 12, 22 ff. („Sorget nicht"): „‚Christus derogator creatoris non vult de eiusmodi frivolis (scil. über Nahrung, Kleidung usw.) cogitari'" (IV, 29).

Zu Luk. 12, 39 f. („Der Hausherr und der Dieb"): „‚Fur in parabola in personam creatoris disponendus est'" (IV, 29); ob auch der Menschensohn in v. 40?

Zu Luk. 12, 46: „Temperare temptant hunc sensum, cum deo eius vindicatur, quasi tranquillitatis et mansuetudinis sit segregare solummodo et partem eius cum infidelibus ponere, acsi (= velutsi) non sit vocatus (scil. in iudicium), ut statui suo redditus" (IV, 29).

Zu Luk. 12, 49 („Ich bin gekommen, ein Feuer anzuzünden"): „Figura est" (IV, 29).

Zu Luk. 12, 50 („Ich habe eine Taufe"): M. hat auf diese Stelle das Recht, die Taufe zu wiederholen, begründet (Epiph., h. 42,3).

Zu Luk. 12, 59 („Der letzte Heller"): „Marcionitae in persona creatoris obtrectationis nomine disserunt" (IV, 29).

Zu Luk. 13, 19 („Das Senfkorn wird zum großen Baum"): „‚Hortus i. e. homo, homo seminans i. e. Christus.'" Dazu Tert.: „Aut si, ut hunc laqueum evadant, converterint hominis personam a Christo in hominem accipientem semen regni et seminantem in horto cordis sui". Hier mögen Tert. zwei Marcionitische Erklärungen vorgelegen haben oder M. selbst schwankte bei seiner Auslegung (IV, 30).

Zu Luk. 13, 21 („Sauerteig-Gleichnis"): „Fermento comparavit, non azymis, quae familiora sunt creatori'" (IV, 30).

Zu Luk. 14, 16 ff. („Das große Abendmahl"): „M. cenae istius vocationem in caeleste convivium interpretatur spiritalis saturitatis et iocunditatis" (IV, 31).

Zu Luk. 16, 13: M. scheint gesagt zu haben, er sei nicht sicher, wie „der Mammon" zu verstehen sei; mit dem Weltschöpfer ihn zu identifizieren muß er Bedenken getragen haben,

da dieser als „ungerecht" bezeichnet wird (IV, 33); doch kommt man hier nicht zur Klarheit, vgl. Iren. III, 8, 1.

Zu Luk. 16, 16 („Das Gesetz und die Propheten bis Johannes"): Ein Hauptspruch M.s; „‚post Johannem desinit Judaismus, incoepit Christianismus ... facta est sedatio legis et prophetarum et initiatio evangelii, in quo est dei regnum, Christus ipse' " (IV, 33).

Zu Luk. 16, 18 („Ehescheidung"); s. d. Antithese oben S. 293* (IV, 34).

Zu Luk. 16, 19 ff. („Lazarus-Parabel") s. d. Antithesen oben S.294* (IV, 34): auch Abraham ist apud inferos; speciell zu den Worten, sie sollen Moses und die Propheten hören: „‚Immo' inquit, ‚nostri dei monella de caelo non Moysen et prophetas iussit audiri, sed Christum: Hunc audite' ..., vox caelestis iussit illum audiri, quem agnoverant (scil. die 12 Jünger) evangelizantem pacem, evangelizantem bona, adnuntiantem locum aeternum, aedificantem illis ascensum suum in caelum." ' (IV, 34, u. s. oben IV, 22).

Zu Luk. 17, 1 („Die Drohung wider den, der ein Ärgernis gibt"): „‚Alius ulciscatur scandalum discipulorum eius' " (IV, 35).

Zu Luk. 17, 4: Siebenmal dem Bruder zu vergeben, ist ein neues Gebot (IV, 35).

Zu Luk. 17, 11 ff. („Die zehn Aussätzigen"), s. die Antithesen oben S. 282* (IV, 35). Aber zu den Worten: „Zeiget euch den Priestern", wird hier eine andere Auslegung gegeben als zu 5, 14 (IV, 9), nämlich Christus, der schon entschlossen war, sie auf dem Wege zu heilen, habe dies gesagt als „‚legis inlusor, ut in itinere curatis ostenderet nihil esse legem cum ipsis sacerdotibus.' " ..., „Ex fide iam iustificandos sine legis ordine remediavit.' " ... ‚Unum illum solutum ex decem memorem divinae gratiae Samariten miratus non mandat offerre munus ex lege, quia satis iam obtulerat gloriam deo reddens. " Vielleicht gehört hierher, was Clemens, Strom. III, 10, 69 als Marcionitische Exegese (ohne die Unterlage anzugeben) mitteilt: *μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι τὸν γενεσιουργὸν θεόν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸν πεφυκότα.*

Zu Luk. 17, 20 f. („Wann kommt das Reich Gottes?"): „‚Christus de alterius regno respondit quam de cuius consulebatur' " (IV, 35).

Zu Luk. 18, 19 („Niemand außer Gott ist gut") — eine Hauptbeweisstelle M.s —: „‚Deus optimus et ultro bonus' . . . ‚sed quis optimus nisi unus', inquit, ‚deus; ex duobus deis unum optimum ostendit'" (IV, 36), vgl. Orig., De princ. II, 5, 4: „‚Proprium vocabulum patris Christi, qui tamen alius est a creatore omnium deo'" („cui creatori bonitatis nullam M. dedit appellationem", fügt Orig. hinzu). „Die Marcioniten sehen in diesem Spruch gleichsam einen ihnen eigens gegebenen Schild". (Orig., l. c.).

Zu Luk. 18, 35 ff. („Der Blinde von Jericho"): Die Vorangehenden bedrohten ihn zu schweigen „‚quia de David filio mentiebatur'"; Christus selbst corrigiert ihn nicht, „‚quia patiens dominus'" (IV, 36) s. außerdem die Antithese oben S. 265*.

Zu Luk. 19, 11 ff: Tert. ist unsicher, ob M. die Parabel von den Pfunden auf den Weltschöpfer oder auf den anderen Gott deutet; nach v. 21. 22 ist er geneigt, ersteres anzunehmen (IV, 37).

Zu Luk. 20, 5: M. beurteilte die Johannestaufe nicht als vom Himmel stammend, sondern zum Weltschöpfer gehörig (IV, 38).

Zu Luk. 20, 27 ff.: Zu dieser Geschichte bemerkt M., daß die Sadduzäer nach der Auferstehung im Reiche des Weltschöpfers gefragt haben, Jesu Antwort aber sicher auf die Auferstehung bezog, die der gute Gott herbeigeführt. Der *αἰὼν οὗτος* (v. 34) gehört nach M. jenem, der *αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος* (v. 35) aber diesem, und zwar bezog M., indem er *οὓς δὲ κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν* las, *τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου* als Genetiv, wie Tert. ausdrücklich bemerkt, zu *ὁ θεός;* dazu: „‚filii huius aevi: de hominibus dictum est creatoris nuptias permittentis'" (IV, 38).

Zu Luk. 20, 36: „Deus tuus veram quandoque substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur — ‚erunt enim', inquit, ‚sicut angeli'" (III, 9).

Zu Luk. 20, 41 ff.: Der Text ist hier corrumpiert; doch ist deutlich, daß M. hier den Christus Davids von seinem Christus unterschieden hat (IV, 38).

Zu Luk. 21, 8: Jesus hat nach M. vor dem noch kommenden Christus des Weltschöpfers gewarnt, und er hat in den Kriegen, Aufruhren usw., die da kommen (v. 9 f.), die Vorzeichen des kriegerischen Messias erkannt, „‚quae severo et atroci deo congruunt'", wie sie Sach. 9, 15 f. prophezeit sind (IV, 38).

Zu Luk. 21, 17: „‚Apostoli ut alterius dei praecones a Judaeis vexati'" (IV, 39).

Zu Luk. 21. 25 ff.: M. verteilte in der eschatologischen Rede Jesu die „concussiones" auf den grausamen Weltschöpfer, die „promissiones" auf den guten Gott, „quas creator, ignorans illum, non prophetasset". Die folgenden Ausführungen Tert.s zeigen, daß M. die Ankunft der beiden Christus hier prophezeit sah; Tert: „Non potes separare ab illo (scil. a Christo creatoris) alteram partem; unius enim filii hominis adventu constituto inter duos exitus concussionum et promissionum necesse est ad unum pertineant filium hominis et incommoda nationum et vota sanctorum" (IV, 39).

Zu Luk. 22, 19: Tert. IV, 40: „‚Hoc est corpus meum, i. e. figura corporis mei' ". „Ein Gleichnis" (Ephraem, Lied 47, 1). Wahrscheinlich gebühren M. die Worte: „Propterea Christus panem sibi corpus finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate" (IV, 40). Ephraem, Evang. Conc. Expos. p. 122 f.: „‚Et corpus suum dedit eis ad manducandum, ut magnitudinem suam absconderet et opinionem eis inderet, se esse corporalem, quia eum nondum poterant intelligere' ". Ob echt?

Zu Luk. 22, 66 f.: Nach M. hat sich Christus auch bei dem Verhör nicht als Sohn eines anderen Gottes bekannt, „‚ut pati posset' " (IV, 41).

Zu Luk. 22, 70 („Bist du Gottes Sohn?"): M. faßte die Antwort Jesu so: „‚Vos dicitis, non ego " (IV, 41).

Zu Luk. 24, 25 („In bezug auf alles, was ich euch gesagt habe"): „‚Alterius se dei esse' " (IV, 43).

Zu Luk. 24, 38 f. („Sehet meine Hände und Füße" usw.): „Vult itaque M. sic dictum, quasi ‚spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habentem' ad spiritum referatur ‚Sicut me videtis habentem, i. e. non habentem ossa, sicut et spiritus' " (IV, 43).

Zu Luk. 24, 42: „Christus hat nach seiner Auferstehung Fisch gegessen und nicht Fleisch" (Esnik S. 195).

Über die Stellen aus anderen Evangelien, die M. in den Antithesen zitiert und sich mit ihnen auseinandergesetzt hat, s. S. 249* ff. Über die Rede von der Selbstentmannung (Matth. 19) hat er sich nach Origenes (Comm. XV, 3 in Matth., T. III p. 333) also ausgesprochen: *Μαρκίων φάσκων μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν γραφὴν καὶ τοὺς τόπους* [= *λόγους*] *τούτους ἠθέτησεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένους, νομίσας δεῖν ἤτοι παραδέξασθαι μετὰ τοῦ φάσκειν τὸν σωτῆρα ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἢ μὴ ἂν εὐλόγως τολμήσαντα τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἐσόμενα εἰς*

δυσφημίαν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ λόγου, μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος τοὺς λόγους, εἴγε μὴ ἀλληγοροῦντα.

Zu Gal. 1, 1 ff: ,, ‚Principalis adversus Judaismum epistula.' "

Zu Gal. 1, 1: ,, ‚Paulus ipse', inquit, ‚apostolum est professus et quidem non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum' "; also — das ist M.s Gedanke — bedarf er keiner anderen Beglaubigung; also ist die Apostelgesch. abzulehnen (Tert. V, 1; s. V, 2 u. sonst: ,,Apostolorum Acta respuitis"). Der Brief enthält nach M. ,,et legis destructionem et evangelii aedificationem", weil die Predigt von dem anderen Gott . . . ,, ‚Galatae visi sunt sic ad aliud evangelium transferri (Gal. 1, 6), dum ad creatorem transferuntur' " . . . ,, ‚evangelium dei novi ab apostolo defensum' " . . . . ,, ‚et ideo', dices, ‚subtexuit (Gal. 1, 8): Licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit, quia et creatorem sciebat evangelizaturum' " . . . . ,, ‚Angelum M. ad evangelium retulit creatoris" (V, 2) . . . . ,,Petrum ceterosque apostolos vultis Judaismi magis adfines subintelligi" (V, 3). Orig. bei Hieron. zu Gal. 1, 1: ,,In Marcionis Apostolico non est scriptum ‚Et per deum patrem', volentis exponere, Christum non a a deo patre, sed per semetipsum suscitatum."

An den ersten Versen des Briefs stellte M. fest, daß es nur e i n e Evangelienschrift geben könne, die identisch sei mit dem Evangelium des Paulus und mit seinem eigenen (s. Tert. öfters). Nach Chrysost. (zu Gal. 1, 6 f.) sagte M.: *Ἰδοὺ καὶ Παῦλος εἶπεν· ‚Οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον'.* Dazu Chrysost.: *Οὐδὲ γὰρ παραδέχονται τοὺς εὐαγγελιστὰς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ ἕνα μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν περικόψαντες καὶ συγχέαντες, ὡς ἐβούλοντο.*

Zu Gal. 1, 7: M. schob hier *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* ein u. schloß, daß es nur e i n e Evangelienschrift geben dürfe (Megethius, Dial. I, 6).

Zu Gal. 2, 4: ,, ‚Falsi et superinducticii fratres interpolatione scripturae, qua Christum creatoris effingerent, perverterunt evangelium' " (V, 3).

Zu Gal. 2, 11 ff.: ,, ‚Reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii veritatem.' " (s. z. diesem Ausdruck die Marcionitischen Prologe) . . . ,, ‚ob divinitatis diversitatem' " (V, 3).

Zu Gal. 3, 13: ,,Subrepit in hoc loco M. ‚de potestate creatoris', quem sanguinarium, crudelem infamat et iudicem, asserens

nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni dei filius sit" (Orig. bei Hieron. im Comm. z. d. St.).

Zu Gal. 3, 13: „‚In lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio'; non potes distantiam auctorum vindicare" (V, 3); s. auch die Antithese oben S. 288* f. u. „‚videbitur alterius dei esse Christus et idcirco a creatore (ohne es zu wissen) iam tunc in lege maledictus' " (V, 3). Zu ἐξηγόρασεν s. oben l. c.

Zu Gal. 4, 5 (Ephes. 1, 5): *Τίς ποτε τὰ ἴδια υἱοποιεῖται;* (Markus, Dial. II, 19 f.).

Zu Gal. 4, 9 (*στοιχεῖα*) = „‚mundalia elementa, per quorum derogationem Paulus Galatas a creatore avertere cupiebat" (V, 4).

Zu Gal. 5, 2. 6: „‚Circumcisionem Christus ab alio deo veniens exclusit' " (V, 4).

Zu Gal. 5, 10: Hieron., Comm. in Gal.: „‚Occulte', inquiunt, ‚Petrum lacerat' ". (Die Stelle kann aber auf die Marcioniten gehen.)

Zu Gal. 5, 14: „‚Lex adimpleta est, iam non adimplenda' " (V, 4).

Zu Gal. 6, 6: „M. hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis, illo vel maxime elatus, quod sequatur ‚in omnibus bonis' " (Orig. bei Hieron. im Comm. z. d. St.).

Zu Gal. 6, 14: „‚Mundus i. e. dominus mundi' " (V, 4).

Zu Gal. 6, 17 (*Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰκῇ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέσθω*, so las M.): „‚Persecutores vocat Christi' " (V, 4).

Zu I Kor. 2, 8: „Argumentatur haereticus, ⟨quod⟩ principes huius saeculi dominum, alterius scil. dei Christum, crucifixerint, ut et hoc in ipsum redigat creatorem" .... „Secundum Marcionem nec apostolus hoc loco patitur ignorantiam adscribi virtutibus creatoris in gloriae dominum, quia scil. non illas vult intelligi principes huius saeculi." Also sah M. in ihnen weltliche Machthaber (V, 6).

Zu I Kor. 4, 9: „Mundum deum mundi interpretatur" (V, 7).

Zu I Kor. 8, 5: M. nahm die wirkliche Existenz der „dei sive in caelo, sive in terris" an und rechnete zu ihnen den Weltschöpfer (V, 7).

Zu I Kor. 8, 13: Auf diese Stelle gründete M. das Verbot des Fleischgenusses (Esnik S. 197).

Zu I Kor. 9, 15 f.: M. folgerte hier, Paulus habe gratis ge-

arbeitet, um die gesetzliche Bestimmung umzustoßen, die dem Arbeiter das Recht auf den Lohn zusichert (V, 7).

Zu I Kor. 10, 25: M. sah in der Erlaubnis, Fleisch vom Markt zu kaufen, die Anordnung des neuen Gottes (V, 7).

Zu I Kor. 12, 10 („Zungenreden"): „‚Paulus alienum charisma ⟨a⟩ creatoris praedicatione confirmat'" (V, 8).

Zu I Kor. 15, 24 f.: Nicht der gute Gott bringt alles gewaltsam unter die Füße Christi, „sondern der Herr der Welt zerstört sich selbst und seine Welt in Ewigkeit"; also wechselt nach M. in diesen Versen das Subject; in v. 24 ist es der Weltschöpfer, in v. 25 Jesus (Esnik S. 190).

Zu I Kor. 15, 29 („Taufe Verstorbener"): M. schloß aus diesem paradoxen Brauch, daß Paulus „auctor aut confirmator novus" sei (V, 10).

Zu I Kor. 15, 44: „‚Si seritur anima, resurgit spiritale'" .. „animam dicit in resurrectione spiritum futuram" (V, 10).

Zu I Kor. 15, 49: („Wir werden das Bild des Himmlischen tragen"): „‚Ad substantiam caelestem refert apostolus haec verba'" (V, 10).

Zu I Kor. 15, 50 („Fleisch und Blut können das Reich Gottes nicht ererben"): „‚Substantiam carnis iubemur exponere... substantiae carnis in nomine carnis denegatur dei regnum'" (V, 10 u. a. Zeugen).

Zu II Kor. 2,17 (LA *λοιποί*, bezogen auf die Apostel): Die Apostel waren *καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*.

Zu II Kor. 3, 3. 6. 11. 13: Diese Verse hat M. im Interesse seiner Lehre von den zwei Göttern besonders hervorgehoben, speziell das *καταργεῖσθαι* in bezug auf das Gesetz und die „novitas" des „testamentum spiritus" (V, 11).

Zu II Kor. 3, 14: M. las *τὰ νοήματα τοῦ κόσμου* und verstand unter der Welt den Weltschöpfer (V, 11).

Zu II Kor. 3, 15 („Bis heute hängt die Decke"): M. erklärte „bis heute" durch „bis auf Paulus", den Apostel des neuen Christus (V, 11).

Zu II Kor. 4, 4: Der *θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* war für M. der Weltschöpfer (V, 11, vgl. V, 17; Iren. III, 7, 1 und Markus, Dial. II, 21). Auch an dem *ἐτύφλωσεν* machte sich M. das deutlich.

Zu II Kor. 5, 1: „‚Sic ait Paulus habere nos domum aeter-

nam, non manu factam in caelo, quia quae manu facta est, creatoris, interit in totum, dissoluta post mortem' " (V, 12).

Zu II Kor. 5, 17 („Neue Creatur in Christo"): „Vom Marcioniten bei Adamant., Dial. II, 16 f., neben dem Spruche vom Wein und den Schläuchen zitiert.

Zu II Kor. 8, 9 (ἐπτώχευσε): nach Ephraem, Lied 36, 6 f. war M. dieser Ausdruck unbequem.

Zu II Kor. 11, 14: M. deutete den Satan an dieser Stelle als den Weltschöpfer; den Satan beurteilte auch er, wie Tert. bemerkt, als einen Engel des Schöpfers (V, 12); allein (zu Ephes. 6, 11) scheint Tert. doch unsicher, wie es sich mit dem Teufel bei M. verhält (V, 18): „aut si diabolus creator est, quis erit diabolus apud creatorem?" Allein das ist nur Schein.

Zu Röm. 1, 16 f.; 2, 2. 16. 28 f.; 3, 21 f.; 5, 1. 20 f.: Aus Tert.s Bemerkungen geht hervor, daß M. besonders diese Stellen für seine Scheidung der beiden Götter verwertet hat (V, 13).

Zu Röm. 1, 24 f.: Orig. sagt (Comm. I, 18, T. VI p. 55 f.), M. habe „ne extremo quidem digito" die hier liegenden Schwierigkeiten berührt.

Zu Röm. 2, 21: „ ‚Creatorem ipsum apostolus his modis tangit, qui et furari vetans fraudem mandaverit in Aegyptios auri et argenti" ' ... „Marcionitae et cetera (2, 22 ff.) in creatorem retorquent" (V, 13).

Zu Röm. 2, 16: Aus Orig., Comm. V in Joh. p. 104 folgt, daß M. aus den Worten κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου geschlossen, es dürfe nicht mehr als e i n Evangelium geben; s. zu Gal. 1, 7.

Zu Röm. 2, 25: Orig., Comm. II, 13, T. VI p. 136 ff. bemerkt zu „ἡ περιτομὴ ὠφελεῖ, er habe nichts darüber gefunden, wie sich M. mit dieser Stelle auseinandersetze, da er doch den Gott zu verhöhnen pflege, der die Beschneidung befohlen habe. Das nun folgende Stück, welches als stoisch bezeichnet ist, kann nur Marcionitisch (oder von Apelles) sein: „Indicet aliquid mysticum circumcisio et figuram teneat allegoricam — itane oportuit, ut cum poena et periculo parvulorum, cum cruciatibus tenerae et adhuc innocentis infantiae ‚figurarum species et legis aenigmata' conderentur? sic non habebat legislator, ubi formas mysticas poneret, nisi in dedecoratione verecundorum locorum, et dei omnipotentis lex aeternique testamenti signaculum non potuit nisi in obscoenis membrorum partibus collocari? itane

bonus est deus iste, qui natum hominem statim in primis novae lucis auspiciis praeceperit vulnerari? et si, ut vobis videtur, ipse est et animae creator et corporis, aut superfluo se plasmasse partem illam corporis notat, quam post modum mandat abscindi, ut per miserorum supplicia proprium emendet errorem, aut quod necessario et utiliter fecit, non recte mandat auferri. tum praeterea si curae est deo plurimos ad cultum suae religionis adduci, maximum ex circumcisione obstaculum nascitur: cum eo enim, quod supplicium unusquisque declinat, tum etiam irrisionem turpitudinis refugit; unde magis impedimentum hoc religionis quam insigne ducendum est".

Zu Röm. 3, 20: M. argumentierte, das Gesetz sei selbst sündig, wenn durch dasselbe Erkenntnis der Sünde komme (Orig., Comm. III, 6 in Rom., T. VI p. 195).

Zu Röm. 4, 15: Orig., Comm. IV, 4, T. VI p. 254 (griech. in Journ. of Theol. Stud. XIII, 1911, p. 359): *Φασί τινες· εἰ ἔνθα ‚οὐκ ἔστι νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις' δηλονότι οὐδεὶς ἐν παραβάσει γέγονε πρὸ Μωσέως.* Im Lat.: ,,Ecce quomodo apostolus dicit, quia lex Mosis iram operatur; ubi vero lex illa non fuerit, ibi nec praevaricatio erit". Da dieser Römerbrief-Vers nebst Kontext sehr wahrscheinlich bei M. fehlte, so ist es sehr zweifelhaft, ob M. hier spricht; aber der Gedanke ist seiner.

Zu Röm. 5, 20 f.: Orig., Comm. V, 6, T. VI p. 368 f.: ,,Si quidem, antequam lex per Mosen daretur, nemo peccasset, volentes accusare legem ex his apostoli verbis Marcion et ceteri haeretici occasionem capere viderentur tamquam haec fuerit causa datae legis, ut peccatum, quod ante legem non fuerat, abundaret".

Zu Röm. 7, 4: M. sagte, wohl sei hier von dem *σῶμα τ. Χρ.* die Rede, nicht aber von einer *σάρξ* (V, 13).

Zu Röm. 7, 7: ,, ‚Lex i. e. deus legis seduxit' " (V, 13).

Zu Röm. 7, 18: Nach Clem., Strom. III, 11, 76 hat M. aus dieser Stelle (,,In meinem Fleisch wohnt nichts Gutes") gegen den Weltschöpfer argumentiert.

Zu Röm. 8, 3: Aus Tert.s Ausführung folgt, daß M. mit dem Ausdruck *ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* den Doketismus begründet hat (V, 14; s. auch Esnik S. 18).

Zu Röm. 10, 3 f.: ,,Hic erit argumentatio haeretici, quasi deum superiorem ignoraverint Iudaei, qui adversus eum iustitiam

suam, i. e. legis suae, constituerint, non recipientes Christum, finem legis" (V, 14).

Zu Röm. 13, 9 f. („ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται"): Markus bei Adamant., Dial. II, 17: *Τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιωθῆναι λύσιν δηλοῖ τοῦ προτέρου.*

Zu Röm. 14, 21: Auf diese Stelle gründete M. das Verbot des Fleischgenusses (Esnik S. 197).

Zu I Thess. 2, 15: „‚Israel deliquit apud deum ipsorum'" (V, 15).

Zu II Thess. 1, 6 gibt Megethius (Dial. II, 6) eine Ausführung, die aber dem M. selbst nicht beizulegen ist.

Zu II Thess. 2, 3 ff.: Nach M. ist „der Mensch der Sünde" der zukünftige Christus des Weltschöpfers; doch ist Tert. hier nicht sicher und nimmt schließlich an, auch nach M. könne der satanische Antichrist gemeint sein. Der Satan ist „angelus creatoris" (V, 16).

Zu Ephes. 1, 9 f. und 2, 11 ff. 20 ff.: Diese Stellen hat M. als besonders wichtige Zeugnisse für seine Lehre in Anspruch genommen (V, 17).

Zu Ephes. 2, 2: M. setzte auch hier die Welt = dem Weltschöpfer (V, 17).

Zu Ephes. 2, 3: „‚Quia interposuit apostolus de delictis (in quibus et nos omnes conversati sumus), ideo delictorum dominum et principem aëris huius creatorem praestat intelligi'" ..... „‚Quia filios appellavit Iudaeos creator, dominus irae creator est'" (zum Ausdruck *φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς* V, 17).

Zu Ephes. 2, 15: M. hat die Stelle so korrigiert und verstanden, daß die *ἐντολαί* zum Weltschöpfer (Gesetzgeber), die *δόγματα* zum guten Gott gehören.

Zu Ephes. 3, 9: Das Erlösungsgeheimnis war dem Weltschöpfer von Anfang an verborgen, bis Christus kam (V, 17).

Zu Ephes. 5, 31: „Interrogemus Marcionem, qua consequentia locum istum, qui et veteri usurpatus est testamento, in Christum et in ecclesiam usurpari queat" (Orig. bei Hieron. z. d. St.).

Zu Ephes. 6, 12: M. verstand unter den „cosmocratores potestates" die Mächte des Weltschöpfers (V, 18).

Zu Ephes. 6, 12: M. bezog *τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας* auf den Weltschöpfer, weil *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* hinzugesetzt sei (V, 18).

Zu Kol. 1, 15: M. betonte es, daß Gott hier *ἀόρατος* ge-

nannt wird und machte einen Unterschied zwischen „deus invisibilis" und „visibilis" (V, 19).

Zu Kol. 2, 8: M. faßte die *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* als Himmel und Erde (V, 19).

Zu Kol. 2, 18 ff.: „‚Legem et Moysen pulsat apostolus, de angelica superstitione constituens interdictionem quorundam edulium'" (V, 19).

Zu Kol. 3, 9: Der alte Mensch, „quem dicitis hostem" (Carmen adv. Marc. V, 90).

Zu Phil. 1, 14 ff.: M. erkannte in diesen Verschiedenheiten verschiedene Lehrverkündigungen und schloß, daß Paulus eine neue gebracht habe (V, 20).

Zu Phil. 2, 6 f.: M. schloß aus dieser Stelle („‚effigie servi, non veritate' .... ‚in similitudine hominis, non in homine' .... ‚figura inventus est homo, non substantia'") auf einen Scheinleib Christi (V, 20). S. Chrysost. z. d. St.: *'Ενταῦθα ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ ῥητοῦ οἱ Μαρκίωνος, 'Ἰδού', φασίν, 'οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος'.*

Zu Phil. 3, 7: M. schloß, daß Paulus den Weltschöpfer selbst „für Schaden" erachtet habe (V, 20).

Zu Phil. 3, 8: M. hat den Satz: *ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα εἶναι,* so verstanden, daß Paulus sich selbst als Auswurf hier bezeichne; die Marcioniten folgten ihm und nannten sich selbst so (Celsus bei Orig. VI, 53). Nach Tert. (l. c.) geht das Wort wie *ζημία* auf den Weltschöpfer und seine Veranstaltungen; aber Tert. mag hier flüchtig gelesen haben.

Zu Phil. 3, 9 („Gerechtigkeit aus dem Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit Christi"): „‚Ergo hac distinctione lex non ex deo erat Christi'" (V, 20).

Zu Phil. 3, 20 f. („Unser Bürgerrecht im Himmel" usw.): M. legte auf diese Stelle besonders Gewicht (V, 20).

In welchem Umfange die Worte „Mani's" bei Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (Brief des Diodor S. 64 ff.) auf Marcion zurückgehen, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen (Röm. 4, 2 stand nicht in M.s Apostolikon): „Ex auctoritate apostoli Moysi legem legem esse mortis conatur adserere, Jesu vero legem legem esse vitae, per id quod ait (folgt II Kor, 3, 6 ff.). addit autem ex prima epistula terrenos esse discipulos Veteris Testamenti et animales et ideo carnem et sanguinem regnum dei possidere non posse (I Kor. 15, 50); ipsum

quoque Paulum ex propria sua persona dicebat adserere id quod ait (folgt Gal. 2, 18: „Wenn ich das, was ich aufgelöst habe, wieder aufbaue" usw.) .... et rursum quod Abraham habet gloriam, sed non apud deum (Röm. 2, 42) .... sed et alia multa legi obtrectans inserebat, eo quod lex ipsa peccatum sit .... et usque ad Johannem igitur aiebat lex et prophetae" (Luk. 16, 16).

Sicher gehört zum größten Teil das Material den „Antithesen" an, welches sich in der Schrift eines Unbekannten aus der Sekte der Patrizianer (Neu-Marcioniten) findet, und das Augustin in seiner Schrift „Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum" gerettet hat (s. Beilage XI). Das meiste von dem Gebotenen ist uns nicht neu; das Neue läßt sich nicht durchweg für M. in Anspruch nehmen; doch ist es heranzuziehen.

Beilage VI: Die Überlieferung über die Lehre Marcions und über seine Kirche[1].

1. Die Polemiker vor Tertullian.

Wie ungeheuer die Krisis gewesen ist, in die Marcion in den JJ. 150—190 die Kirche versetzt hat, davon können wir uns nur schwer einen Begriff machen; denn für diese Zeit haben wir zwar sehr viele Quellen titel, aber nur spärliche Quellen. Es ist m. E. die schwerste Krisis gewesen, die überhaupt jemals, die Reformation mit eingeschlossen, über die christliche Religion gekommen ist. Indem sie sich der Marcionitischen Lehre und Kirche erwehrte, wurde sie zur katholischen Kirche.

Der Erste, der über M.s Lehre und Wirksamkeit berichtet, ist der Apologet Justin. Über sein Zeugnis ist das Nötige schon oben S. 6* f. bemerkt worden. Er schreibt M. einen Dualismus zu, da er über den Weltschöpfer und seinen von den Propheten verkündeten Sohn einen größeren Gott setze, der Größeres geschaffen habe, und dazu einen anderen Sohn. Die erstaunliche Verbreitung der Sekte in der ganzen Welt betrachtet er mit banger Sorge. Ihre Anhänger verspotten die Kirchlichen — ihr Meister allein kenne die Wahrheit —, während sie doch selbst jedes Beweises für ihre Lehre ermangeln. Schon vor der Apologie hatte Justin ein Werk (Syntagma) gegen alle bisherigen Häresien verfaßt, das leider verloren ist, und vielleicht außerdem noch eine besondere Schrift gegen M. Doch kann diese Schrift der Hauptteil jenes Werkes gewesen sein (a. a. O.).

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1 Meine vollständige Testimoniensammlung (auch aus Tertullian und Adamantius) veröffentliche ich aus Ersparnisgründen nicht, sondern teile nur schwer zugängliche oder besonders wichtige Zeugnisse wörtlich mit.

Im letzten Drittel des 2. Jahrhunderts scheint jeder kirchliche Lehrer, der die Feder zu führen vermochte, gegen die gefährliche Nebenkirche aufgetreten zu sein[1]: ein kleinasiatischer Presbyter (bei Irenäus), Dionysius von Korinth, Philippus von Gortyna auf Kreta, ein gewisser Modestus, Melito von Sardes, Irenäus, Theophilus von Antiochien, der Apologet Miltiades, der Montanist Proklus, der asiatisch-römische Lehrer Rhodon und Clemens Alexandrinus[2]. Dazu hat Hegesipp (bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 22, 4 ff.) in seinem Ketzerkatalog — wohl auf Grund des Justinischen Syntagmas — die Marcioniten erwähnt: nach den Anhängern Menanders (also wie Justin) und vor denen des Karpokrates. Der kleinasiatische Verfasser der gefälschten Acta Pauli hat in seinem erfundenen Brief der Korinther an Paulus die Häretiker wesentlich nach der Lehre M.'s charakterisiert[3]. Der Verfasser des Muratorischen Fragments hat bei seiner Feststellung des katholischen Neuen Testaments M.s kanonische Sammlung im Auge, spricht von zwei Briefen, „Pauli nomine fictae ad haeresem Marcionis", (s. über sie das Nähere S. 134* ff.) und bringt die undurchsichtige Angabe, Valentin und ein „Mitiades" (Name verstümmelt; Tatian?) hätten ein neues Psalmenbuch für Marcion geschrieben. Der unbekannte kleinasiatische Antimontanist endlich, den Eusebius exzerpiert hat, berichtet (h. e. V, 16, 21), daß einige Sekten, vor

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1 Daß sich auch der Valentinianer Ptolemäus im Eingang seines Briefs an Flora ohne Nennung des Namens gegen M. gerichtet hat, wo er gegen die polemisiert, welche die Schöpfung und das Mosaische Gesetz auf den Teufel zurückführen, ist mindestens nicht sicher (s. oben S. 14*, gegen Hilgenfeld, Ketzergesch. S. 346 f.).

2 Eusebius (h. e. IV, 25) bemerkt, daß gegen M. noch geschrieben haben *ἄλλοι πλείους, ὧν παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν οἱ πόνοι διαφυλάττονται.*

3 S. meine Rückübersetzung des Briefs in den Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akademie 1905 S. 19 f.: *Οὐ δεῖ, φασί, τοῖς προφήταις χρῆσθαι, οὔτε τὸν θεὸν εἶναι παντοκράτορα, οὔτε ἀνάστασιν εἶναι τῆς σαρκός, οὔτε ἐν σαρκὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐληλυθέναι οὔτε γεγεννῆσθαι ἐκ Μαρίας, οὔτε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων.*

allem aber die Marcioniten zahlreiche Märtyrer hätten [1]. Keine andere Häresie hat damals auch nur annähernd die Aufmerksamkeit in der Kirche erregt wie die Marcionitische, selbst die Valentinianische nicht. Ganz deutlich ist: hier handelte es sich für die Kirche nicht nur um einen von vielen Feinden, sondern um die Rivalin, d. h. um die einzige Gegenkirche, die an Geschlossenheit und Katholizität der großen Kirche nicht nachstand [2].

Unter den oben genannten Polemikern gegen M., die in den verschiedensten Provinzen des Reichs wirksam waren, nimmt der ungenannte kleinasiatische Presbyter des Irenäus eine hervorragende Stellung ein: der Abschnitt Iren. IV, 27—32 geht auf Erinnerungen an Predigten eines betagten, ehrwürdigen asiatischen Presbyters zurück, die Irenäus im Verein mit anderen einst gehört und von denen er sich wahrscheinlich Aufzeichnungen gemacht hat. Dieser Presbyter selbst hat noch Schüler der Apostel gehört, d. h. jene Presbyter, die Irenäus in seinen Werken (auch in dem Werk „Zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung") unter Benutzung des Werkes des Papias als Apostelschüler charakterisiert, als Asiaten bezeichnet und als Gewährsmänner für wichtige Überlieferungen einführt. Diese Predigten können nicht wohl später als um den Ausgang des 2. Drittels des 2. Jahrhunderts, bzw. um 170 gehalten sein, es kann ihnen aber auch ein noch höheres Alter zukommen [3]. Die

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1 *Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεών τινες πλείστους ὅσους ἔχουσι μάρτυρας... καὶ πρῶτοί γε οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως Μαρκιανισταὶ καλούμενοι πλείστους ὅσους ἔχειν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν.*

2 Deshalb wäre es an sich nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß das alte römische Symbol antimarcionitisch ist (so Krüger und Mc Giffert); allein seine ursprüngliche neungliedrige Anlage (3 × 3) ist ganz unpolemisch und die Einfügung des historischen Abschnitts über Christus braucht nicht polemisch zu sein. Ist sie es aber, so ist sie nicht spezifisch antimarcionitisch, sondern allgemein antihäretisch, wie ja auch die regulae fidei bei Irenäus und Tertullian nicht spezifisch antimarcionitisch sind. Erst die regula fidei bei Origenes (De princ.) hat spezifisch antimarcionitische Elemente.

3 Vgl. dazu meine Abhandlung: „Der Presbyter-Prediger des Irenäus" in dem Sammelwerk Paul Kleinert zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht, 1907, S. 1 ff.

Predigten waren Lehrpredigten gegen die Irrlehre M.'s, genauer gegen sein Antithesen-Werk. Es lassen sich aus den Mitteilungen des Irenäus Marcionitische Antithesen abstrahieren, zumal da der Presbyter diesen seinerseits „Synthesen" aus dem AT und NTlichen Schriften entgegengestellt hat [1]. Das ziemlich reichhaltige Material, das sich hier gewinnen läßt, deckt sich größtenteils mit dem, was Tertullian und andere aus den „Antithesen" mitgeteilt haben. So erkennt man schon hier, daß M. den Raub der goldenen und silbernen Gefäße beim Auszug aus Ägypten besonders anstößig gefunden, ATliche Fromme als unwürdige Männer bezeichnet und die Erlösung der im AT Verworfenen durch den in der Unterwelt predigenden Christus gelehrt hat, während die ATlichen Gottesmänner in der Finsternis bleiben. Dieser Presbyter-Prediger, der unser ältester Zeuge für das Antithesen-Werk ist, weist M. auch eine Zweiprinzipienlehre zu („mundi fabricator" > „a Christo traditus pater"), mit dem wichtigen Zusatz, der Weltschöpfer sei (dem guten Gott gegenüber) „in deminutione "(Iren. IV, 27, 3).

Dionysius von Korinth hat in einem verlorenen Brief an die christliche Gemeinde in Nikomedien M.s Lehre bestritten und ihr gegenüber den Kanon der Wahrheit dargelegt (Euseb., h. e. IV, 23, 4). Man erkennt also, daß in Achaja und Bithynien Gefahr drohte. Wenn er sich ferner in einem anderen Briefe über die Verfälschung seiner Briefe durch „die Apostel des Teufels" beklagt, aber zugleich damit tröstet, daß sogar „die Herrnschriften" verfälscht worden seien, so hat er dabei wahrscheinlich M.s Fälschungen im Auge (a. a. O. § 12).

Untergegangen sind leider auch die Spezialschriften gegen M. von Philippus v. Gortyna (bei Euseb., h. e. IV, 25: *σπουδαιότατος λόγος*), Modestus (l. c.; wo lebte er? Eusebius charakterisiert diesen polemischen Traktat als besonders ein-

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1 Andere Gegner M.s haben dies fortgesetzt. Es wäre eine lohnende Aufgabe, neben den Synthesen, die der Weissagungsbeweis verlangte, jene Synthesen aus Irenäus, Tertullian, Origenes usw. zusammenzustellen, die die Überzeugung von der Konkordanz der beiden Testamente (sowie des ATlichen und NTlichen Gotts) zu ihrer Sicherstellung erforderte. Tert. formuliert, namentlich in Buch IV, fort und fort „Synthesen" und schreibt c. 24: „Haec erunt nostrae potius „Antitheseis', quae comparant, non quae separant Christum".

drucksvoll und populär[1], Melito von Sardes (nach Anastasius Sinaita[2]) und Theophilus von Antiochien[3], sowie die allgemeinen ketzerbestreitenden Werke des Miltiades und Proklus[4], in denen sicher auch M. bekämpft war.

Ausgezeichnet ist, was Irenäus in bezug auf M. in seinem großen Werke beigebracht hat. Das Evangelium, der Apostolus

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1 *Ὃς καὶ διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἔκδηλον τοῖς πᾶσιν κατεφώρασε πλάνην.*

2 Eusebius nennt in seinem großen Katalog der Werke Melitos (h. e. IV, 26) keine Schrift gegen M. und auch nicht das Werk unter dem Titel *Περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ* welches Anastasius Sinaita zitiert; im 3. Buch soll sich Melito gegen M. gerichtet haben. Anastasius bringt die christologische Lehre der Monophysiten mit M. in Zusammenhang, bemerkt, Melito habe in der Schrift geäußert: *Ἀπαρνεῖτο ὁ Μαρκίων τὴν ἔνσαρκον Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν* und fügt hinzu, man könne aus der Schrift ersehen, daß Marcion bereits *τὰς αὐτὰς προτάσεις καὶ χρήσεις εὐαγγελικὰς* wie die Monophysiten angeführt habe; s. meine Lit.-Gesch. I, S. 250. Es folgt ein Stück aus Melitos Schrift, das jedoch nicht von Belang in bezug auf M.s Lehre ist. Ganz sicher ist es nicht, ob Melito überhaupt ein Werk über die Fleischwerdung Christi geschrieben hat. Ein wahrscheinlich antimarcionitisches Fragment aus der Schrift Melitos *περὶ λουτροῦ* s. Beilage IX.

3 Eusebius schreibt (h. e. IV, 24): *Ὁ γέ τοι Θεόφιλος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ τούτων* (scil. *τῶν αἱρετικῶν*) *στρατευσάμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀπό τινος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεπονημένου λόγου, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ὧν ἄλλων εἰρήκαμεν εἰς ἔτι νῦν διασέσωσται.* Auch in den Büchern ad Autolycum bezieht sich Theophilus polemisch gegen M. Buch II, 25 heißt es: *Τὸ μὲν ξύλον τὸ τῆς γνώσεως αὐτὸ μὲν καλὸν καὶ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ καλός· οὐ γάρ, ὡς οἴονταί τινες, θάνατον εἶχεν τὸ ξύλον, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοή.* Weiter: *Οὐκ ὡς φθονῶν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, ὡς οἴονταί τινες, ἐκέλευσεν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ τῆς γνώσεως* (Theophilus hat also wahrscheinlich die Antithesen gekannt). Da Irenäus fast wörtlich dasselbe sagt (Iren. III,. 23, 6), so muß hier ein literarischer Zusammenhang bestehen (vgl. auch Theoph. II, 26) und vielleicht auch zwischen Tertullian und Theophilus. Die Übereinstimmungen ferner zwischen jenem und Epiphanius können durch Theophilus vermittelt sein. Aber Sicheres läßt sich nicht ermitteln.

4 Daß diese beiden Theologen größere ketzerbestreitende Werke verfaßt haben, wissen wir aus Tert., adv. Valent 5; er führt das Werk des Miltiades nach dem des Justin (Syntagma), das des Proklus nach dem des Irenäus auf. Kein Zitat ist uns erhalten.

und das Antithesenwerk haben ihm vorgelegen [1], und durch eigene Anschauung hat er ein Bild der Marcionitischen Bewegung gewonnen, wenn sich auch in Lyon keine oder nur wenige Marcioniten befanden. Eine kurze zusammenfassende Darstellung hat Iren. I, 27, 2. 3 gegeben, die die Hauptpunkte in zuverlässiger Form, z. T. unter wörtlicher Anlehnung an M.'s Sätze, enthält, nur darin irrend, daß M. einfach als Diadoche Cerdos und „Vermehrer seiner Schule" eingeführt wird [2]. Auch Irenäus kennt den M. als strengen Dualisten („Cosmocrator, deus legis et prophetarum, malorum factor et bellorum concuspiscens et inconstans quoque sententia et contrarius sibi ipse" > „pater bonus, qui est super mundi fabricatorem deus, a quo Iesus venit in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, dissolvens prophetas et legem et omnia opera creatoris mundi"). Er hat sein NT durchforscht, es als Verfälschung richtig charakterisiert und verheißt, M. in einer eigenen Schrift aus dem, was er stehengelassen hat, zu widerlegen [3]. Wahrscheinlich ist Irenäus nicht dazu gekommen,

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1 Wenn das Marcionitische „Instrumentum" um d. J. 180 auch bis nach Lyon gekommen war, so mag man daran die schnelle Verbreitung dieses Werks, also auch seinen Einfluß, im ganzen Reiche ermessen.

2 Dadurch und durch die Einstellung M.s in die Reihe der anderen Ketzer — und zwar nahezu am Schlusse derselben — hat Irenäus die Bedeutung der Bewegung herabgedrückt.

3 Iren. I, 27, 3: „Sed huic quidem quoniam et solus manifeste ausus est circumcidere scripturas et impudorate super omnes obtrectare deum, seorsum contradicemus, e x e i u s s c r i p t i s arguentes eum et ex iis sermonibus, qui apud eum observati sunt, domini et apostoli, quibus ipse utitur, eversionem eius faciemus praestante deo". Das Versprechen wird III, 12, 12 noch einmal wiederholt: „M. et qui ab eo sunt ad interciendas conversi sunt scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem evangelium et epistolas Pauli decurtantes haec sola legitima esse dicunt, quae ipsi minoraverunt. nos autem etiam ex his quae adhuc apud eos custodiuntur arguemus eos donante deo in altera conscriptione". Eusebius (h. e. V, 8, 9) hat dies Versprechen exzerpiert, aber auch er hat nichts darüber gewußt, ob es zur Ausführung gekommen ist. Übrigens hat Iren. darin als erster den richtigen Standpunkt verschoben, daß er voraussetzt, dem M. habe schon eine katholische Schriftensammlung, enthaltend die Evangelien, die Apostelgeschichte und Briefe vorgelegen, während M. doch noch kein NT, sondern nur die vier Evangelien als maßgebende Sammlung vorgefunden hat.

dieses Versprechen einzulösen; Tertullian hat es bei ihm gelesen und ist in die Arbeit eingetreten. Über die zusammenfassende Darstellung hinaus hat Irenäus in den folgenden Büchern seines Werkes noch zahlreiche Mitteilungen (unter ihnen auch Antithesen im eigentlichen Sinn) aus den Originalquellen gegeben und zugleich die Grundlinien der kirchlichen Polemik gegen M. gezogen [1]. Man kann eine Fülle von Details Marcionitischer Lehre dem Irenäus entnehmen und bemerkt überall seine Sachkunde. Daß M. sich selbst als „veracior" den Aposteln gegenüber proclamiert hat — es geht das übrigens indirekt auch schon aus Justin hervor —, sei besonders hervorgehoben [2], ebenso daß er nur den Apostel Paulus hat gelten lassen [3].

Irenäus ist ein zuverlässiger Berichterstatter [4], aber doch

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1 Vgl. I, 28, 1; II, 1, 2; II, 1, 4; II, 3, 1; II, 28, 6; II, 31, 1; III, 2, 1 f.; III, 3,4; III, 4, 3; III, 7, 1; III, 8, 1; III, 11, 2 f.; III, 11, 7; III, 11, 9; III, 12, 6; III, 12, 12; III, 13, 1 f.; III, 14, 3 f.; III, 16, 1, 7; III, 23, 6; III, 24, 2 ff.; IV, 2, 2; IV, 2, 7; IV, 3, 1; IV, 5, 5 ff.; IV. 6, 4; IV, 8, 1 ff.; IV, 13, 1; (IV, 27—32); IV, 33, 2; IV, 33, 9; IV, 33, 14 f.; IV, 34, 3 f.; IV, 40, 2; IV, 41, 4; V, 2, 1; V, 4, 1; V, 9—14; V, 17, 1; V, 18, 1f.; V, 25, 2; V, 26, 2 f. Wie M. zu bekämpfen, wie die katholische Lehre von der Einheit der beiden Testamente und der Einheit von „Gut" und „Gerecht" zu begründen und warum jede Gottheit abzulehnen sei, die sich nicht zuvor durch eine Schöpfung offenbart habe, das hat Irenäus zuerst dargelegt; doch mag schon Justin in seiner Polemik hier die Grundlinien vorgezeichnet haben. Wie Irenäus durchweg für den Weltschöpfer gegen den fremden guten Gott eintritt, so ist es auch nachmals keinem Kirchenvater je eingefallen zu zeigen, daß der gute Gott auch der Weltschöpfer sei, vielmehr geben sie alle jenen preis und wollen nur von diesem etwas wissen.

2 I, 27, 2: „Semetipsum esse veraciorem quam sunt qui evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit discipulis suis". III, 2, 2: „Adversantur traditioni, dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores sinceram invenisse veritatem; apostolos enim admiscuisse ea quae sunt legalia salvatoris verbis". Vgl. III, 12, 12.

3 III, 13, 1: „Eos qui dicunt solum Paulum veritatem cognovisse, cui per revelationem manifestatum est mysterium, ipse Paulus convincat". IV, 41, 4: „Paulus, ex quo nobis quaestiones inferunt".

4 Doch möchte ich seine Zuverlässigkeit nicht auf solche Angaben ausdehnen wie die (I, 28, 1): *Ἀπὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλούμενοι Ἐγκρατεῖς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν κτλ.* (es folgt Tatian). Zwar wird es auch durch Clemens gewiß, daß es damals eine förmliche Enkratitensekte gegeben hat; aber ob sie wirklich mit M. zusammenhängt, muß fraglich bleiben.

völlig unfähig und gewiß auch unwillig, M. zu verstehen. Den Grundabsichten M.s gegenüber ist er blind und taub — wie alle, welche diesen eigentümlichen Jünger Jesu bestritten haben [1].

Der aus Asien stammende, unter Tatian zum Christen und Theologen gebildete Rhodon — doch hat er später seinen Lehrer verlassen — hat u. a. ein Werk gegen die Marcionitische Häresie geschrieben, dessen Untergang wir deshalb beklagen müssen, weil es über die Verzweigungen der Theologie innerhalb der Marcionitischen Kirche Aufschluß gab und den Charakter des Marcionitischen Christentums beleuchtete [2]. Eusebius, der allein über das Werk berichtet, schreibt (h. e. V, 13): „Rhodon erzählt, daß sich zu seiner Zeit die Marcionitische Sekte in verschiedene Lehrmeinungen gespalten habe, bezeichnet diejenigen, welche die Spaltung herbeigeführt, und widerlegt sorgfältig und präzis die von einem jeden von ihnen ersonnenen falschen Lehren. Höre nur, wie er schreibt: ‚Deshalb sind sie auch unter sich uneins geworden, weil sie sich um eine unhaltbare Grundauffassung wetteifernd bemühen. Aus ihrer Herde nimmt nämlich Apelles, der mit seinem (strengen) Wandel und seinem Alter großtut, nur Ein Grundprinzip *(ἀρχή)* an und sagt, daß die Weissagungen von einem Widersacher-Geist ausgehen. Er folgt dabei den Aussprüchen einer besessenen Jungfrau, namens Philumene. Andere aber, wie auch der Schiffsherr Marcion selbst, führen zwei Grundprinzipien *(ἀρχαί)* ein. Zu diesen gehören Potitus und Basilikus. Sie also, dem pontischen Wolfe [3] folgend und ebensowenig wie dieser (den Grund) der Verschiedenheit der Dinge *(τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων)* findend, machten

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1 Irenäus hat durch die unermüdliche Bekräftigung und Einschärfung seiner beiden Kapitalsätze: „Der Schöpfergott ist auch der Erlösergott" und „Der Gottessohn ist Menschensohn geworden" sicherlich sehr viel zur Bekämpfung Marcions und der Häresie überhaupt geleistet.

2 Vgl. meine Abhandlung: „Rhodon und Apelles" in dem Sammelbande „Geschichtliche Studien, Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstag" (1916), S. 39 ff.

3 „Wolf" (auch bei Tert. und Justin, aber bei diesem nicht im besonderen Sinn), kann eine Anspielung auf die zynische Lebensweise M.s sein (Hippolyt nennt ihn „Hund"). Lucian nennt Peregrinus Proteus (c. 30) in dem von ihm erfundenen Bakis-Orakel „Wolf".

sich's leicht und behaupteten einfach *(ψιλῶς)* und ohne jeden Beweis *(ἀναποδείκτως)* zwei Grundprinzipien. Andere aber von ihnen hinwiederum gerieten auf noch Schlimmeres und stellen nicht nur zwei, sondern sogar drei Naturwesen *(φύσεις)* auf. Ihr Urheber und Vorsteher ist Synerus, wie die, welche sich an seine Schule halten, sagen' ".

Rhodon schließt daran ein Referat über eine Unterredung, die er selbst mit Apelles gehabt hat; Eusebius hat es zum Glück abgeschrieben. Es gehört zu dem Wichtigsten, was wir über M. und seine Schule überhaupt besitzen (s. den Exkurs über Apelles). Aber auch die oben mitgeteilten Nachrichten — es handelt sich um die Marcionitische Kirche in Rom — sind vom höchsten Werte, u. a. auch deshalb, weil sie es sicherstellen, daß M. der Zweiprinzipienlehre gefolgt ist. Näheres s. oben in der Darstellung.

Clemens Alexandrinus ist an zahlreichen Stellen seiner Stromata auf M.s Lehre eingegangen. Von Interesse ist gleich die erste Bemerkung, daß die Marcioniten das Gesetz nicht für schlecht *(κακόν)* erklären, sondern für gerecht, *διαστέλλοντες τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δικαίου* (Strom. II, 8, 39). Der „mit Gott streitende Gigant" — Schmähworte, wie die anderen Polemiker, braucht Clemens nicht — hat durch seine Askese und ihre Begründung die Aufmerksamkeit des christlichen Philosophen erregt (Strom. III, 4, 25). Er vergleicht sie mit der Platos und der Pythagoreer und stellt fest, daß hier die Askese aus dem Urteil, daß die „Erzeugung" an sich schlecht sei, gefolgert werde, die Marcioniten aber die Natur für schlecht erklären als ein Produkt der schlechten Materie und des gerechten Weltschöpfers; daher wollten sie den so entstandenen Kosmos nicht bevölkern, enthielten sich der Ehe, sich ihrem Schöpfer *ἀσεβεῖ θεομαχίᾳ* entgegensetzend und zu „dem Guten", der sie berufen hat, eilend; nicht aus freier Willensentscheidung seien sie also enthaltsam, sondern aus ihrer Feindschaft gegen den Schöpfer, von dessen Hervorbringungen sie nichts brauchen wollten. Clemens fährt fort, daß sie aber doch Nahrung und Luft aus der Welt des Schöpfers nähmen und in ihr bleiben müssen, *τήν τε ξένην, ὥς φασι, γνῶσιν εὐαγγελίζονται, κἂν κατὰ τοῦτο χάριν ἐγνωκέναι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ κόσμου ὀφείλοντες καθ' ὃ ἐνταῦθα εὐηγγελίσθησαν.* Clemens verspricht, er werde, wenn er zur Prinzipienlehre

komme, sich aufs gründlichste mit der Marcionitischen Lehre auseinandersetzen, hat aber diese Zusage nicht eingelöst[1] (Strom. III, 3, 12 f.); doch bemerkt er schon hier, daß die Marcioniten Platos und der Pythagoreer Lehren von der Göttlichkeit der Seele, ihrer Strafhaft in der Welt und von der Seelenwanderung nicht teilen, auch nicht von Plato zu dem Urteil veranlaßt worden seien, daß die Natur schlecht sei (III, 3, 19), wenn sie auch sonst *ἀχαρίστως*[2] *τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς* die Anstöße zu ihren „fremden Dogmen" von ihm empfangen hätten (III, 3, 21). Strom. III, 4, 25 wird ein Teil dieser Urteile wiederholt: der Demiurg, wie sie ihn auffassen, bestimmt die Marcioniten zu ihrem Verzichte auf die *κοσμικά*, „Enthaltsamkeit" *(ἐγκράτεια)* dürfe man das im Grunde nicht nennen; denn das Freiwillige sei hier ausgeschaltet. Wenn sie sich auf das Herrnwort an Philippus[3] Lukas 9, 60 berufen („Laß die Toten ihre Toten begraben; du aber folge mir nach"), so verschlägt das nichts. Ob sich Strom. III, 6, 49 (Häretiker, die die Ehe = Hurerei setzen, vom Teufel eingeführt) auf Marcioniten bezieht, ist mindestens zweifelhaft. Strom. III, 10, 69 erfährt man, daß der Herr nach der Exegese der Marcioniten gelehrt habe, *μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι, τὸν γενεσιουργὸν θεόν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα, ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸν πεφυκότα* (vielleicht zu Luk. 17, 11 ff.), und Strom. III, 11, 76 teilt Clemens mit, daß die Marcioniten den Spruch Röm. 7, 18 gegen den Weltschöpfer ausbeuten[4]. Strom. III, 17, 102 streift

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1 Er wird sie später eingelöst haben in dem Werk *Περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ θεολογίας*, welches nach der Schrift Quis div. salv. 26 wirklich erschienen, aber nicht auf uns gekommen ist. Um M.s willen ist dieser Verlust sehr zu bedauern.

2 Undankbarkeit wirft Clemens auch sonst dem M. vor, so IV, 7, 45: M. *ἀχαρίστως ἐκδέχεται τὴν δημιουργίαν κακήν*, cf. IV, 8, 66.

3 Ob Clemens den Philippus hier aus Irrtum eingesetzt hat oder ob er eine Überlieferung besaß oder ob M. die Einführung zuzusprechen ist, bleibt dunkel, s. o. S. 254*.

4 Die, welche (Strom. IV, 6, 41) den evangelischen Spruch verfälscht und also gefaßt haben: *Μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι* sind schwerlich Marcioniten, wahrscheinlich Enkratiten, obgleich unter denen, welche als *μετατιθέντες τὰ εὐαγγέλια* hier gezeichnet werden, die Marcioniten die namhaftesten sind, s. S. 254*.

er den Doketismus M.s und bemerkt V, 1, 4 folgendes: *Ἐάν τις τολμήσας λέγῃ Μαρκίωνι ἑπόμενος τὸν δημιουργὸν σώζειν τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν, παρευδοκιμηθήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δύναμις, ὀψὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐφημούμενον δημιουργὸν ἐπιβαλλομένη σώζειν καὶ αὐτὴ ἤτοι μαθήσει ἢ καὶ μιμήσει τούτου.* — Ob IV, 4, 17 (solche Häretiker, die sich wie die indischen Gymnosophisten in den Tod stürzen, nur um dem verhaßten Weltschöpfer zu entgehen, und die daher keine wahren Märtyrer sind) sich auf Marcioniten bezieht, ist nicht ganz sicher, aber wahrscheinlich (so schon Baronius). — Über die auf M. sich beziehende chronologische Stelle VII, 17, 106 f. ist oben S. 14*f. gehandelt worden [1]. Daß Clemens die Antithesen M.s gekannt hat, darf man wohl annehmen; denn wie könnte er sonst eine *ἀκριβεστάτη διάλεξις* versprechen? Das Bemerkenswerteste aber ist, daß sich bei Clemens einige Ausführungen finden, die fast Marcionitisch lauten, weil er eine ähnlich tiefe Einsicht in das Wunder der barmherzigen Liebe hat wie Marcion: Strom. II, 16, 74 f. rückt er von den Gnostikern ab, die Gott und Mensch irgendwie physisch verbunden sein lassen *(ὁμοούσιοι ἡμεῖς τῷ θεῷ)* und fährt dann fort: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ φύσει ‚πλούσιος ὢν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἐλέῳ' διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα κήδεται ἡμῶν μήτε μορίων ὄντων αὐτοῦ μήτε φύσει τέκνων. καὶ δὴ ἡ μεγίστη τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος ἔνδειξις αὕτη τυγχάνει, ὅτι οὕτως ἐχόντων ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φύσει ‚ἀπηλλοτριωμένων' παντελῶς ὅμως κήδεται. φυσικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργία τοῖς ζῴοις ἥ τε ἐκ συνηθείας τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι φιλία, θεοῦ δὲ ὁ ἔλεος εἰς ἡμᾶς πλούσιος τ ο ὺ ς κ α τ ὰ μ η δ ὲ ν α ὐ τ ῷ π ρ ο σ ή κ ο ν τ α ς, τ ῇ ο ὐ σ ί ᾳ ἡ μ ῶ ν λ έ γ ω ἢ φ ύ σ ει ἢ δ υ ν ά μ ει τ ῇ ο ἰ κ ε ί ᾳ τ ῆ ς ο ὐ σ ί α ς ἡ μ ῶ ν, μ ό ν ο ν δ ὲ τ ῷ ἔ ρ γ ο ν ε ἶ ν α ι τ ο ῦ θ ε λ ή μ α τ ο ς α ὐ τ ο ῦ, ⟨εἰς υἱοθεσίαν καλεῖ⟩.* Das nähert sich M.s Anschauung; der Schlußsatz ist katholisch.

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1 In Strom. VII, 17, 108 zählt Clemens eine Reihe von Häresien auf und gruppiert sie nach der Herkunft ihrer Namen. Die Marcioniten rechnet er zu denen, die sich nach ihren Stiftern nennen. Wenn er aber schreibt: *ὡς ἡ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ Βασιλείδου (αἵρεσις), κἂν τὴν Ματθίου αὐχῶσι προσάγεσθαι δόξαν,* so darf man den letzten Satz nur auf die Basilidianer beziehen (gegen Hilgenfeld, Ketzergesch. S. 327).

In Edessa hatte im letzten Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts der geistvolle christliche Poet und Philosoph Bardesanes einen großen Einfluß auf die dortige Kirche und die sich schnell entwickelnde syrische Christenheit. Eusebius (h. e. IV, 30, 1) berichtet uns nun, daß Bardesanes in syrischer Sprache Dialoge gegen den Marcionitismus verfaßt habe (*Βαρδησάνης, ἱκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καί τινας ἑτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρέδωκεν γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ . . . οὓς οἱ γνώριμοι — πλεῖστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ — ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς*). Diese Dialoge sind in beiden Sprachen untergegangen; aber die Annahme ist verlockend, daß die jeder Bezeugung entbehrenden Dialoge des Adamantius (s. dort) irgendwie mit ihnen zusammenhängen, die sich auch in erster Linie gegen M. richten, aber daneben noch andere Häretiker bekämpfen. Von Wichtigkeit aber ist, wie es damit auch stehen möge, daß der im Pontus entstandene Marcionitismus so frühe nach Syrien gedrungen ist und am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts die größte häretische Gefahr für die syrische Christenheit bildete; denn, wie Eusebius bemerkt, andere Häretiker hat Bardesanes nur nach und neben M. in diesen Dialogen behandelt, die so eindrucksvoll gewesen sein müssen, daß die Schüler des Bardesanes sie ins Griechische übersetzt haben (daß B. selbst „ad Marcionis commenta — wie auch zu denen Valentins — declinavit", berichtet Abulfarag, Dynast. VII p. 79 ed. Pococke; vgl. meine LitGesch. I S. 190). — In den drei Sprachen der Christenheit, griechisch, lateinisch und syrisch, ist also schon um das Jahr 200 gegen die Marcionitische Lehre geschrieben worden.

Sehr wichtig ist endlich, daß auch der heidnische Polemiker dieses Zeitalters, Celsus, von der Marcionitischen Kirche Notiz genommen hat. Zwar wirft auch er sie ein- oder zweimal mit den gnostischen Sekten zusammen; aber bei genauerer Betrachtung ist es offenbar, daß Celsus nur zwei bedeutende christliche Vereinigungen kennt, die Katholiken und die Marcioniten. Origenes (VI, 74) berichtet, daß Celsus die Lehren M.s oftmals und weitläufig angeführt und besprochen hat (vgl. V, 62). Auf einige dieser Stellen ist er in seiner großen

Gegenschrift eingegangen. Seine Vermutung (VII, 25), Celsus habe seine Kunde z. T. aus dem Munde von Marcioniten, kann richtig sein; doch ist es auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß er die Werke M.s in der Hand gehabt hat, da er (II, 27) von solchen spricht, welche den ursprünglichen Wortlaut des Evangeliums verfälschen, und dazu eine gute Kenntnis der Marcionitischen Terminologie verrät; auch eine Antithese M.'s scheint er berücksichtigt zu haben (VII, 25). Nach VI, 51—53 hat Celsus in einem Konvolut gnostischer Exzerpte ganz deutlich auch Marcionitisches wiedergegeben: „Warum läßt (der höhere Gott) einen schlechten Demiurg, der sich ihm widersetzt, schalten und walten?" (VI, 52) .... „Warum die Heimlichtuerei bei seiner Sendung und die Zerstörung der Werke des Demiurgs? Warum dieses heimliche Eindringen, Überreden und Verführen? Warum lockt er die, die, wie ihr sagt, von dem Demiurgen verurteilt und verflucht sind, listig an sich und führt sie wie ein Sklavenhändler verstohlen heraus? Warum lehrt er sie, ihrem Herrn zu entlaufen, ihrem Vater zu entfliehen? Warum macht er sie zu seinen Kindern, ohne daß es der eigentliche Vater gestattet? Warum verspricht er, Vater „der Fremden" zu sein?" ... „Fürwahr, das ist ein verehrungswürdiger Gott, der darnach trachtet, der Vater von Sündern zu sein, die von einem anderen verdammt und verworfen sind, von ‚Auswürflingen', wie sie sich selbst nennen, der nicht imstande ist den, den er gesandt und heimlich von sich entlassen hat, zu rächen, nachdem man ihn gefangen genommen hatte!" Und bald darauf: „Wenn das aber die Werke des Weltschöpfers sind, wie kommt es dann, daß Gott Schlechtes geschaffen hat? Kann er (die Menschen) nicht überreden und mahnen? Warum reut es ihn, Undankbare und Böse geschaffen zu haben? Warum ist er mit seinem Werk nicht zufrieden? Warum haßt er die eigenen Sprößlinge? Warum verfolgt er sie mit Drohungen und richtet sie zu Grunde? Oder wohin verbannt er sie doch aus der Welt, die er selbst gemacht hat?" (VI. 53) [1].

Man sieht, in der ersten Hälfte spricht hier Celsus wie ein gegen M. polemisierender Katholik, und es ist nicht unwahr-

1 Auch hier sieht man — der Weltschöpfer ist nicht κακός, sondern πονηρός.

scheinlich, daß er eine antimarcionitische Streitschrift gelesen hat; aber in der zweiten Hälfte eignet er sich M.s Kritik an dem Weltschöpfer an.

Besonders deutlich aber geht die Tatsache, daß Celsus in den Katholiken und Marcioniten die beiden sich bekämpfenden christlichen Hauptparteien erkennt, aus VII, 74 hervor. Orig. schreibt: „Die Lehren M.s hat Celsus oftmals und weitläufig angeführt und besprochen; nun kommt er wieder auf sie zurück, trägt sie teilweise richtig vor, teilweise aber hat er sie falsch verstanden: es ist wohl nicht nötig, daß wir uns mit ihrer Erörterung und Widerlegung aufhalten. Er geht sodann auf die Gründe ein, die für und gegen M. sprechen, und erörtert, inwiefern sich die Meinungen M.s verteidigen und inwiefern sie sich angreifen lassen. Wenn er die Lehre gelten lassen will, daß Jesus von den Propheten angekündigt worden sei, um gegen M. und die Marcioniten Einwürfe und Beschuldigungen zu erheben, so sagt er klar und deutlich: ‚Wie kann von einem, der solche Strafe erlitten hat, erwiesen werden, daß er Gottes Sohn sei, wenn dieses sein Leiden nicht vorausverkündet wäre?‘ Er verfällt dann wieder in seine Gewohnheit zu höhnen und zu spotten, wenn er ‚von zwei Göttersöhnen‘ redet, ‚von einem Sohn des Schöpfers und von einem anderen des Marcionitischen Gottes‘; er beschreibt ihre Zweikämpfe und sagt, ‚diese sähen gerade so aus wie die Wachtelkriege‘. Auch von ‚den Kämpfen der Väter‘ redet er und meint, ‚diese seien wohl infolge des Alters kraftlos geworden, weshalb sie sich nicht mehr miteinander herumschlügen, sondern ihre Söhne kämpfen ließen‘ “.

Offenbar hat Celsus die beiden Parteien als die beiden christlichen Hauptparteien widereinander ausgespielt, sich auf M.s Seite stellend in bezug auf die Schwächen des ATlichen Schöpfergottes, aber auf die katholische Seite in bezug auf die Irrationalität und die Gesetzlosigkeit des Marcionitischen Gottes. Dieses sein Verhalten beweist aber, daß sich die Marcionitische Lehre und Kirche dem unparteiischen Beurteiler als die einzige und wirkliche Rivalin der großen Kirche damals dargestellt hat.

2. Die Polemiker des 3. Jahrhunderts.

Die beiden bedeutendsten Gegner M.s gehören der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts an — Tertullian und Origenes; aber nur was jener gegen ihn geleistet hat, besitzen wir noch vollständig; von der umfassenden Polemik des Origenes sind uns nur Trümmerstücke erhalten. Beiden Schriftstellern stehen Marcion und Valentin als Häretiker im Vordergrund; beiden ist Marcion der gefährlichere. Das zeigt, daß die Bedrohung der Kirche durch diesen in Ost und West damals gleich groß war.

Unbefangen hat Tertullian eines seiner frühesten Werke den Traktat ‚Über das Gebet' noch mit dem Worte von dem neuen Wein und den alten Schläuchen, dem alten Flicken und dem neuen Gewand begonnen (das sich M. zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Lehre erwählt hatte), obgleich er schon damals in den Kampf gegen den großen Häresiarchen eingetreten war. Das beweist der mit der Schrift „De oratione" ziemlich gleichzeitige Traktat „De praescriptione haereticorum". In diesem Traktat (um d. J. 200) wird M. lebhaft bekämpft [1]. Sein erdachter besserer Gott („De tranquillitate") wird auf den Stoizismus zurückgeführt [2]; das Zeitalter M.s wird bestimmt; genauere Angaben über seine Lehren fehlen nicht; auch erfährt man, daß Galat. 1. 2 den Ausgangspunkt für M.s Urteil über Paulus und die Urapostel gebildet hat. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit aber ist die Schilderung des Lebens, des Gottesdienstes, der Disziplin und der Verfassung der Marcionitischen Kirchen in c. 41—43.

Gleich darauf ließ Tert., einem Versprechen, das er in De praescr. gegeben, nachkommend, eine eigene Streitschrift gegen M. folgen; allein da sie „quasi properata" war, zog er sie zurück und ersetzte sie durch eine vollständigere Darstellung. Allein noch war diese nicht vervielfältigt, als ein Bruder — nachmals ist dieser falsche Freund zum Heidentum abgefallen — sie arglistig entwendete, höchst fehlerhaft exzerpierte und dieses Machwerk veröffentlichte, zugleich das Original unterschlagend. Allein Tert. ließ sich nicht entmutigen. Er schrieb das Werk, einiges hinzufügend, noch einmal, und in dieser dritten Gestalt besitzen

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1 S. c. 7. 10. 22 ff. 27. 29. 30. 33. 34. 37. 38. 41—44.

2 So auch adv. Marc. V, 19, aber zugleich soll M. von Epikur abhängig sein; so auch Adamant., Dial. II, 19.

wir es. Zuerst erschien Buch I und zwar im J. 207/8; ihm folgten die Bücher II und III auf dem Fuße und bald darauf auch das IV. Buch; wahrscheinlich ein paar Jahre später wurde das Werk durch das V. Buch abgeschlossen [1].

Obgleich Tert. die großen ketzerbestreitenden Werke des Justin und Irenäus und wahrscheinlich auch eine (oder mehrere?) griechische Spezialschriften gegen M. bekannt gewesen sind, so ist sein Werk gegen M. doch eine originale Leistung, die den höchsten Respekt verdient. Im I. Buch bekämpft er die Lehrer von den zwei Gottheiten und enthüllt den fremden guten Gott M.s als ein Phantom [2]. Im II. Buch wird der Weltschöpfer, d. h. der Gott des ATs, als der eine wahre Gott erwiesen, weil ihm auch die Eigenschaften zukommen, die M. seinem guten Gott zuweist; denn Gerechtigkeit und Güte, weitentfernt Gegensätze darzustellen, fordern sich vielmehr. Im III. Buch wird gegenüber der Behauptung M.s, der im AT angekündigte kriegerische Christus sei noch zu erwarten, dargelegt, daß sich im erschienenen Christus die meisten Weissagungen bereits erfüllt hätten und daß er demnach der prophezeite Christus sei. Im IV. und V. Buch endlich werden das Evangelium und das Apostolikum M.s Kapitel für Kapitel untersucht [3], um zu zeigen, daß sogar der Bibeltext, wie ihn M. konstituiert hat, unwidersprechlich Zeugnis ablegt für den ATlichen Schöpfergott als den einzigen wahren Gott [4]. In allen 5 Büchern hat Tert. das Bewußtsein gegen den schlimmsten Häretiker zu kämpfen — „antichristus Marcion" III, 8.

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1 Näheres s. in meiner Altchristl. Lit.-Gesch. II, 2 S. 274 f. 281 ff. 295 f., vgl. die Anfänge der einzelnen Bücher. Kroymanns Annahme, im I. und II. Buch fänden sich Dubletten, die aus der zweiten Ausgabe des Werks geflossen seien, ist grundlos (s. Bill i. d. Texten u. Unters. Bd. 38 H. 2). — Tert. hat die ganze dritte Ausgabe als Montanist geschrieben. — Über das Verhältnis des III. Buchs zum Traktat Adv. Judaeos braucht hier nicht gehandelt zu werden, da die Echtheit und Integrität jenes Buchs von niemandem angezweifelt wird.

2 Eine ausgezeichnete Analyse dieses Buchs bei Bill, l. c.

3 Dabei sind die „Antithesen" sehr reichlich benutzt, und es werden für sehr zahlreiche Stellen die Auslegungen M.s mitgeteilt und widerlegt.

4 Dasselbe wird auch für den Christus des Weltschöpfers als den einzigen Christus aus den Marcionitischen Texten bewiesen.

Das Werk ist Tert.s umfassendste und reifste, in mehr als einer Hinsicht auch seine bedeutendste Arbeit. Zwar ist er im Apologetikum frischer und beredter, in den Schriften über die Seele und die Auferstehung eindringender und gelehrter, in den Traktaten gegen die Psychiker leidenschaftlicher und bohrender, in der Schrift gegen Praxeas endlich überlegter und tiefer; aber in keinem anderen Werk hat er den Kampf so energisch und von so vielen Seiten aufgenommen wie in diesem, und an kein anderes hat er einen so großen und unverdrossenen Fleiß gesetzt. Freilich — daß M. in ihm einen ebenbürtigen Gegner gefunden hat, kann man nicht sagen; denn, genau betrachtet, bleibt Tert. in seiner Polemik doch an der Oberfläche der Probleme kleben und macht gar nicht den Versuch, in die letzten Absichten seines Gegners einzudringen [1]. Nur invito Tertulliano erfährt man von ihnen, d. h. unter den zahlreichen Stellen, die er aus den „Antithesen" oder aus Gesprächen mit Marcioniten anführt, finden sich einige, die, ohne daß er es selbst bemerkt hätte, die Grundzüge der religiösen Denkweise M.s enthüllen. Tert., wie alle Kirchenväter, behandelt M. als Theologen; aber M. war in erster Linie nicht Theologe und Prinzipienlehrer, sondern ein religiöses Original, Bibelforscher und Reformator des herrschenden Christentums. Die Polemik Tert.s im 3. Buch gegen die Zeichnung des kriegerischen Juden-Messias, wie sie M. gegeben, und gegen seine zeitgeschichtliche Deutungen der messianischen Weissagungen zeigt, daß M.s Auffassung hier vollkommen mit der jüdischen zusammenfällt (wie ja Tert.s Polemik in seinem Werk „Gegen die Juden" sich vollkommen mit jener Polemik deckt). Es ist bereits oben bemerkt worden, daß der Schluß von hier aus sehr nahe liegt, M. habe ursprünglich dem Judentum nahe gestanden und habe sich dann, wie Paulus, durch einen Bruch von

1 Nachdem Tert. in I, 1 in der „vituperatio" des Gegners dem polemischen Schema und seinem Temperament durch Schmähung des Gegners, den schon seine Herkunft verurteile, Genüge geleistet hat, hat er im großen und ganzen in diesem Werk seiner Leidenschaft und seiner advokatorischen Rechtsbeugung Zügel angelegt; doch fehlen an einigen Stellen Schmähreden und Entstellungen nicht. Ihm, dem Theologen des Enthusiasmus und des Gesetzes, mußte die irrationale und nüchterne „fides monstruosissima" M.s besonders antipathisch sein. Auch für seine Askese hat er nichts übrig.

ihm befreit, der aber radikaler gewesen ist als der Bruch des Apostels.

Die philosophisch-dogmatischen und ethisch-dogmatischen Ausführungen sind nicht die Stärke des Werks, so gewiß die Darlegungen über den Monotheismus als Konsequenz des Gottesbegriffs, über die Unzertrennlichkeit der Güte von der Gerechtigkeit, über die Notwendigkeit, daß auch alles Göttliche sich vorbereitet und stufenweise vollziehen müsse usw. ganz respektabel sind [1]. Die Stärke des Werks liegt vielmehr in dem biblisch-theologischen und vor allem in den mühevollen und siegreichen Nachweisungen, daß der Bibeltext von M. verfälscht worden sei, aber auch noch in dieser Gestalt Zeugnis w i d e r seine Lehre und f ü r die katholische Gottes- und Christuslehre ablegt. Diese Bemühungen sind wirklich überzeugend. Daß sich aber Tert. dieser gewaltigen Aufgabe unterzogen hat, ist ein Beweis dafür, daß die Marcionitische Bibel eine große Gefahr für den Katholizismus bildete. Wir müssen annehmen — und das ergibt sich auch aus dem Einfluß, den M.s Text, die Marcionitischen Prologe und der gefälschte Laod.-Brief auf die kirchlichen Texte gewonnen haben —, daß Exemplare der Marcionitischen Bibel zahlreich in die Hände der Katholiken gekommen sind und dort Verwirrung angerichtet haben; ja man darf vermuten, daß M. und seine Anhänger alles daran gesetzt haben, ihre Bibel möglichst zu verbreiten [2]. Nur so erklärt es sich, daß Irenäus, Tertullian, Origenes und Epiphanius sich bemüht haben, die Marcionitischen Bibeln durch den Nachweis unschädlich zu machen, daß auch sie trotz ihrer Verfälschung Zeugen der katholischen Wahrheit seien.

Daß Tert. die Marcionitische Bibel bereits in lateinischer Übersetzung vor sich hatte, ist oben S. 48* ff. und 178* ff. gezeigt worden.

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1 Welche Fortschritte die altkatholische Theologie auf vielen Linien in der Polemik Tert.s gegen M. gemacht hat, bedarf noch (ähnlich für Origenes) einer eingehenden Untersuchung. Zu wievielen Begrenzungen und Einschränkungen, Differenzierungen und Vertiefungen der Kirchenlehre ist Tert. in seinem Kampfe gegen den großen Häretiker geführt worden!

2 Man darf sie sich in ihren Bestrebungen als frühchristliche „Waldesier“ und „Wiclefiten“ denken.

Auch in anderen Schriften hat Tert. den M. bekämpft, vor allem in dem Traktat De carne Christi, der in c. 1—8 sehr wichtige Mitteilungen über M.s Christologie enthält und durch sie eine Ergänzung zum großen Werk bildet. Dazu s. Scorp. 5; de resurr. 1. 2. 4. 14. 56; de anima 21; de ieiun. 15. Persönliche Berührungen und Gespräche Tert.s mit Marcioniten schimmern an vielen Stellen des großen Werks durch.

Was man dem Syntagma des Römers Hippolyt für die Kenntnis der Lebensgeschichte M.s verdankt, ist oben S. 23* ff. mitgeteilt worden. Über die Lehren M.s hat Hippolyt einen summarischen Bericht gegeben, sie mit denen Cerdos zusammenwerfend und in oberflächlichster Weise auf Grund des Gleichnisses vom guten und schlechten Baum M. den Dualismus „der gute Gott und der schlechte Gott" zugeschrieben [1]. Den Doketismus M.s hat er hervorgehoben und die Teile der Marcionitischen Bibel richtig bezeichnet [2]. Was in der allein von Eusebius bezeugten Sonderschrift Hippolyts gegen M. gestanden hat, wissen wir nicht [3]; aber wichtig ist, daß auch Hippolyt eine solche Sonderschrift für notwendig erachtet hat — in Rom, das ein Hauptquartier der Marcioniten damals gewesen ist. In seinem zweiten ketzerbestreitenden Hauptwerk, der „Refutatio", folgt Hippolyt der Marotte, M., der „wahnsinniger" sei als Satornil und Basilides, auf Empedokles zurückzuführen und ihn zugleich als Lehrer der Askese und Ehelosigkeit den Zynikern anzuhängen. „Der gute und der schlechte Gott", so laute sein Dualismus und er halte sich dabei an das Evangelium des Markus — der stärkste

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1 Epiphanius' anders lautender Bericht stammt nicht aus dem Syntagma.

2 In den Worten des Filastrius, des Ausschreibers des Syntagmas: „Cata Lucan autem evangelium solum accipit, non alia evangelia, nec epistolas b. Pauli apostoli nisi ad Timotheum et Titum" ist „nisi" zu streichen.

3 Euseb., h. e. VI, 22; hiernach Hieron., De vir. inl. 61, Nicephorus Kall. h. e. IV, 31 und Georgius Syncellus, Chron. I p. 673 ed. Bonn. War diese Schrift etwa identisch mit dem auf der Hippolyt-Statue verzeichneten Traktat *Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν?* Hat sie etwa Epiphanius benutzt, der sicher neben anderen Quellen eine uns unbekannte für M. hinzugezogen hat und mit Hippolyts ausgebreiteter Schriftstellerei vertraut war.

Beweis für die Leichtfertigkeit der Berichterstattung dieses seichten Vielschreibers (VII, 29, s. o. S. 240*). Der Doketismus M.s wird berührt und auch seine *Ἀντιπαραθέσεις* werden genannt (VII, 37). Von Wert ist nur, was dann VII, 31 und X, 19 folgt. Dort heißt es: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις νῦν καινότερόν τι ἐπεχείρησε Μαρκιωνιστής τις Πρέπων Ἀσσύριος, πρὸς Βαρδησιάνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐγγράφως ποιησάμενος λόγους περὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως, οὐδὲ τοῦτο σιωπήσομαι.* Der assyrische Marcionit Prepon (sonst unbekannt) hat also die Dialoge des Bardesanes gegen M. schriftlich beantwortet. In dieser Antwort hat er sich zu einer Dreiprinzipienlehre (wie der römische Marcionit Synerus, s. o. S. 322* und der orientalische Marcionit Megethius) bekannt. Hier hat nun Hippolyt den Anfang des Marcionitischen Evangeliums mit der Erklärung des Prepon gelesen und einen erneuten Beweis seiner sträflichen Leichtfertigkeit gegeben, indem er Prepons Dreiprinzipienlehre dem M. selbst zuweist, obgleich er wenige Seiten vorher diesem richtig eine Zweiprinzipienlehre beigelegt hat. Prepon hatte in einer undurchsichtigen Weise Christus als *μέσος τις ὢν κακοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ* bezeichnet [1] und wörtlich gesagt: *εἰ μέσος τις ἐστίν, ἀπήλλακται πάσης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ φύσεως· κακὸς δὲ ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ τούτου τὰ ποιήματα. διὰ τοῦτο ἀγέννητος κατῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα ᾖ πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένος κακίας· ἀπήλλακται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, ἵνα ᾖ μέσος τις, ὥς φησιν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ· ‚Τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός'.* Dies wird M. selbst in die Schuhe geschoben. In der zusammenfassenden Wiederholung (Buch X c. 19) aber wird nun in überraschender Wendung gesagt, M. und Cerdo lehrten drei Prinzipien, das Gute, das Gerechte, und die Materie; einige ihrer Schüler aber fügten als viertes Prinzip das Böse hinzu; alle ließen den Guten nichts geschaffen haben, von den Schülern aber identifizierten einige den Gerechten mit dem Schlechten, andere nennen ihn nur den Gerechten [2]; geschaffen aber habe er alles aus der zugrundeliegenden Materie und daher nicht gut, sondern unvernünftig; denn notwendig müßten die Geschöpfe so beschaffen sein wie ihr Schöpfer . . .; Christus aber sei der Sohn des Guten und von ihm zur Rettung der Seelen entsandt; M. nenne ihn „den inneren Menschen", der da, ohne Mensch zu sein,

1 Aber Megethius bezeichnet den Demiurg als das mittlere Prinzip.

2 Wie Megethius.

als Mensch erschienen sei *(καὶ ὡς ἔνσαρκον οὐκ ἔνσαρκον, δοκήσει πεφηνότα, οὔτε γέννησιν ὑπομείναντα οὔτε πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ δοκεῖν)*; das Fleisch stehe nicht auf, die Ehe sei *φθορά* und asketisch müsse man leben, um den Weltschöpfer durch Enthaltung von seinen Schöpfungen und Geboten zu kränken.

Auch in anderen seiner zahlreichen Schriften hat Hippolyt des M. gedacht, so Fragm. 141 (Lagarde) M.s Doketismus. In der Schrift gegen Noëtus c. 11 (aber wahrscheinlich ist diese Schrift der Schluß des Syntagmas) behauptet er, daß alle Häretiker — ausdrücklich werden auch die Marcioniten genannt — unfreiwillig zu der Anerkennung gezwungen seien, *ὅτι τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἕνα ἀνατρέχει* und *ὅτι εἷς αἴτιος τῶν πάντων*. Doch ist das vielleicht nur Konsequenzmacherei [1].

Das Abendland hat nach Tertullian und Hippolyt keine originale Streitschrift mehr gegen M. im 3. Jahrhundert geliefert; denn Victorinus von Pettau, wenn er mit dem Verfasser des unechten Anhangs zu Tert.s Traktat de praescr. identisch ist — eine Annahme, die Haußleiter (Opp. Victorini) ablehnt —, hat lediglich das Syntagma Hippolyts ausgeschrieben [2]. Erwähnt sind die Marcioniten bei Cyprian, Saturninus von Tucca, Dionysius von Rom und Laktanz. Die Unerträglichkeit der Anerkennung der Marcionitischen Taufe galt den Bestreitern der Gültigkeit der Ketzertaufe als deutlichster Beweis der Unhaltbarkeit der Gültigkeit überhaupt. In

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1 Einfluß M.s auf gelehrte Vertreter des Adoptianismus (zugleich Textkritiker) in Rom wird man anzunehmen haben, wenn Eusebs Quelle (Hippolyt?) in h. e. V, 28, 19 richtig berichtet: *Ἔνιοι αὐτῶν οὐδὲ παραχαράσσειν ἠξίωσαν τὰς γραφάς, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἀρνησάμενοι τόν τε νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀνόμου καὶ ἀθέου διδασκαλίας προφάσει χάριτος* (hier fehlt ein Wort, etwa *ὑπερασπισταί) εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὄλεθρον κατωλίσθησαν*. — Der Gnostiker Justin, von dem wir nur durch Hippolyt (Refutatio) wissen, lehrte drei Prinzipien und bestimmte, daß das erste und oberste ausschließlich „der Gute" heiße, das zweite sei der unvollkommene Elohim (V, 26). Das kann Marcionitischer Einfluß sein, aber das System als ganzes führt weit von M. ab in wilde Mythologie.

2 Hat Haußleiter recht, so fehlt uns jede Kunde von dem Werk Viktorins gegen die Häresien, welches Optatus und Hieronymus bezeugen. In den uns erhaltenen Schriften V.s wird M. nie genannt; aber im Apok.-Kommentar polemisiert er gegen die Häretiker, welche das prophetische Zeugnis ablehnen. In erster Linie muß man hier an M. denken.

diesem Sinne hat Saturninus auf der großen afrikanischen Synode der 87 Bischöfe votiert (Cypr., Sentent. LXXXVII epp. nr. 52) [1], und Cyprian selbst, der ihn das gelehrt hat, wendet sich im Brief an Jubajan (ep. 73, 4) gegen ein Schreiben des römischen Bischofs, das die Gültigkeit der Marcionitischen Taufe verteidigt. Haben, so fragt er, die Patripassianer, Anthropianer(?), Valentinianer, Apellesschüler, Ophiten, Marcioniten und die übrigen häretischen Pestseuchen mit uns den Glauben an denselben Vater, denselben Sohn, denselben h. Geist, dieselbe Kirche? Er zeigt (c. 5), daß diese Frage für M. verneint werden muß, ohne genauere Kenntnis von M.s Lehre zu verraten [2]. Ähnlich äußert er sich im Brief an Pompejus (ep. 74, 2. 7). Hier ist es ganz deutlich, daß er seine Kenntnis M.s lediglich Irenäus und Tertullian verdankt [3]. Man muß aber annehmen, daß der große Kampf, den Tert. in Afrika geführt, die afrikanische Kirche ziemlich gesäubert hat. Dagegen hatte der Bischof Stephanus in Rom noch Grund, den Marcioniten den Übertritt zur katholischen Kirche durch Anerkennung ihrer Taufe zu erleichtern [4]. Sie haben in Rom um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts noch eine Rolle gespielt; denn Novatian hat sie noch bekämpft [5], und der Bischof Dionysius

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1 „Gentiles quamvis idola colunt, tamen summum deum patrem creatorem cognoscunt et confitentur. in hunc M. blasphemat, et quidem non erubescunt Marcionis baptismum probare!"

2 Auch die Voranstellung des Apelles vor M. zeigt seine schlechte Orientierung.

3 „Marcion Ponticus de Ponto emersit, cuius magister Cerdon sub Hygino episcopo, qui in urbe nonus fuit, Romam venit, quem M. secutus additis ad crimen augmentis impudentius ceteris et abruptius in deum patrem creatorem blasphemare instituit et haereticum furorem sacrilegis armis contra ecclesiam rebellantem sceleratius et gravius armavit" (c. 2).

4 „In tantum Stephani fratris nostri obstinatio dura prorupit, ut etiam de Marcionis baptismo, item Valentini et Appelletis ... contendat filios deo nasci, et illic in nomine Iesu Christi dicat remissionem peccatorum dari, ubi blasphematur in patrem et dominum deum Christum" (ep. 74, 7).

5 Unter den gnostischen Häretikern, die Novatian de trinit. (nach Tertull.) ohne Namen bekämpft, stehen die Marcioniten in erster Linie; s. c. 3: Gott hat nicht aus Neid das Essen vom Baume versagt; c. 5: Gott wird nicht durch seinen Zorn corruptibilis, sondern bleibt eine substantia impassibilis; c. 9: Christus ist nicht der Sohn eines andern Gottes, son-

bringt eine Notiz, die deshalb interessant ist, weil sie zeigt, daß die römischen Marcioniten, dem Synerus folgend, die Dreiprinzipienlehre vertraten [1]. Bald nach Dionysius hat Porphyrius (etwa im J. 270) in seinem großen Werk gegen die Christen einige A.- u. NTliche Stellen so kritisiert, daß die Annahme sehr nahe liegt, er habe die Marcionitische Kritik gekannt; doch läßt sich

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dern des Weltschöpfers; c. 16: Adam und die Patriarchen sind zum Heile bestimmt, und besonders c. 10: „Sed illud admoneo, non alterum in evangelio Christum expectandum fuisse quam hunc a creatore Veteris Testamenti literis ante promissum, maxime cum et quae de ipso praedicta sunt impleta sint, et quae impleta sunt ante praedicta sint. Ut merito haereticorum istorum Testamenti Veteris auctoritatem respuentium nescio cui commenticio et ex fabulis anilibus ficto Christo atque fucato possim vere et constanter dicere? Quis es? unde es? a quo missus es? quare nunc venire voluisti? quare talis? vel quo venire potuisti? vel quare non ad tuos abisti? nisi quod probasti tuos non habere, dum ad alienos venis? quid tibi cum mundo creatoris? quid tibi cum homine conditoris? quid tibi cum figmento corporis? cui eripis spem resurrectionis? quid ad alienum venis famulum, alienum sollicitare desideras filium? quid me a domino eripere curaris? quid me in patrem blasphemare atque impium esse compellis? aut quid sum a te in resurrectione consecuturus, qui me ipsum non recipis, dum corpus omitto? si salvare vis, fecisses hominem, cui salutem dares ... quod autem tecum suffragium circumfers legis? quod habes testimonium propheticae vocis? aut quid mihi possum de te solidum repromittere, quum te videam in phantasmate et non in soliditate venisse? quid ergo tibi cum figura corporis, si corpus odisti? immo revinceris corpus quod odisti circumferre substantiam, cuius suscipere voluisti etiam figuram; odisse enim debueras corporis imitationem, si oderas veritatem. quoniam si alter es, aliter venire debueras, ne dicereris filius creatoris ... certe si oderas nativitatem, quia creatoris oderas nuptiarum coniunctionem, recusare debueras etiam imitationem hominis, qui per nuptias nascitur creatoris". So polemisierte man in Rom gegen Marcion, Tertullian ausmünzend; s. auch schon c. 2: „(Creator) nulli deo superiori, ut quidam putant, locum reliquit".

1 Ex Epist. adv. Sabell. nach Athanas., Ep. de decretis synodi Nic. c. 26 (Routh, Reliq. SS. III² p. 373 f.): hier führt Dionysius aus, daß den Gegenpol zu Sabellius und seiner unitarischen Irrlehre die Lehrer bilden, welche die Monarchie in drei *δυνάμεις τινὰς καὶ μεμερισμένας ὑποστάσεις καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς* zerteilen (er meint die kirchlichen Vertreter der Hypostasenlehre). Um sie zu diskreditieren, fährt er fort: *Μαρκίωνος γὰρ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος δίδαγμα εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τῆς μοναρχίας τομὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν ⟨διορίζει⟩, παίδευμα ὂν διαβολικόν, οὐχὶ δὲ τῶν ὄντως μαθητῶν*

ein ganz sicheres Urteil nicht gewinnen [1]. Vergleicht man, wie stark in der Streitschrift des Celsus M. hervortritt, so erkennt man, wie der Marcionitismus zurückgetreten ist; Porphyrius nennt ihn u. W. nie. Laktanz streift die Marcioniten nur einmal auf Grund einer literarischen Überlieferung [2]. Wahrscheinlich hat Arnobius Marcionitisches gelesen [3].

Im Morgenland hat Julius Afrikanus in seiner Chronik den M. beiläufig erwähnt [4], und von dem Freunde und Patron des Origenes, Ambrosius, hören wir durch Hieronymus, er sei früher Marcionit gewesen (de vir. inl. 56). Eusebius (h. e. VI, 18, 1) berichtet aber, er sei früher Valentinianer gewesen; möglich, daß Hieron. hier auf Grund einer besseren Quelle korrigiert hat. Epiphanius (haer. 64, 3) erzählt, einige berichteten, Ambrosius sei Marcionit gewesen, andere, er sei Sabellianer gewesen. War er, bevor er durch Origenes ein entschiedener Katholik wurde, ein christlicher Eklektiker, so können alle Berichte relativ richtig sein.

Origenes [5] hat die Bibel M.s gründlich studiert („Quali purgatione M. evangelia purgavit vel apostolum", ep. ad amicum

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τοῦ Χριστοῦ; dazu: *Εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένας διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα.* Die Konstruktion des Satzes ist nicht mehr herzustellen.

1 Ich habe in meiner Ausgabe des Werks (Abh. der Preuß. Akademie, 1916) darauf hingewiesen; s. z. B. zu Gal. 5, 10; II Kor. 11, 13.

2 Divin. instit. IV, 30: „Phryges aut Novatiani aut Valentiniani aut Marcionitae aut Anthropiani seu quilibet alii nominantur, Christiani esse desierunt, qui Christi nomine amisso humana et externa vocabula induerunt". Die Überlieferung als literarische ergibt sich aus der Zusammenstellung und aus der Verwandtschaft mit Cyprians Notiz (ep 73, 4).

3 In II, 47. 55; IV, 19, 23 liest man, daß Gott das Ungeziefer nicht geschaffen haben könne, daß der Leib und die Zeugung etwas Scheußliches sei, daß der höchste Gott nur schafft, „quod omnibus sit salutare". S. Koch i. d. Theol. Lit.-Zeit. 1922, Kol. 102.

4 Chron. lib. V (nach Syncellus, Routh, Reliq. SS II² p. 306): *Θαυμάζω Ἰουδαίων μὲν μήπω φασκόντων ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον, τῶν ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν προφητειῶν μὴ προηγορεῖσθαι, οὕτω γυμνῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν τῶν γραφῶν δεικνυουσῶν.*

5 S. meine Schrift „Der kirchengeschichtl. Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes" i. d. Texten u. Unters. Bd. 47 H. 3, S. 30 ff., H. 4, S. 54 ff.; hier sind alle wichtigen Angaben des Origenes über M. und seine Schule verzeichnet.

Alex.)[1] und sich an zahlreichen Stellen seiner Werke mit ihr auseinandergesetzt, seltener mit dem Text — doch auch hier hat er Bedeutendes uns erhalten[2] —, häufiger mit den Auslegungen, wie sie in den „Antithesen" zu finden waren (Comm. V in Joh. S. 105 Preuschen: *Οἱ ἑτερόδοξοι φέροντες πολυβίβλους συντάξεις ἐπαγγελλομένας διήγησιν τῶν τε εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν λέξεων).* Jene Stellen sind bei der Rekonstruktion der Bibel M.s berücksichtigt, diese bei der Zusammenstellung der Reste der „Antithesen"[3]. So reichlich müssen exegetische Ausführungen in diesen gewesen sein, daß sich Orig. zu Röm. 1, 24 f. (Comm. I, 8, T. VI p. 55 f.) darüber beschweren kann, daß M. die hier liegenden Schwierigkeiten nicht einmal mit der Fingerspitze berührt habe.

Fast in allen seinen Werken, den gelehrten und den homiletischen, setzt sich O. mit den Häretikern auseinander und nennt dabei am häufigsten „Marcion, Basilides, Valentin" oder je zwei von ihnen (auch Apelles wird nicht selten mit ihnen genannt; M. steht in der Regel voran und ist ihm der Bedeutung nach der wichtigste Häretiker[4], der selbst Valentin übertrifft[5]). Die Gefahr der häretischen Verführung war augenscheinlich in Alexandrien und Cäsarea noch sehr groß; aber während die anderen Kirchenväter die Existenz der törichten, nichtigen und diabolischen Irrlehrer lediglich mit der Begründung zu entschuldigen wissen, daß der Glaube Prüfungen nötig habe, teilt zwar auch

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1 Vgl. C. Cels. II, 27: *Μεταχαράξαντας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλους οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λουκάνου.*

2 Ihm verdankt man die sichere Kunde, daß Röm. 15. 16 bei M. gefehlt haben.

3 Den Mitteilungen des Orig. verdankt man die Bestätigung, daß M. in seinen „Antithesen" auch andere Evv., mindestens Matth., kritisch herbeigezogen hat.

4 Welch ein Anliegen es ihm war, die Lehren M.s zu stürzen, zeigen die Predigten, in denen er seine Zuhörer immer wieder mit Argumenten gegen sie ausrüstet. „Quam vellem", ruft er Hom. I, 12 in Ezech., T. XIV p. 26 aus, „et ego suffodere, quidquid M. in auribus deceptorum aedificavit, eradicare et subvertere et disperdere, ut Iacob disperdidit idola!"

5 Zutreffend ist die Unterscheidung in Comm. Ser. 46 in Matth., T. IV p. 295: „Doctrina Marcionis, traditiones Valentini, Basilidis longa fabulositas".

O. diese Meinung, ergänzt sie jedoch durch die andere, daß einige von ihnen hervorragende Geisteskräfte besessen haben [1] und in einzelnen Glaubenslehren von Irrtümern frei geblieben seien (s. z. B. Hom. IX, 1 p. 74 ff. in Num. zu c. 16, 39 f.). Daher setzt er sich wirklich ernsthaft mit ihnen auseinander. Da es ihm aber letztlich überall darauf ankommt, den christlichen Monotheismus zu erweisen, den Gott des ATs als den einzigen darzutun und die Zwei-Naturenlehre in bezug auf Christus zu verteidigen, richtet sich die große Masse seiner polemischen Ausführungen nicht gegen bestimmte Irrlehren, sondern gegen die Irrlehre überhaupt. (Alle diese Stellen können hier beiseite bleiben.)

Dennoch gewahrt man auch hier fast überall, daß er in erster Linie an M. denkt. Schon die Praefatio zu seinem frühesten Hauptwerk De principiis ist, indem sie eine ausgeführte Regula fidei bietet, durchweg antimarcionitisch gefärbt; s. c. 4: „Hic deus iustus et bonus, pater domini nostri J. Chr., legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum deus est et V. et N. Testamenti". Die Einheit von „gut" und „gerecht" darzutun ist ihm ein Hauptanliegen, und bereits de princ. I, 8, 2 setzt er sich mit M.s Kapitalstelle vom schlechten und guten Baum auseinander (s. auch II, 5, 4). Daß die kirchlichen Lehren durch Auseinandersetzung mit M. vertieft und gefördert wurden, sieht man an zahlreichen Ausführungen.

Über die Marcionitica hinaus, die zu den „Antithesen" gehören, hat O. noch manches beigebracht, was er persönlichen Eindrücken und Berührungen mit Marcionitischen Theologen verdankt. Die Marcioniten nennen sich nach dem Namen ihres Stifters (s. Hom. XIV in Luc., T. V p. 143: „Ego vero opto esse ecclesiasticus et non ab haeresiarcha aliquo, sed a Christi vocabulo nuncupari", und sonst); sie haben und bauen Kirchen (Fragm. XIII zu Jerem. p. 204 Klosterm.: *Οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἰκοδομοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς οἰκίας ὀνόματι ἐκκλησίας*, Comm. Ser. in Matth. 43, T. XIV p. 287: „Est videre haereticorum ecclesias plenas de lamentandis praegnantibus vel nutrientibus vel sugentibus";

1 Auch die Nachricht des Hieronymus (Komm. in Osee lib. II zu c. 10, 1) M. sei „ardens ingenii et doctissimus" gewesen, die er ausdrücklich als überliefert bezeichnet, wird auf Orig. zurückgehen.

allegorisch zu verstehen); sie sind von solcher Verehrung für ihren Stifter erfüllt, daß sie — eine kostbare Nachricht — sich an Matth. 20, 20 ff. oder an Markus anlehnend, erklären (Hom. XXV in Luc. T. V p. 181): „Hoc quod scriptum est, sedere a dextris salvatoris et sinistris, de Paulo et de Marcione dici, quod Paulus sedeat a dextris, Marcion sedeat a sinistris".

Schließlich ist zu bemerken, daß O. den Marcionitischen Dualismus durchweg in der Form bezeugt, wie sie von Irenäus und Tertullian überliefert ist: *ὁ ἄλλος, ἀγαθός, κρείσσων, ἄγνωστος, ξένος θεός, ὁ πατὴρ Ἰ. Χρ., ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ἀοράτων* > *ὁ δίκαιος, ὠμός, αἱματοχαρὴς θεός, ὁ δημιουργὸς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν* (aber niemals „der schlechte Gott").

Die Spärlichkeit unserer Quellen für die orientalische Kirchengeschichte der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts verschuldet es, daß wir auch von den Marcioniten nur wenig in Bezug auf diesen Zeitraum hören. Im Mart. Pionii c. 21 (v. Gebhardt, Acta Mart. Selecta, 1902, S. 113) wird erzählt, daß mit Pionius unter Decius (Euseb., h. e. IV, 15, 46, hat das Martyrium fast um ein Jahrhundert zu früh gesetzt) auch ein Marcionitischer Presbyter namens Metrodorus in Smyrna gekreuzigt worden sei; *ἔτυχεν δέ*, sagt der glaubenseifrige Referent, *τὸν μὲν Πιόνιον ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὸν Μητρόδωρον ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, πλὴν ἀμφότεροι ἔβλεπον πρὸς ἀνατολάς.* — Firmilian, Bischof von Cäsarea in Kappadozien, erwähnt wenige Jahre später Marcion in einem Brief an Cyprian über das Problem der Ketzertaufe (Cypr. ep. 75, 5); aber die Übereinstimmung mit dem, was Cyprian ausgesprochen hat, macht es deutlich, daß er hier, wie an anderen Stellen seines Briefes schreibt, was ihm Cyprian diktiert hat[1]. — Methodius wirft (Sympos. VIII, 10) nach Zurückweisung des Sabellius, Artemas und der Ebioniten einen Blick auf Marcion, Valentin, die Elkesaiten und die anderen und bemerkt: *καλὸν μηδὲ μνημονεῦσαι αὐτῶν.* In dem Traktat über den Aussatz (slav. erhalten) schreibt er: „Wenn wir nicht so glauben (daß Gott uns Gutes eingepflanzt habe), werden wir Anhänger des ganz

1 „Haereses constat postea extitisse, cum et Marcion, Cerdonis discipulus, inveniatur sero post apostolos et post longa ab eis tempora sacrilegam adversus deum traditionem induxisse"; es folgen Apelles, Valentin und Basilides (vgl. die Parallelstelle bei Cyprian oben S. 335*).

gesetzlosen Marcion, der da sagt, daß ein anderer guter statt des wirklichen Gottes sei, und deshalb könnten die Seelen des Weltschöpfers das verheißene Leben des Guten nicht empfangen, sie entbehrten der Pflanzung des Guten". — Die Charakteristik der Häretiker in der syrisch erhaltenen Didascalia Apostolica (Texte u. Unters. Bd. 25 H. 2 S. 121) ist nach den Marcioniten gegeben: „Sie haben aber alle einen Brauch auf Erden, das Gesetz und die Propheten nicht zu benutzen, Gott den Allmächtigen zu schmähen und nicht an die Auferstehung zu glauben .... Viele von ihnen lehren, der Mensch solle kein Weib nehmen, und sagen, wenn der Mensch kein Weib nähme, so wäre das Heiligkeit, und durch die Heiligkeit preisen sie die Ansichten ihrer Häresie an. Andere von ihnen lehren, der Mensch solle kein Fleisch essen" [1].

Der Kirchenhistoriker Eusebius hat sich in seinen Werken in bezug auf M. durchweg damit begnügt, Material aus den alten Quellen zusammenzustellen. Augenscheinlich hat er einen Eindruck davon gehabt, daß im 2. Jahrhundert M. der gefährlichste Feind der Kirche gewesen ist; aber für seine Sonderart hat auch er schlechterdings kein Verständnis gehabt (Näheres s. u.).

3. Das Denkmal von Deir-Ali.

Einer der merkwürdigsten Zufälle hat es gefügt, daß die älteste Kircheninschrift, die auf uns gekommen ist, eine Marcionitische ist. Le Bas und Waddington (Inscr. Grecques et Latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Vol. III, 1870) nr. 2558 p. 582 f.) fanden in Deir-Ali, etwa drei Meilen südlich von Damaskus (auf dem Breitengrad von Cäsarea-Paneas), folgende Inschrift:

CYNAΓΩΓΗMAPKIΩNICTΩNKΩM
AEBABΩNTOYKY.KAICPΪHXPHCTOY
ΠPONOIA ΠAYAOY ΠPECB ‖ TOYAXETOYC

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1 Erwähnt mit Namen werden die Marcioniten weder hier noch in den späteren Apostolischen Konstitutionen, es sei denn, daß hier VI, 8 im Katalog: „Simon, Kleobius, Dositheus, Cerinth, Markus, Menander, Basilides, Satornil", unter Markus nicht der Valentinschüler, sondern Marcion zu verstehen ist. Stillschweigend ist wohl im VI. Buch Rücksicht auf die Marcionitische Lehre und Disziplin genommen.

Συναγωγὴ Μαρκιωνιστῶν κώμ(ης)
Λεβάβων τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) Ἰη(σοῦ) Χρηστοῦ
προνοίᾳ Παύλου πρεσβ(υτέρου) — τοῦ λχ' ἔτους.

λχ' = 630 aer. Seleucid. = 318/19 p. Chr.

Über diese Inschrift habe ich in den Sitzungsber. d. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1915, 28. Oktbr. ausführlich gehandelt [1]. Man lernt hier folgendes:

(1) Die Toleranzedikte von Mailand und Nikomedien sind von Licinius so ausgeführt worden, daß auch die Häretiker die Freiheit erhielten, ihr Kirchenwesen unter gesetzlichem Schutz zu ordnen und mit ihm vor die Öffentlichkeit zu treten. Das haben sich die Marcioniten zunutz gemacht.

(2) Ob das ganze Dorf eine Marcionitische Ansiedelung war — es hätte dann schon damals das begonnen, was uns durch Theodoret und anderen Zeugen überliefert ist, daß sich die Häretiker aus den Städten aufs Land zurückgezogen und dort geschlossene Dörfer bildeten —, ist ungewiß. Wenn sich *τοῦ κυρίου κ. σ. Ἰ. Χρ.* auf das Dorf *Λεβάβα* bezieht und nicht auf *συναγωγή*, so ist es wahrscheinlich.

(3) Die Bezeichnung des Kirchengebäudes als *συναγωγή* ist bei den den Juden feindlichen Marcionitischen Christen doppelt auffallend; entweder ist das Wort in jenen Gegenden ein neutrales gewesen, oder es muß als Übersetzung von „Keneseth" gelten, welches sowohl für *συναγωγή* als für *ἐκκλησία* gebraucht wurde, da die Syrer ein anderes Wort nicht besaßen. Zu erwägen ist aber auch, ob es nicht den Häresien von Licinius verboten war, ihre gottesdienstlichen Gebäude „*ἐκκλησία*" zu nennen; das hätte ein großes Entgegenkommen in bezug auf die Katholiken bedeutet.

(4) Daß die Inschrift griechisch ist, ist ebenfalls auffallend; denn gewiß wurde bereits vor den Toren von Damaskus syrisch gesprochen. Die Annahme liegt daher nahe, daß die Marcioniten in Lebaba zum größeren Teil nicht syrisch-arabische Eingeborene, sondern angesiedelte Griechen waren (s. Nr. 2).

(5) Die urkundliche Bestätigung der auch sonst bezeugten Tatsache, daß sich die Marcioniten selbst so genannt haben, ist wichtig; viele andere häretische Parteien sind nur von ihren

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1 Mit einigen Kürzungen abgedruckt in meinen Reden und Aufsätzen Bd. 5 („Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit"), 1916, S. 21 ff.

Gegnern nach den Namen ihrer Stifter genannt worden; die Marcioniten aber nannten sich selbst mit diesem Namen, weil ihnen Marcion so zu sagen zur Heilsgeschichte gehörte. Bemerkenswert ist auch, daß der Name sofort nach *συναγωγή* steht, also vor dem Jesu Christi.

(6) Ist das Dorf und nicht die Synagoge als Eigentum Jesu Christi bezeichnet (s. Nr. 2), so hat man an die Parallelen zu denken, daß sich auch Städte als „Gottesstädte" oder ähnlich bezeichnet haben.

(7) Daß nicht Gott, sondern Jesus Christus als Eigentümer genannt ist, erklärt sich aus der Marcionitischen Lehre, daß Christus in jeder Hinsicht der volle Vertreter des guten Gottes ist.

(8) Daß er nicht *Χριστός* sondern *Χρηστός* heißt, ist schwerlich ein bloßer Itazismus; denn naiv stand am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts kein Christ mehr dem Wort gegenüber; vielmehr ist anzunehmen, daß die Marcioniten den Erlöser mit Bewußtsein *Χρηστός* nannten, im Gegensatz zum „Gesalbten" des ATlichen Gottes und in Erinnerung an den „guten Gott", den er offenbart hat. Man beachte auch, daß von den vier Namen des Erlösers nur der Name *Χρηστός* ausgeschrieben ist.

(9) Die Bezeichnung Christi als „Herr und Erlöser" kommt im NT nur im 2. Petrusbrief vor; von dort können sie die Marcioniten nicht haben. Es ist anzunehmen, daß sie einer Kombination paulinischer Stellen entstammt. An eine Anlehnung an die Kaisertitulatur darf bei Marcioniten nicht gedacht werden; übrigens ist m. W. für die Kaiser diese Bezeichnung nirgendwo überliefert.

(10) Die Inschrift ist keine Weihe-Inschrift, sonst müßte der Monatstag stehen und die Consecration müßte irgendwie ausgedrückt sein, vielmehr ist sie eine Bau-Inschrift.

(11) Der den Bau Leitende war ein Presbyter; also besaß die Gemeinde keinen Bischof; also war sie klein (der Bischof saß wohl in Damaskus); denn wir wissen, daß das Bischofsamt in den Marcionitischen Kirchen nicht gefehlt hat. Kleinere Gemeinden aber durch Presbyter leiten zu lassen, war auch in der katholischen Kirche gebräuchlich; also hat sich die Marcionitische Kirchenverfassung parallel zur katholischen entwickelt.

(12) Daß der Presbyter „Paulus" hieß, kann nicht auffallen; denn für diese Zeit ist uns berichtet, daß auch die Katholiken

ihre Kinder gern Paulus (und Petrus) nannten; die Marcioniten hatten aber erst recht Anlaß, den Namen „Paulus" in Kraft zu erhalten.

(13) Die Datierung nach der im Lande gebräuchlichen Ära zeigt, daß die Marcioniten, obgleich sie (nach Tertullian) eine Zeitrechnung besaßen, die mit dem 15. Jahre des Tiberius begann und obgleich sie nichts mit der „Welt" gemein haben wollten, sich doch allgemeinen weltlichen Bräuchen nicht zu entziehen vermochten. Die Unterdrückung des Namens des Kaisers Licinius bei der Datierung ist gewiß absichtlich und eine Undankbarkeit, da erst er ihnen die Freiheit gebracht und den Bau ermöglicht hat.

(14) In der dreizeiligen Inschrift traten für den gläubigen Marcioniten die drei Namen *Μαρκιωνισταί* (Zeile 1), *Χρηστός* (Zeile 2), *Παῦλος* (Zeile 3) hervor; das muß ihnen besonders erbaulich gewesen sein und war gewiß beabsichtigt.

4. Die orientalischen Polemiker des 4. und der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.

Über die am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts unter dem Namen des Adamantius erschienenen, sehr frühe schon dem Origenes beigelegten fünf (in Wahrheit zwei) Dialoge gegen Marcion und andere Häretiker [1] ist bereits oben S. 56*f. 181*f. ausführlich gehandelt worden [2]. Ihr Verfasser hat weder die Bibel noch die „Antithesen" M.s — er kennt nicht einmal ihren Namen — selbst eingesehen. Sein Werk ist eine Kompilation aus älteren Streitschriften, die sich leider nicht mehr identifizieren lassen; aber

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1 Der ursprüngliche Titel ist nicht mehr zu ermitteln.

2 Das Werk ist zwischen 270/80 (Benutzung des Methodius) und 313, wahrscheinlich aber näher zu 313, compiliert und in der letzten Zeit Konstantins an einigen Stellen überarbeitet worden. Der Verf. war ein Schriftsteller von geringer Qualität, aber seine Quellen geben ihm Bedeutung. Er schrieb an irgend einem Ort zwischen Lycien und Edessa. Die Personen der Dialoge sind fingierte; doch stammen sie wohl schon aus den Quellen und mögen sich dort an wirkliche angelehnt haben; s. meine Lit.-Gesch. II², S. 149 ff. Zahns Untersuchung (Ztschr. f. KGesch. d. 9, 1888, S. 193 ff.) ist noch immer das Beste, was wir über das Werk besitzen.

es ist doch sehr wertvoll, weil es aus zweiter Hand einen reichen Stoff für M. und seine Kirche beibringt. Für den Bibeltext M.s und die Antithesen [1] ist dieser Stoff bereits gewürdigt und verwertet worden; es erübrigt aber noch, kurz auf das einzugehen, was sonst noch aus diesem Werk zu lernen ist.

Zwei Marcioniten werden uns vorgeführt, aber beide vertreten bereits nicht mehr die genuine Lehre des Meisters; denn Megethius ist Anhänger einer Dreiprinzipienlehre, Markus aber einer verdüsterten Zweiprinzipienlehre.

Nach Megethius sind die Prinzipien der gute Gott (der Vater Christi), der Demiurg und der schlechte Gott; sie verteilen sich als Herrscher auf die Christen, Juden und Heiden; aber der Judengott ist Schöpfer aller Menschen. „Der gute Gott hat ‚das Fremde' nicht geraubt, sondern voll Erbarmen schickte er als Guter seinen guten Sohn und erlöste uns . . . Der Gute hatte Mitleid mit ‚Fremden' in ihrer Sündhaftigkeit; nicht als gute noch als schlechte hat er ihrer begehrt, sondern aus Herzlichkeit sich ihrer erbarmt . . ." „Die drei Prinzipien sind auch nicht gleich; das gute ist das stärkere; die schwächeren Prinzipien unterliegen dem stärkeren; der gute Gott hat (stets) um den Demiurg und den Teufel gewußt . . . Der gekommene Christus hat sowohl den Teufel besiegt als auch die Gesetze des Demiurgs umgestürzt" (I, 3. 4).

Megethius polemisiert gegen die anderen Evangelien als falsche und gegen das katholische Apostolikum: Markus und Lukas seien keine Jünger Christi; Paulus rede nur von einem Evangelium und verfluche alle anderen Evangelisten; wenn er im Plural spricht, meine er Silas und Timotheus; auch widersprächen sich die vier Evangelien; das wahre Evangelium sei entweder von Christus selbst niedergeschrieben mit einem von Paulus verfaßten Zusatz über den Tod und die Auferstehung Jesu [2] oder, wenn sich das nicht erweisen lasse, von Paulus (I, 5—8).

Megethius erkennt an, daß seine Konfessionsverwandten sich

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1 Für die „Antithesen" im engeren Sinn des Worts ist unser Werk die Hauptquelle.

2 Daß Christus selbst das Evangelium niedergeschrieben habe, sagt auch der Marcionit Markus (Dial. II, 13).

„Marcioniten" nennen, aber seine Gegner nennten sich ja auch „Katholiken", und einige unter ihnen würden sogar „Sokratiker" genannt, ohne deshalb auf den Namen „Christen" zu verzichten; gewiß sei Paulus größer als Marcion; aber M. sei der (erste) Bischof [1] (I, 8).

Megethius zitiert nun 17 Marcionitische Antithesen, um den Gegensatz des Weltschöpfers und des guten Gottes zu beweisen, und stellt es in diesem Zusammenhang in Abrede, daß Paulus jemals das Gesetz als das Gesetz seines Gottes zitiert habe (I, 22).

Über die „mittlere" Stellung des Weltschöpfers klärt Dial. II, 6 auf; Megethius bemerkt hier zu II Thess. 1, 6. 7: *Εἴπερ παρὰ θεῷ δίκαιον ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν — μεμνῆσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλεις ὅτι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς ὡρισάμην, ἀγαθήν, μέσην καὶ πονηράν —, ἡ οὖν μέση ἀρχή, ὑπακούσασα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἄνεσιν δίδωσιν, ὑπακούσασα δὲ τῷ πονηρῷ θλῖψιν δίδωσιν . . . Ὁ μέσος κατ' ἰδίαν ἐδημιούργησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* (folgt Gen. 6,6)· *μετενόησεν οὖν κακοὺς δημιουργήσας καὶ ἐθέλησε τούτους κατακρῖναι καὶ ἀπολέσαι· ὁ οὖν ἀγαθὸς οὐ συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἠλέησε τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . Κακοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μετέβαλε διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς πιστεύσαντας αὐτῷ.*

Zur Urgeschichte bemerkt Megethius (Dial. II, 7): *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἦλθε σῶσαι μόνην τὴν ψυχήν . . . . Τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐμφύσημα· ὅτι οὖν ἐδημιούργησεν, εἶδεν αὐτὴν πονηρὰν καὶ ἀπειθῆ καὶ ταύτην ἀπέρριψεν· ὁ πονηρὸς δὲ θεωρήσας ἀπορριφεῖσαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐλεήσας ἐρρύσατο αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ κατέσχε παρ' ἑαυτῷ . . . Ὅτι ἔφαγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ παρήγγειλε μὴ φαγεῖν, τότε ὑπέπεσε κατακρίσει καὶ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ . . . κατάραν αὐτῷ ἔδωκε· πῶς οὖν οὐ κατεδίκασεν;* (Denn im Fluche über die Erde lag auch der Fluch über den Menschen, der aus ihr genommen ist).

Megethius (Dial. II, 9): *Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἰδὼν καταδεδικασμένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλεήσας ἦλθεν, ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐνόμισεν αὐτὸν σταυροῦν . . . ὁ δημιουργὸς ἰδὼν τὸν ἀγαθὸν λύοντα*

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1 Die Worte: *Μαρκίων ἐπίσκοπός μου ἦν,* müssen wohl so verstanden werden. — Megethius widerspricht nicht dem Adamantius, wenn dieser im folgenden ausführt, es habe doch seit M. viele Marcionitische *διαδοχαὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων* gegeben.

αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνετο . . . Ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς (ὁ ἀγαθός) εἵλετο, οὐ γὰρ ἠδικεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου.

Markus (Dial. II, 1 ff.): *Ἐγὼ ὁρίζομαι δύο ἀρχάς, πονηρὰν καὶ ἀγαθήν . . . αὐτοφυεῖς καὶ ἄναρχοι οὖσαι, ἀπέραντοι . . . πάντη ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν . . . οὔτε συμπεπλεγμέναι οὔτε ψαύουσαι . . . . ἔχει ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν . . . οἱ ἄνθρωποί εἰσι τοῦ πονηροῦ . . . ὁρῶν ὁ ἀγαθὸς μέλλοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταδικάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἐλθὼν τῆς μὲν καταδίκης ἐρρύσατο, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἔδωκε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων . . . τῷ πονηρῷ ἦσαν ἡμαρτηκότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι.*

Markus (Dial. II, 3 f.): *Οὐκ ὀνόμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πονηρὸς πονηρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθός, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸς σώζει, ὁ δὲ πονηρὸς κατακρίνει· ἀγαθοῦ γάρ ἐστιν τὸ σώζειν . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς πάντοτέ ἐστιν ἀγαθός . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς εἰς πάντας ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλεται σώζειν . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ σώζει, οὐ μὴν κατακρίνει τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντας σώζων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς κρίνει τε καὶ κολάζει.*

Während nach Megethius der gute Gott die Seelen rettet, leugnet Markus dies und behauptet unter Berufung auf Paulus, daß (nur) der Geist gerettet werde; er bringt dazu eine ganz unmarcionitische Erklärung, der Demiurg habe den Menschen als Bildner und Einbläser nur unvollkommen zu schaffen vermocht, der gute Gott habe von oben das am Boden sich bewegende, zappelnde Geschöpf gesehen und von seinem Geiste gesandt und den Menschen erst wirklich lebendig gemacht; dieser Geist, der vom guten Gott stammt, werde (allein) gerettet. Auf die Frage, ob alle Menschen an diesem Geist teilhaben oder nur die, welche an den Guten glauben, erwidert Markus mit dem dunklen Wort, daß der Geist *ἐπὶ εὐχαριστίας ἔρχεσθαι.* Die weitere Frage, ob der Geist mit dem Menschen vom Demiurg verdammt sei, verneint er (Dial. II, 8).

Markus sagt, Abraham sei mit dem reichen Mann zusammen im Hades und nicht im Reiche Gottes (Dial. II, 10 f.).

Markus bemerkt, daß die Urapostel *ἀγράφως* das Evangelium verkündet haben, daß Petrus es nicht aufgezeichnet habe, sondern Christus, und daß Christus sei *ξένος καὶ μηδὲ εἰς ἔννοιάν τινος πώποτε ἀφιγμένος,* er sei *πᾶσιν ἄγνωστος* (Dial. II, 12 f.).

Markus (Dial. II, 16) beruft sich auf Joh. 13, 34: „Ein neues

Gebot gebe ich euch" und (Dial. II, 20) auf Joh. 15, 19: „Wäret ihr von der Welt, so würde die Welt ihr Eigentum lieben". —

Die Marcionitische Kirche war am Anfang des 4. Jahrh. keine schwere Gefahr für die katholische Gesamtkirche mehr. Das ergibt sich aus der Haltung des Kirchenhistorikers Eusebius ihr gegenüber. Obgleich es in Cäsarea eine Marcionitische Gemeinde gab, hat er den Marcionitismus in seiner Kirchengeschichte — in der Chronik erwähnt er gar nur (nach Irenäus) Valentin und Cerdo, „den Lehrer Marcions", s. S. 221 Karst, S. 202 Helm — nicht anders registriert als andere Häresien des 2. Jahrhunderts, auf Grund der Angaben Justins, Irenäus', Rhodons und Hegesipps (IV. 11. 14. 22. 29. V, 13), jedoch die ihm bekannt gewordenen Spezialgegenschriften verzeichnend (IV, 23. 24. 25. 30; VI, 22) und das Martyrium des Marcionitischen Presbyters Metrodorus und zahlreicher anderer Marcionitischer Märtyrer (s. o. S. 340*) anmerkend (IV, 15, 46; V, 16, 21). Immerhin muß der Leser merken, daß die Marcionitische Bewegung in der alten Zeit bedeutender und gefährlicher war als irgend eine andere. In bezug auf die spätere Zeit erwähnt er noch zwei Marcionitische Märtyrer seiner Stadt, nämlich (Valerianische Verfolgung) ein Weib (VII, 12: *τῆς Μαρκίωνος αὐτὴν αἱρέσεως γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος)* und (Verfolgung des Maximinus Daja) den Bischof Asklepius (De mart. Pal. 10, 3: *ζήλῳ μέν, ὡς ᾤετο, εὐσεβείας, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τῆς κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν, ὅμως δ' οὖν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πυρᾷ* [mit den katholischen Christen] *τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν)*. Eusebius ist übrigens der erste, der Marcion und Mani nebeneinander genannt hat; später ist das fast die exklusive Regel in der Kirche geworden; s. Theoph. IV, 34 S. 215 (Greßmann): „Myriaden, die bald des Mani sich rühmen, bald des Marcion, bald anderer unter den gottlosen Heterodoxen, bringen bis jetzt Unkraut hervor; IV, 30 S. 209: „Die Marcioniten, die Anhänger Valentins und Basilides' und die anderen, die in späterer Zeit als Seelenverderber aufsproßten; Bardesanes und der jüngst zu unserer Zeit aufgetretene Verstandeswahnsinnige, dessen Name der Name für die Partei der Manichäer ward, waren Leute, die trügerische, gottlose Lehren hervorsprudeln ließen".

Mit Konstantins Alleinherrschaft beginnt die schwere und endgültige Leidenszeit für alle Häresien. In der *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀθέους αἱρεσιώτας* (genannt werden hier die Marcioniten

zwischen den Valentinianern und den Anhängern Pauls von Samosata) verbietet der Kaiser die häretischen Zusammenkünfte, befiehlt die Versammlungshäuser zu zerstören und untersagt die Gottesdienste auch in den Privathäusern (Vita Constant. III, 64, Heikel; cf. Sozom. II, 32). Am Schluß heißt es, die Bethäuser sollen der katholischen Kirche übergeben werden und die übrigen Örtlichkeiten dem Staate verfallen; auch ihre Bücher sollen aufgespürt werden.

In den aus dem Anfang des 4. Jahrh. stammenden Acta Archelai des Hegemonius wird M. zweimal erwähnt (S. 61. 98 ed. Beeson; die letztere Stelle im Anhang des latein. Übersetzers); diese Angaben enthalten aber nichts von Belang. Dagegen sind die Antithesen, welche in dem fingierten Brief des Diodorus an Archelaus (c. 44 f. S. 64 ff.) dem Mani beigelegt werden, zweifellos Marcionitischen Ursprungs. Nachdem mitgeteilt ist, Mani leugne, daß Jesus gesagt habe: „Ich bin nicht gekommen, das Gesetz aufzulösen, sondern zu erfüllen", heißt es weiter, Mani stelle vieles, was er dem Ev. und dem Apostel Paulus entnommen, als dem Gesetze widersprechend zusammen:

„In lege dixit deus: Ego divitem et pauperem facio (Prov. 22,2); hic vero Jesus beatos dicit pauperes (Luk. 6, 20). Addebat etiam quod nemo possit eius esse discipulus, nisi renuntiaret omnibus quae haberet (Luk. 14, 33); ibi vero Moyses argentum et aurum ab Aegyptiis sumens cum populo fugisset ex Aegypto, Jesus autem nihil proximi desiderandum esse praeceperit (Luk. 6, 29). Deinde quod ille oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente in lege cavisset expendi (Exod. 21, 24); noster vero dominus percutienti unam maxillam iuberet etiam alteram praeparari (Luk. 6, 29). Quod ibi Moyses eum qui sabbato opus fecisset et non permansisset in omnibus quae scripta sunt in lege puniri lapidarique praeceperit, sicut factum est ei, qui adhuc ignorans in sabbato fascem ligni collegerat (Num. 15, 32); Jesus vero in sabbato [? stammt wahrscheinlich aus Joh. 5, 8 ff.] etiam lectum portare praecepit a se curato (Luk. 5, 24), sed et discipulos in die sabbati vellere spicas ac manibus confricare non prohibet (Luk. 6, 1), quod sabbatis utique fieri non licebat." ... „Ex auctoritate apostoli Moysi legem legem esse mortis conabatur adserere; Jesu vero legem legem esse vitae, per id quod ait (folgt II Kor. 3,6—11); addit autem ex prima epistula, terrenos esse

dicens discipulos Veteris Testamenti et animales et ideo carnem et sanguinem regnum dei possidere non posse (I Kor. 3, 1? 2, 14? 15, 50); ipsum quoque Paulum ex propria sua persona dicebat adserere id quod ait: „Si ea quae destruxi iterum aedifico, praevaricatorem me constituo" (Gal. 2, 18) ... et rursum quod Abraham habet gloriam, sed non apud deum (Röm. 4, 2; aber bei M. stand dieser Vers wahrscheinlich nicht) ... sed et alia multa legi obtrectans inserebat, eo quod lex ipsa peccatum sit ... et usque ad Johannem igitur aiebat lex et prophetae" (Luk. 16, 16).

Man darf hiernach, aber auch auf Grund einer Gesamtbetrachtung des Manichäismus, als sicher annehmen, daß er als kirchengeschichtliche Erscheinung die Lehre Marcions zur Voraussetzung hat. Damit ist nicht gesagt, daß Mani selbst sie gekannt und verwertet hat, obschon mir auch das sehr wahrscheinlich ist, sondern daß der Manichäismus, als er seine Mission unter den Christen begann und sehr bald eine große Gefahr für sie wurde, neben den rezipierten gemeinchristlichen Elementen auch Marcionitische Hauptelemente aufgenommen hat, vor allem die Kritik am A T und den Eklektizismus in bezug auf das N T. Im Abendland wurde er aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach immer mehr christlich-marcionitisch und operierte hauptsächlich mit Marcionitischen Argumenten.

Marcell von Ancyra (Fragm. hrsg. v. Klostermann S. 203) hat in seiner Polemik gegen die arianischen Theologen dem Eusebius Cäs. und Narcissus die bittere Bemerkung gemacht: *Πῶς οὖν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι τοῖς ἔξωθεν κακίστην ὁδὸν τραπέντες τὰ αὐτὰ διδάξαί τε καὶ γράψαι προὔθεντο, τοῦ μὲν Εὐσεβίου Οὐαλεντίνῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ ὁμοίως εἰρηκότος, τοῦ δὲ Ναρκίσσου Μαρκίωνί τε καὶ Πλάτωνι;* Neben Clemens (s. o. S. 322* ff.) ist m. W. Marcell der einzige, der M. mit Plato zusammengestellt hat — Clemens der Askese wegen, Marcell um der Prinzipienlehre willen.

Athanasius, der M. eine Dreiprinzipienlehre (De decret. syn. Nic.) beilegt, hat in dem Werk c. Apollin. (I, 12 . 20; II, 3. 5. 8. 12) den Doketismus M.s wiederholt gestreift (Mani neben ihm nennend) und dem Apollinaris als Warnung vorgehalten. Er formuliert diesen Doketismus, indem er sagt, nach M. sei Christus *ἀθιγῶς* erschienen. In der Orat. I, 3 c. Arian. schreibt

er: *Ἐξεβλήθη πάλαι Μαρκίων αἵρεσιν ἐφευρών, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραμείναντες μετὰ τοῦ ἐκβαλόντος ἐκεῖνον ἔμειναν Χριστιανοί, οἱ δ' ἀκολουθήσαντες Μαρκίωνι οὐκέτι Χριστιανοί, Μαρκιωνισταὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκλήθησαν.* Ath. scheint von einer förmlichen Exkommunikation zu wissen. In Orat. II, 21 c. Arian. bemerkt er, daß nach Valentin, Marcion und Basilides auch die Engel schaffen können, was für M. nicht richtig ist. Im Rundschreiben an die ägyptischen und lybischen Bischöfe (c. 4) stellt er M. und Mani zusammen. Schon in seiner Jugendschrift „Gegen die Heiden" hat er c. 6. 7 eingehend die Lehre von den beiden Göttern behandelt und abgewiesen (doch ist hier M.s Name nicht genannt).

Cyrillus Hierosol. schreibt um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts Catech. 6, 16: *Κήρινθος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλυμήνατο καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Καρποκράτης, Ἐβιωναῖοί τε καὶ Μαρκίων, τὸ τῆς ἀθεότητος στόμα· ὁ γὰρ θεοὺς διαφόρους ἀναγορεύσας, ἄλλον τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν δίκαιον, ἀντιφθέγγεται τῷ υἱῷ τῷ λέγοντι· Πάτερ δίκαιε* (Joh. 17, 25), *καὶ ὁ λέγων πάλιν ἄλλον τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἄλλον τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἐναντιοῦται τῷ υἱῷ τῷ λέγοντι·* (folgt Luk. 12, 28 u. Matth. 5, 45). *οὗτος πάλιν ἄλλης κακίας εὑρετής, ὁ Μαρκίων· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν κειμένων ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ μαρτυριῶν ἐλεγχόμενος πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν ἐκκόψαι τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἀμάρτυρον ἀφεῖναι τὸν καταγγελλόμενον λόγον τῆς πίστεως, καταλείψας τὸν θεόν· καὶ ὡς κηρύκων μὴ ὄντων σαρθρὰν ἠθέλησε ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν πίστιν.* Es folgen Basilides, Valentin (sehr ausführlich), Mani (Einleitung: *μίσει μὲν πάντας αἱρετικούς, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸν τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμον).*

Cat. 16, 3: *Οὐ τρεῖς θεούς καταγγέλλομεν· φιμούσθωσαν γὰρ Μαρκιωνισταί.* 7: *Μισείσθωσαν καὶ Μαρκιωνισταί* (nach den Manichäern angeführt), *οἱ περιελόντες τὰ ῥήματα τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης ἀπὸ τῆς Καινῆς· πρῶτος γὰρ Μαρκίων, ὁ ἀθεώτατος, ὁ πρῶτος τρεῖς θεοὺς εἰπών* (vgl. oben S. 336* f. die Angabe des Dionysius Rom.)· *εἰδὼς ὅτι ἔγκειται ἐν τῇ Καινῇ μαρτυρίαι περὶ Χριστοῦ τῶν προφητῶν περιέκοψε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Π. Δ. μαρτυρίας, ἵνα ἀμάρτυρος μείνῃ ὁ βασιλεύς* (es folgen die „Gnostiker" und Montanisten).

Cat. 18, 26: Die *συστήματα αἱρετικῶν, Μαρκιωνιστῶν λέγω καὶ Μανιχαίων*, sind die ‚*ἐκκλησία πονηρευομένων*'. Wenn man daher in eine Stadt kommt, soll man nicht einfach fragen: Wo ist das Kyriakon? *(καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν αἱρέσεις ‚κυριακὰ' τὰ ἑαυτῶν σπήλαια καλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι)*, auch nicht, Wo ist die Ekklesia? sondern wo ist die katholische Ekklesia.

Hier ist zu beachten, daß Cyrill sehr wohl weiß, daß der Gegensatz zwischen dem guten und dem gerechten Gott die bewegende Seele der Lehre M.s ist, daß er ihm aber trotzdem eine Dreiprinzipienlehre zuschreibt. So müssen die Marcioniten in Jerusalem gelehrt haben. Daß Cyrill es für nötig erachtet hat, im Katechumenenunterricht ihre Lehre kurz zu charakterisieren, ist ebenso beachtenswert wie die Warnung in bezug auf die Kirchengebäude, die übrigens beweist, daß das Konstantinische Verbot keineswegs überall befolgt worden ist.

Daß auch Didymus der Blinde gegen M. polemisiert hat, folgt aus dem, was oben zu II Kor. 2, 17 im Apparat bemerkt worden ist.

Die pseudoklementinischen Homilien haben dem Simon Magus wiederholt Marcionitische Lehren in den Mund gelegt. Alle Stellen aufzuführen, ist nicht nötig. In Hom. II, 43 wird ein „Katalog" der schlimmen Eigenschaften des Weltschöpfers gegeben, der aus den „Antithesen" stammen muß. Eine so ausführliche Zusammenstellung findet sich sonst nirgends; sie ist oben S. 278* f. Nr. 18 unter den Resten der Antithesen abgedruckt. Hom. III, 38 (Rede des Simon Magus gegen Petrus): *Περὶ οὗ ἔφης θεοῦ (δείξω) μὴ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πάντα δυναμένην δύναμιν, καθὸ ἀπρόγνωστός ἐστιν, ἀτελής, ἐνδεής, οὐκ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ μυρίοις χαλεποῖς ὑποκείμενος πάθεσιν· ὅθεν τούτου δειχθέντος ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἕτερος ἀγράφως περιλείπεται προγνωστικός, τέλειος, ἀνενδεής, ἀγαθός, πάντων χαλεπῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος παθῶν. ὃν δὲ σὺ φῆς δημιουργόν, τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποκείμενος τυγχάνει.* (39) *αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς Ἀδὰμ καὶ τυφλὸς κτίζεται καὶ γνῶσιν ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ οὐκ ἔχων παραδέδοται καὶ παραβάτης εὑρίσκεται.*

III, 54 ff. Hier wird widerlegt, daß Gott „schwört", „versucht", „nicht vorher weiß", „nicht alles sieht", „nicht gut ist", „im Tempel seinen Sitz hat", „Opfer begehrt", „schlecht ist".

Die große Ausführung über den guten und gerechten Gott, deren Identität von Simon bestritten, von Petrus behauptet wird, im XVIII. Buch fußt auf Marcionitische Gedanken. Sie beginnt mit den Worten Simons: *Δείξω ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τὸν κόσμον δημιουργήσας ἀνώτατος θεός, ἀλλ' ἕτερος, ὃς καὶ μόνος ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγνωστός ἐστιν. αὐτίκα γοῦν τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην φῆς εἶναι ἢ οὔ; εἰ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης ἐστίν, δίκαιος τυγχάνει, δίκαιος δὲ ὢν ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἕτερον ἐκήρυσσεν*

ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ λέγειν· „Μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἷς ἐστίν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς“. οὐ συμφωνεῖ δὲ τῷ νομοθέτῃ δικαίῳ ὄντι καὶ ἀγαθῷ. Auch in der Polemik gegen einen Teil des Inhalts des Gesetzes Mosis mag Marcionitisches Gut stecken. Vgl. Clem. Recogn. III, 38 (Simon M. fragt: „Quomodo potest unum atque idem et bonum esse et iustum“; auch II, 55. 58).

In den schweren trinitarischen Kämpfen gegen Arianer und Modalisten wurde die Mittelpartei darauf aufmerksam, daß auch Marcioniten modalistisch lehrten, und konnte nun die Modalisten durch die Zusammenstellung mit ihnen diskreditieren; s. den Brief des Eustathius, Theophilus usw. an Liberius (Socrat., h. e. IV, 12; Sozom. VI, 11): *Πᾶσα αἵρεσις Σαβελλίου, Πατροπασσιανοί, Μαρκιωνισταί, Φωτινιανοί, Μαρκελλιανοὶ καὶ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμωσατέως.*

Aus den Angaben der großen Kappadozier gewinnt man nichts Neues. Basilius erwähnt die Marcioniten beiläufig nach den Manichäern und Valentinianern (Epp. Class. II ep. 188) und leitet ep. 199 die Enkratiten von ihnen ab (vgl. Iren.). Er spricht hom. XXIV von zwei Prinzipien M.s. Gregor von Nazianz, der sie öfters nennt, schreibt (Poëm. de se ipso v. 1169—72), ohne Ms. Namen zu nennen: *Οἱ τὴν Παλαιὰν καὶ Νέαν δύο θεοῖς νείμαντες, αὐστηρῷ τε κἀγαθωτάτῳ· οἱ τρεῖς φύσεις τιθέντες οὐ κινουμένας, τὴν πνεύματος, χοός τε, τὴν τ' ἀμφοῖν μέσην.* Es folgt Mani. Einige Irrtümer über M. aus Verwechselung mit Gnostikern finden sich bei Gregor, die ich auf sich beruhen lasse. Die schlimmsten sind, daß er sagt, M.s Gottheit sei mannweiblich und M. lehre eine Äonenwelt. Wenig Wissen verrät auch die Ketzerliste in Orat. XXIII: Simon, Marcion, Valentin, Basilides, Cerdo, Cerinth, Karpokrates.

In dem in der *Κατὰ μέρος πίστις* enthaltenen kürzeren Glaubensbekenntnis der Kirche von Laodicea Syr. heißt es (Art. I): *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, τουτέστιν εἰς μίαν ἀρχήν, τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐαγγελίου, δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθόν* (s. Caspari, Alte und neue Quellen, 1879, S. 20. 138 f.; Lietzmann, Apollinaris v. Laodicea I S. 179 f.). Diese antimarcionitische Fassung des ersten Artikels ist einzigartig; sie ist vielleicht aus Origenes' Regula fidei geflossen (De princ. I praefat.) und zeigt, daß in Gebieten der syrischen Kirche der Marcionitismus noch immer eine Gefahr war.

(Marcioniten neben Manichäern an einer Stelle bei Am-

philochius (Gegen die Enkratiten; s. Ficker, Amphilochiana S. 62. 218); aber die Stelle ist belanglos. — Manichäer, Cataphryger und Marcioniten bei Nicetas von Remesiana, De symbolo 10, gleichfalls belanglos).

Die Gefahr wird durch drei syrische Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts bestätigt. Zwar Aphraates streift M. nur einmal in seinen Homilien (III, 6, Texte u. Unters. Bd. III H. 3 S. 46 f.): „Denn siehe auch die Irrlehrer, die Werkzeuge Satans, fasten und gedenken ihrer Sünden; aber einen Herrn, der es ihnen lohnt, haben sie nicht; denn wer wird es dem M. lohnen, der unsern Schöpfer nicht als den Gütigen bekennt?" (Es folgen Valentin und „die Sekte des verdammten Mani".) Aber ein unbekannter syrischer Schriftsteller und Ephraem sind gegen M. um so beredter und zeigen, daß die Marcionitische Lehre damals in Ostsyrien den Kirchenmännern sehr bedrohlich erschien.

Im J. 1836 gaben die Mechitharisten im 2. Bd. der armenischen Werke Ephraems des Syrers (p. 261—345) ein Werk heraus unter dem Titel: „Erklärung des Evangeliums, die verfaßt hat Ter Ephraem, der tiefgründige[?] Syrer" (Ms. v. J. 1195). Mit dieser Schrift hat sich zuerst Preuschen eingehend beschäftigt in der Zeitschr. für die NTliche Wissensch., 1911, S. 243 ff.: „Eine altkirchliche antimarcionitische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephraems", nachdem sie Burkitt (Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel, 1901, p. 53) kurz berücksichtigt hatte; dann gab sie deutsch mit Kommentar Schäfers heraus: „Eine altsyrische, antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn usw., mit Beiträgen zu Tatians Diatessaron und Marcions Neuem Test." 1917.

Die Schrift besteht, wie Schäfers gezeigt hat, aus drei selbständigen Abhandlungen eines Verfassers, ist ursprünglich syrisch abgefaßt (die Annahme Preuschens, hinter dem syrischen Text liege ein griechischer, ist unrichtig) und scheint nicht von Ephraem zu sein (doch ist das nicht ganz sicher). Die Abfassungszeit läßt sich nicht näher bestimmen; wahrscheinlich ist, daß sie, wenn sie nicht dem Ephraem gebührt, von einem älteren syrischen Theologen abgefaßt ist.

Die erste und umfangreichste Abhandlung richtet sich durchweg gegen Marcion; auch in der zweiten wird er gestreift. Die Stellen, wo er oder seine Anhänger genannt werden, folgen hier:

Abhandl. I (Initium) S. 3 f.: „Alle Schriften, die ... nicht von dem Gesetz und den Propheten ausgehen, sind Bücher, Erzeugnis und Erfindung eines widerstrebenden Verstandes.... Marcion schreibt in seinem Buche, das sie mit Namen „Proevangelium" nennen, was in unsre Sprache übersetzt heißt „Eher als das Ev." — und ich bin verwundert, wieso es eine Schrift der Marcioniten gibt, die sie mit Namen „Proevangelium" nennen, da die Schüler jenes vertrauensvoll meinen, daß der Anfang der Gottheit, an die sie glauben, um jene Zeit offenbar wurde, (nämlich) z. Z. des Pilatus des Pontiers, in jener Zeit, da das Ev. geschrieben wurde. Wenn es sicher für dich ist, Marcion, daß wirklich der Anfang der Gottheit, betreffs der du sprichst, im Ev. (zuerst) in Erscheinung trat, warum dann aber und wie wäre deine Schrift eher als das Evangelium? Und wenn du wirklich (daran) festhältst und es wäre deine Schrift eher als das Ev.[1], so sage nicht, daß neu und fremd die lebendigmachende Gottheit ausströmte, sondern daß sie bereits da war. Und es ist im Anfang jener Schrift (Marcions) also geschrieben: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über es (das Evangelium) sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann". P. 31 wird M. ausdrücklich genannt, p. 35 wird unzweifelhaft, p. 10 wahrscheinlich auf ihn angespielt.

Abhandl. I S. 39 (nach dem Zitat Joh. 15,5 ff.): „Denn wenn dieses (dieser Spruch) auch in dem Evangelium, das die ketzerischen Marcioniten lesen, verschwunden ist, so ersteht ihnen doch von jenem aus, was bei dem Apostel geschrieben ist, was sie davon überführt, daß dieses wirklich im Evangelium geschrieben war, daß wir durch Pflanzen versinnbildet sind, und die Marcioniten dies ausgetilgt haben". Es folgen nun die Stellen Röm. 6, 5 und I Kor. 3, 6.

Abhandl. I S. 59 f.: „Die Häretiker beschmutzen den „Bräutigam" und die „Braut", von denen sie sagen, daß sie unrein sind; aber unser Herr hat nach Johannes (3, 29) seinen „Weg" diesem Sinnbilde verglichen. Wenn dies auch für die Anders-

1 Es ist oben in der Darstellung gezeigt worden, daß „Proevangelium" nicht übersetzt zu werden braucht: „Früher als das Evangelium", und daß hier höchstwahrscheinlich „die Antithesen" gemeint sind.

gläubigen als Schriftwort nicht existiert, so gibts gleichwohl aus ihren Texten, was auch sie fürwahr als im Ev. geschrieben haben, und sie lesen wie wir, nämlich: „So spricht unser Herr: „Nicht ist es euch möglich, Befehl zum Fasten den Kindern des Brautgemaches zu geben, solange der Bräutigam bei ihnen ist" (Luk. 5, 34). Und er hat uns klar gemacht und gezeigt, daß er selbst Bräutigam ist und wir Kinder seiner Begleitung und seines Brautgemachs sind. Wiederum sagt der Apostel im Brief an die Epheser also": folgt Eph. 5, 25 ff.

Abhandl. II S. 82: „Deswegen ist der Schatz unser Erlöser, und nicht eben etwa jetzt haben wir ihn gefunden, wie die Marcioniten sagen, sondern sein Vater hatte ihn schon längst aufgespeichert (und) hinterlegt".

Ephraem Syrus gewährt uns in seinen zahlreichen Schriften [1] ein deutliches Bild von der Gefahr, welche neben den Bardesaniten und Manichäern damals die Marcioniten — mit jenen bilden sie das dreiköpfige Ungeheuer, das die Kirche Christi zerstören will — für die Kirche von Edessa bedeuteten. Eine Reihe von Auszügen soll die Bedeutung dieses Schriftstellers für die Kenntnis M.s, dessen Name sogar zu einem Schimpfnamen verzerrt wurde [2], beleuchten. Er hat sich aufs gründlichste mit Marcion beschäftigt, seine Bibel studiert, die „Antithesen" gelesen und persönlich die Sektierer kennen gelernt. Was seine Mitteilungen für die Kenntnis des Bibeltextes M.s ergeben, ist dort bereits verwertet worden.

Ephraem, Evang. Concord. Expos. (Ex Armen. transt. Moesinger, 1876) [3]: Hier sind die Antithesen M.s benutzt

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1 S. auch S. Ephrems Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardesanes, transscribed from the Palimpsest B. M. ADD. 14 623 by the late C. W. Mitchell and A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt, Vol. II The discourse called „of Domnus" and 6 other writings 1921 (P. XXIII bis LXV Übersetzung der 3 Bücher gegen M.).

2 S. Bar Bahlûl 564 (bei Lagarde, Ges. Abhandl. S. 159): מָרקיון und מַרקיון im ‚Buche des Paradieses' [eine Art von Lexikon: קיון]: „Seine Anhänger haben מר hinzugefügt und nennen ihn ehrenhalber מָרקיון; wir aber nennen ihn zum Schimpfe מַרקיון [Gespei]; nicht aber nennen wir ihn קיון, damit nicht der Glaube entstehe, wir meinten einen anderen".

3 Vgl. Harnack, Tatians Diatessaron u. M.s Kommentar z. Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus (Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch., Bd. IV H. 4, 1881,

und einige seiner Erklärungen zum Ev. widerlegt (s. die Marcionitischen termini technici: („Creator, Cosmocrator, deus iustus, deus peregrinus, deus legis, coelum tertium, species corporis"). Das Wichtigste sei angeführt. P. 47: „Qui dominum nostrum per nativitatem maculam contraxisse dicunt (scil. wenn er sie auf sich genommen hätte), ignorant, se in errore versari . . .; nec timent, quia poenitentiam non agunt; etenim terra, in quam venit, ab utero in re non est diversa".

P. 41: „Jesus baptismum a Ioanne accepit, quod fecit, ut confunderet Marcionitas; si enim carnem non induit, ad baptismum cur accedit?" Entweder hat E. nicht gewußt, daß M. diese Perikope gestrichen hat, oder die syrischen Marcioniten hatten sie wieder aufgenommen; anders Zahn, Kanonsgesch. II S. 455.

P. 60: Bei der Erklärung der Geschichte von der Heilung des Gichtbrüchigen spielt Ephraem auf folgende Gedanken M.s an: „Jesus alienus a lege est"; nihil sive Jesu sive patri eius debebant homines, qui per nullum opus potentiae nec in iustitia nec in legisdatione eum senserunt." „Juxta doctrinam Jasowa (Cod. A: Jajswa — beides ist gleich unverständlich) dicunt: ‚Ad quid opus erat domino dicere: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua?' " Ephraem glaubt dies so deuten zu dürfen, der Gichtbrüchige habe die Vergebung nach M. gar nicht nötig gehabt, „postquam semel a vindicta per misericordiam et bonitatem liberatus erat."

P. 75 bemerkt Ephraem, Jesus durfte (nach M.) nicht den Sturm auf dem See stillen, da dazu „vis et imperium" gehört, die er nach M. als Sohn des nur guten Gottes nicht hatte.

P. 122 f. bemerkt Ephraem zu dem Verse: „Beatus erit venter, qui te portavit" (Luk. 11,27): „Marcion dicit: „His verbis solummodo tentarunt, num vere natus esset. et eo quod dicitur: Ecce mater tua et fratres tui (Luk. 8, 19 f.) quaerunt te, idem significatur. quin immo et corpus suum dedit eis ad man-

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S. 471 ff.). Das ganze Buch ist durchzogen von der Polemik gegen M., s. p. 41. 44. 47. 58. 60 f. 75. 122 f. 127 ff. 135. 157. 255 f. Die Hauptfundgrube für M. bei Ephraem sind die 56 Gesänge gegen die Ketzer. Eine Vergleichung mit Tert., Adv. Marc. legt es nahe, daß beide eine und dieselbe ältere griechische Streitschrift gegen M. benutzt haben; doch läßt sich ein strikter Beweis nicht führen.

ducandum? cur? ut magnitudinem suam absconderet et opinionem eis inderet, se esse corporalem, quia eum nondum poterant intelligere."

P. 128 f. nach Anführung von Matth. 13, 54 sagt Ephraem: „Nonne dabatur et alius populus aut alia terra, quam Judaeorum? sed hoc scriptum est, ut Marcionistae mendacii arguerentur et reprehenderentur. post haec, ait, intravit iuxta morem suum in synagogas eorum die sabbati. et quaenam erat consuetudo ei qui tum advenit? nam modo in Galilaeam venerat, nec coeperat docere extra synagogam, sed in synagoga; ex cultu enim eorum probatur, quod de deo eorum ad eos locutus est; secus enim extra synagogas eum praedicare oportuit. ingressus est in Bethsaida (!) ad Judaeos et nihil aliud in medium protulit, quod ad ipsum dixerunt („was sie zu ihm sagen würden") nisi hoc unum: Medice, cura te ipsum. et assumpserunt eum et foras duxerunt ad praecipitium montis. Non est verisimile, quod hoc verbum Christi ad iram eos excitavit." Diese Worte sind verworren und entweder falsch überliefert oder übersetzt; aber soviel ist klar, daß M. den Text sehr verkürzt hatte. Zu beachten ist „Bethsaida".

P. 135: „At si Jesus, ut tu, Marcion, dicis, corpore non erat indutus."

P. 157 (Zur Verklärungsgeschichte): „Et si deus ‚peregrinus' est Christus, cur Moyses et Elias cum eo loquebantur? nonne Christus is est, qui Moysen ad vitam et Eliam de coelo vocavit? et ecce ex priori tempore ‚Justi' eos adduxit. si autem vi ascendens Eliam de caelo deduxit, non est ‚Bonus', quia ex ulnis ‚Justi' rapuit Eliam et testem sibi deduxit, et si ‚Bonus' sine ‚Justo' Moysen investigavit et eius potitus est, furto reum se fecit, quia et ossa, ‚Justus' a facie hominum abscondit, ex sepulcro eruit et eduxit. et cum vox de coelo fieret: ‚Hic est' etc., ubi tum erat ‚Justus'. num timuit et se abscondit et non prodiit ad vocem illius? aut num haec vox ‚Peregrini' tacite praeteriit, quia ‚Justus' audisset? sed ecce, super terram coelum est, ut dicunt, et ‚Justus' quoque super coelos est. quomodo ergo haec vox et haec verba eum pertransierunt, quin ea perciperet? et si percepit, cur tacuit ad omnem hanc gloriationem, quae de eo praedicata est?" Ephraem scheint hier eine Erklärung Ms. zu kennen; doch das ist nicht sicher.

P. 255 f.: „Qui ergo dicunt, corpus salvatoris nostri speciem quandam fuisse, ut corpus angelorum, qui in domo Abrahae ederunt, convicti arguuntur" etc., dann zur Sonnenfinsternis: „Et si Christus erat filius ‚Peregrini', sol in crucifixione eius non esset tenebratus, sed ille ‚Creator' lucem abundantiorem sparsisset . . . et templum velum pretiosum induisset, quia a querelis inimici sui liberatum et ‚solutor legis' ex eo eiectus esset. at pater ‚Peregrini' forsitan adduxit tenebras? sed ecce non sunt tenebrae apud eum, neque si tenebrae apud eum essent, eas adduxisset, prima quia ‚deus bonus' est, dein, quia ille dixerat: Dimitte eis, quia nesciunt quod faciunt."

Aus den „56 Gesängen gegen die Ketzer" (deutsch von Zingerle, 1873); Lied 14, 3: M. hat die Hyle in seinen Schriften dem Schöpfer entgegengestellt [1].

Lied 20, 4. Aus dieser Stelle läßt sich schließen, daß M. I Mos. 6, 7 („Es reuete Gott") als schmählich bezeichnet hat.

Lied 23, 5: „Was ist größer und herrlicher, daß du ein Christusjünger heißest oder ein Marcionit?"

Lied 24, 1 f.: „Die Ungläubigen erfrechten sich, h. Schriften (Schriftworte) zu vertilgen, damit sie nicht widerlegt werden könnten; allein durch eines (ein Schriftwort), das sie stehen ließen, werden sie überwiesen. Dieses genügt und zwar durchaus. Der Herr hat es in seiner Schrift bewahrt, und sie haben es nicht getilgt wie die anderen; vielleicht, daß sie es jetzt ausmerzen. Unser Herr möge sie und auch mich bewahren, daß ich nicht dazu Veranlassung werde . . . . Gebietend warnte der Wahrhaftige: „Einen Meister auf Erden sollt ihr nicht nennen" (Matth. 23, 8); 24, 8: „Viele Christus' werden verkündet: einer, der in den Tagen des Mani erschien, ein anderer in den Tagen des Bardesanes und zu M.s Zeit wieder ein anderer"; 24, 10: „(Als der jüdische Tempel zerstört und dort eine Kirche erbaut wurde), diente M. nicht in ihr; denn man wußte von ihm noch nichts".

Lied 36, 3: „Es ist für sie (die Marcioniten) und für uns über den Sohn Gottes geschrieben, daß er ein Opfer und Wohlgeruch für Gott geworden ist". 36, 4: „Mit welcher schamlosen

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1 Ephraem bezeugt a. a. St. die zwei Götter M.s, den oberen und den irdischen. Diese Stelle widerspricht dem nicht.

Frechheit tadeln sie also denjenigen, der Opfer der Tiere verlangte, und tadeln ihn nicht, der diese Opfer abschaffte, aber nach dem Opfer seines Sohnes verlangte... Wenn sie aber die Wahrheit des Ausspruchs (vom Opfertode Christi) leugnen und sagen, unser Herr sei nicht w i r k l i c h ein Opfer geworden, so hat er nur ein Scheinbild (nach ihrer Meinung) angenommen. Wenn sie nun solche unwesentliche Gestalten lieben, siehe, so hat ja auch der Schöpfer alle Gestalten angezogen. Weshalb scheuen (sie), die Ungläubigen, davor zurück? Von den (wechselnden) Gestalten des Weltschöpfers wollen sie nichts wissen, und mit den Gestalten ‚des Fremden' befreunden sie sich." 36, 6 f.: „In bezug auf unseren Herrn, der in Wahrheit starb und wieder auflebte, machten sie seinen Tod zu einem Schein; aber bei unserem Schöpfer, der bildlichen Ausdrücken nach kleiner ward (gemeint sind die Anthropomorphismen des AT), machten sie sein Kleinwerden zur Wahrheit (sie verstehen im AT alles, was von Gott gesagt ist, wörtlich). Von unserem Herrn, der Kleider und Glieder angezogen, behaupten sie, daß er wesenlose Scheingestalten gezeigt habe, vom ‚Alten der Tage' aber, der in weißen Kleidern erschien, glauben sie, daß er in Wahrheit so sei; den Geistigen nämlich machten sie körperlich, den Körperlichen aber zu einer trügerischen Erscheinung... Unser Herr, der in Wahrheit aß und trank, aß und aß doch wieder nicht, trank und trank doch nicht (nach M.); den Schöpfer aber lästerten sie, daß er wirklich das Fett des zum Nutzen (des Opfernden) dargebrachten Opfers mit Wohlgefallen gerochen habe. Ihn also, der nur bildlich am Geruche Wohlgefallen hatte, lästern sie; jenem aber, der in Wahrheit aß, lassen sie das nicht zu... Es steht ferner von unserem Herrn geschrieben, er sei dürftig gewesen (II Kor. 8, 9 ἐπτώχευσε) und aufgenommen worden. Die Kinder des Irrtums aber mühten sich ab, in bezug auf ihn die Auslegung zu geben, er sei ganz und gar nicht dürftig gewesen und habe sich uns gegenüber nur so gestellt, damit wir auf jede Weise leben (das Heil erlangen) möchten."

Nach Lied 39 hat M. über Gottes Verhalten, Pharaos Vernichtung betreffend (Ps. 136, 15), gespottet.

Lied 47, 1: „Die Gemeinden der Abtrünnigen haben... nicht das wahre Blut Christi, sondern nur ein Scheinbild des Blutes, weil sie an den Leib Jesu nicht glauben... Wenn unser

Herr den Leib deshalb verachtete, weil er unrein und häßlich und verabscheuungswürdig, so ist auch das Brot und der Kelch des Heils unter den Abtrünnigen häßlich und unrein. Wie geht aber dies zu, daß er den Leib verachtete und sich doch in Brot verhüllte? . . . Auch ‚der Gerechte' gab am Brot ein Gleichnis, denn sein Tisch liebte das Schaubrot." 47, 2: „Über die Hochzeit zu Kana spotten sie, daß es fern von unserem Herrn hätte sein sollen, zu ihr hinzugehen. Und doch nennen sie die Kirche Braut und unseren Herrn den wahren Bräutigam und das Bildnis des Hochzeitsweins ist in ihren Kelchen das Gleichnis des Mahles bei ihren Festen (?)." 47, 3: „Auch ‚der Fremde', der zu keinem Hochzeitsmahle ging, um weder dem Namen noch der Tat nach sich zu ergötzen, ergötzte sich doch als Bräutigam jeden Tag; Johannes (der Täufer) aber trauerte, war sittenstreng und übte sich im Fasten; die Kinder des Brautgemachs können nämlich nicht fasten; denn die Hausleute des Schöpfers waren Fastende; ‚der Fremde' aber, der übrigens gar nicht existiert, ist vergnügungssüchtig. Beten wir für sie, daß sie sich bekehren; denn sie sind Glieder, die uns gefangen entrissen worden sind; ihre Bande liegen in ihren Büchern und ihre Fesseln in ihren Schriften." 47, 4: „Sollte aber ein Gottesleugner sagen: Nur wie zum Schein ehren wir diese Dinge (Brot und Wein), so besteht also ihre Religion nur in Schein und nicht in Wahrheit" (dieser Satz wird vielleicht besser auf die Manichäer bezogen, s. das Folgende).

Lied 48: „M., welcher ‚den Fremden' beschrieben, hat sich selbst ‚dem Fremden' entfremdet."

Lied 49, 1: „M. werde zurechtgewiesen, denn er vermochte in den Erdkreis keinen anderen Namen außer dem Namen Jesu einzuführen, der schon im Gesetz vorkommt und außer dem Namen des h. Geistes, des Schatzes der Weissagung, und dem Namen Gottes, den jedes Wesen verkündet". Es folgt eine kraftvolle und glänzende Zurückweisung der Marcionitischen Kritik des Schöpfergottes, dazu (c. 4): „Alle Irrlehrer spalteten und teilten den Namen Gottes, der sich niemals spalten und teilen läßt. Ein Abtrünniger (Marcion) leitete aus dem Namen Gottes einen anderen verleugnungswürdigen und fremden Namen ab und dazu zwei seinesgleichen (der ‚fremde' Gott,

der Weltschöpfer und die Hyle). Aus dem Namen eines ewigen Wesens erdichteten sie zwei geteilte Prinzipien."

Im Lied 50 heißt es, M. habe in seinen Lektionen den Weltschöpfer durch böse Deutungen von Gen. 1, 2 und Exod. 19, 10—15 gelästert.

Lied 51, 5: „Das ‚Wehe', welches unser Herz ausgesprochen (Luk. 11, 42 ff.), komme über M., weil er über seinen Erschaffer lästerte ... Weil M. seinen Arzt verleugnete, wurde sein Leiden nicht geheilt. Er schied mit seiner lebensgefährlichen Wunde dahin und vererbte sie auf seine Söhne."

Lied 56, 3: „Erröteten sie denn nicht und schämten sie sich nicht, daß ihre Schriften im Namen von Menschen geschrieben sind und kein Schriftkundiger sich erhebt und liest: ‚So spricht der Herr der Heerscharen', sondern: ‚So spricht Marcion', der Rasende usw. Es genügen ihre Namen zur Schmach ihrer Gemeinden."

Ein unbekannter Syrer (Ephraem?) berichtet in dem Syr. Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 17 215 (vgl. „Academy" 21. Okt. 1893), nachdem er Marcion, Mani und Bardesanes genannt hatte: „M. sagte, daß unser Herr nicht geboren ward von einem Weibe, sondern den Platz des Weltschöpfers stahl und herabstieg und zuerst erschien zwischen Jerusalem und Jericho (?)[1] wie ein Mensch nach Form und Erscheinung und Ähnlichkeit, aber ohne unseren Leib." — Zenobius, Diakon und Schüler Ephraems, gedenkt M.s auch (s. Assemani, B. O. I p. 168; III, 1 p. 43).

Ephraem mag bereits viel für die Bekehrung der Marcioniten in Syrien geleistet haben, aber er wurde einige Jahrzehnte später von Rabbulas übertroffen, dem freilich die Zeitverhältnisse zugute kamen. In der Lobrede auf ihn (Opp., ed. Overbeck p. 193) heißt es: „Auch mit vielen Worten könnte ich nicht zeigen, wie groß sein Eifer wider die Anhänger M.s gewesen ist. Dieses faulende Krebsgeschwür der Irrlehre der Marcioniten[2] heilte er mit der Sorgfalt jenes großen, in allem ausge-

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1 Zahn, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift 1910, S. 371 ff. Man darf hieraus vielleicht schließen, daß M. die Parabel vom barmherzigen Samariter bestehen ließ, was ja auch an sich so gut wie gewiß ist (Windisch).

2 Daß sie sich von den Katholiken streng getrennt hielten, bezeugt Rabbulas in seinem Brief an Gemillinus von Perrha: s. Bickell, Ausgew.

zeichneten Arztes (Christi) . . . ; denn Gott sandte zu ihnen Furcht vor dem h. Rabbulas, und sie nahmen gläubig die Wahrheit an, indem sie ihren Irrtum ableugneten". Vorangeht die Erzählung der Bekehrung von Bardesaniten; es folgen die Manichäer, Borborianer, Audianer, Messalianer und Juden. Vgl. auch Johannes von Ephesus, Lib. Narr. Aktor. Beat. Homin. Orient.: Leben des Simon von Bêth-Arsâm (Land, Anecd. II, p. 77).

Maruta v. Maipherkat († wahrscheinlich vor d. J. 420), De Sancta Synodo Nicaena (hrsg. von Braun i. d. „Kirchengesch. Studien", hrsg. von Knöpfler, Schrörs u. Sdralek, 4. Bd. 3. Heft, 1898; dazu Harnack, in den „Texten u. Unters.", Bd. 19 H. 1, 1899). In diesem, in einer sehr jungen und lückenhaften syrischen Handschrift erhaltenen Werk findet sich ein Ketzerkatalog, der auch von Marcion handelt. Dieser Ketzerkatalog ist von Abraham Ecchellensis aus dem Arabischen übersetzt und von Mansi (Concil. Omn. Ampliss. Coll. II p. 1056 ff.) veröffentlicht worden. Aus dieser Übersetzung vermag man die Lücken des Syrers zu ergänzen. Der Bericht bezieht sich auf die Marcioniten in Mesopotamien bei Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts. Die Ergänzungen, die in Klammern stehen, sind dem Araber entnommen:

„III. Häresie der Marcioniten. Diese lehren (drei Götter), einen Guten, einen Gerechten und einen Bösen (Arab.: ‚Einen Guten, einen Bösen und einen Mittleren zwischen ihnen'). Auch (deshalb) haben sie corrumpiert die (heiligen) Schriften (und zu dem Evangelium und zu den Briefen des Apostels Paulus an einigen Stellen Hinzufügungen gemacht, andere Stellen aber verstümmelt). Das Buch der *Πράξεις* (haben sie) vollständig aus Mitte (geräumt) und statt seiner (ein anderes Buch der *Πράξεις* [?] eingeschoben), das sie ‚Summa' (sākā; Arab: ‚Buch des vorgesetzten Zieles') nennen, damit es sei gemäß (ihren Meinungen und Lehren). Statt des Petrus haben sie sich gesetzt als (Haupt) der Apostel den Marcion. Hymnen — Arab.: Psalmen — (die

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syr. KVäter-Schriften S. 257 (Kemptener Ausgabe). Falsch und irreführend hat hier Ahrens (Ahrens und Krüger, Die sog. KGesch. des Zacharias Rhetor, 1899, S. 245) übersetzt. „Sie sind keine Beschnittenen wie die Marcioniten" statt: „Sie halten sich nicht von uns getrennt wie die Marcioniten."

sie bei den Gebeten rezitieren, haben sie sich andere als die Davids erdichtet). (Die Auferstehung) der Leiber lästern sie."

Ein später Syrer, Isaak von Niniveh (7. Jahrh.) erwähnt noch M. innerhalb der bekannten Trias: Bardesanes, Marcion, Mani; s. Duval, Littér. Syr. p. 233 f. — Budge, The discourses of Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, 1894, Vol. II. p. XLV. u. CXXXVI, teilt mit, daß Philoxenus (um d. J. 500) einen (ungedruckten) Traktat gegen Mani, Marcion und Eutyches verfaßt hat.

Epiphanius hat in seinem Panarion (h. 42 Holl) besonders eingehend über M. und seine Schüler berichtet — kein Wunder, denn Chrysostomus erzählt uns, der Bischofssitz des Epiphanius, Salamis auf Cypern, sei von Marcioniten „belagert" (ep. 221). Es ist dem großen Ketzerbestreiter also nicht einmal in seiner eigenen Stadt gelungen, dieser Häretiker Herr zu werden.

Epiphanius' Kenntnisse M.s und des Marcionitismus beruhen auf der Durchsicht der Marcionitischen Bibel (was er hier geleistet hat, ist oben S. 64* ff. 182* untersucht und dargestellt worden und wird hier nicht wiederholt), auf Hippolyts Syntagma, Irenäus' Hauptwerk und mindestens noch einer, leider nicht zu bestimmenden älteren Streitschrift, dazu auf persönlicher Kunde und eigenen Ausspinnungen, Kombinationen und Phantasien.

Er beginnt seinen Bericht über die „große Schlange" mit einer Mitteilung über die Verbreitung der Sekte: *ἡ αἵρεσις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔν τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ, ἐν Κύπρῳ τε καὶ Θηβαΐδι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις εὑρίσκεται.* Es ist dem Epiphanius zuzutrauen, daß er Rom und Italien genannt und vorangestellt hat, weil seine literarische Hauptquelle (Hippolyt) römisch war; freilich war sie schon mehr als 150 Jahre alt; aber wer diesen Berichterstatter kennt, weiß, daß er, der sich immer wieder mit der Chronologie befaßt, einen Zeitsinn überhaupt nicht besessen hat. Wie kommt er sonst auf Rom und Italien, wo die Sekte damals im Aussterben war? Höchst seltsam ist auch die Erwähnung der Thebais, getrennt von Ägypten und mit Cypern zusammengefaßt!

Es folgt nun der ausgesponnene Bericht über M.s Leben nach Hippolyt (bis zum Bruch mit der Kirche in Rom), der bereits

oben S. 23* ff. untersucht worden ist; *πολὺς περὶ Μαρκίωνος ᾄδεται λόγος*, bemerkt er selbst (c. 1, 3). Dann wird behauptet (c. 3, 1), M. habe zu den zwei Prinzipien seines Meisters Cerdo noch ein drittes hinzugefügt, nämlich zum oberen, unnennbaren, unsichtbaren und guten Gott, der nichts Weltliches geschaffen habe, und zum sichtbaren Schöpfer-Gott, der auch der Judengott und Richter sei, den Teufel *(τρίτον ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ μέσον τῶν δύο τούτων)*; weiter: M. verkündige die Jungfräulichkeit und das Sabbatsfasten (im Gegensatz zum feierlichen Ruhen des Weltschöpfers am Sabbat), die Mysterien würden unter den Augen der Katechumenen vollzogen [1] und beim Abendmahl nur Wasser gebraucht; die Seele allein werde Heil und Leben erlangen, da es keine Fleischesauferstehung gebe; die Taufe könne drei- und mehrmals erteilt werden *(ὡς παρὰ πολλῶν ἀκήκοα)*, denn das folge aus Luk. 12, 50 [2]; Gesetz und Propheten (c. 4) seien Organe des Fürsten dieser Welt und Christus habe (nach Irenäus) die ATlichen Gottesmänner im Hades gelassen [3], Kain und Kore usw. und alle Heiden herausgeführt und gerettet. Der Bericht schließt mit den Worten, die durch andere Zeugen widerlegt werden: *μεταγγισμοὺς ὁμοίως τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ μετενσωματώσεις ἀπὸ σωμάτων εἰς σώματα φάσκει.*

Die nun folgenden cc. 5—8 (Widerlegung M.s) sind einer guten Ausführung oder Streitschrift gegen M. entnommen, deren Verf. sich nicht mehr feststellen läßt (Origenes?). In c. 6, 8 heißt der gerechte Gott „der Mittlere", und damit wird der Unsinn des Epiphan. c. 3, 2 widerlegt (s. o.), nach M. sei der Teufel der Mittlere zwischen dem guten und dem gerechten Gott. In c. 8, 1 f. wird M.s Exegese von Gal. 3, 13 zurückgewiesen und folgende Worte von ihm werden mitgeteilt: *Εἰ ἦμεν αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἠγόραζεν· ἀγοράσας δὲ εἰς ἀλλότριον κόσμον ἦλθεν ἡμᾶς ἐξαγοράσαι τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας αὐτοῦ· ποίημα γὰρ ἦμεν ἑτέρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἠγόραζεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωήν.*

Dann geht Epiphanius (c. 9 ff.) zum Evangelium und Apo-

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1 Dies und anderes wird bald darauf wiederholt (ob zwei Quellen oder Unachtsamkeit?).

2 Bald darauf wird auch berichtet, M. gestatte den Frauen zu taufen.

3 Die Begründung, weil sie sich nicht dem unsichtbaren Gott geweiht haben, ist unrichtig und stammt von Epiphanius.

stolikon M.s über, charakterisiert sie und schaltet nun seine ältere Arbeit über diese Bücher ein, bestehend in Exzerpten aus ihnen und Widerlegungen (S. 107—182). Aus dem, was nun noch folgt, ist nur c. 14 sehr bemerkenswert (S. 184). Ep. berichtet, daß einige Marcioniten *τετολμήκασιν αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον εἶναι υἱὸν τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγειν οὐκ αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἄλλοι δὲ οὐχί, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ· εὐσπλαγχνότερον ⟨δὲ⟩ γεγονότα καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καταλεῖψαι μὲν τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ πατέρα κάτω (πῇ μὲν λεγόντων τὸν δημιουργόν, ἄλλων δὲ τὸν πονηρόν), ἄνω δὲ ἀναδεδραμηκέναι πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀκατονομάστοις τόποις ἀγαθὸν θεὸν καὶ αὐτῷ προσκεκολλῆσθαι· πεμφθέντα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ πρὸς ἀντιδικίαν τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς ἐλθόντα τὸν Χριστὸν καταλῦσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ὁ κατὰ φύσιν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐνομοθέτει, ἤτοι ὁ λαλήσας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἤτοι ὁ τῆς κακίας θεὸς ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἀρχῇ ταττόμενος.* — —

In der Schrift De mens. et pond. 17 berichtet Epiph., Theodotion, der Bibelübersetzer, sei vor seinem Abfall zum Judentum Marcionit gewesen (s. Chron. pasch. I p. 491).

Aus der Schrift Ancorat. 111 können indirekt zwei Marcionitische Antithesen ermittelt werden. Das Buch braucht Epiph. deshalb nicht eingesehen zu haben: (1) *Τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ἐργασαμένοις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀμισθὶ οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει; οὐκ ἄδικος τοίνυν ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σκύλων ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς οἰκείους. τοῦ οὖν δικαιοτάτου μισθοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιμελομένου, ποία τις ἔτι ὑπολείπεται μάταιος ἀντιλογία τοῖς βουλομένοις κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου θεοῦ καταφέρειν ψόγον;* (2) *Ἑτέρα δέ τις παρ' αὐτῶν μάταιος καταγγέλλεται ἀντιλογία ὁμοία τῇ πρώτῃ, ὅτι καλὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου ὃς ἐπλεονέκτησε τοὺς Χαναναίους, ἵνα δῷ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὸν αὐτῶν τόπον, ‚οἰκίας ἃς οὐκ ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ ἐλαιῶνας καὶ συκῶνας καὶ ἀμπελῶνας οὓς οὐκ ἐφύτευσαν'.*

Im folgenden gebe ich nur noch eine Auswahl aus der griechischen Überlieferung, alles Unwesentliche beiseite lassend. Die Kirchenhistoriker (Sokrates und Sozomenus, auch Philostorgius) schweigen vollständig; auch die späteren Alexandriner bringen keine Kunde mehr. Die kaiserliche Gesetzgebung gegen die Marcioniten (seit Gratian und Theodosius wird sie ernsthaft) verzeichne ich hier nicht, da sie durch keine Spezialgesetzgebung betroffen wurden, sondern mit den anderen Häresien zusammen. Doch trafen sie die besonderen Gesetze, die den Häretikern verboten, ihre Gemeinschaften „Kirchen" zu nennen (Theodos.

Cod. XVI, 1, 2 v. J. 381 — aber in XVI, 5, 52 v. J. 412 sprechen die Kaiser selbst noch von „ecclesiae" der Häretiker) und ihre Vorsteher Bischöfe, Presbyter oder Diakonen, mehr als die meisten andern alten Sekten (Theodos. Cod. XVI, 5, 5: „Omnes perversae istius superstitionis magistri pariter et ministri seu illi sacerdotali assumptione episcoporum nomen infamant, seu, quod proximum est, presbyterorum vocabulo religionem mentiuntur, seu etiam se diaconos, cum nec Christiani quidem habeantur, appellant, hi conciliabulis damnatae dudum opinionis abstineant;" XVI, 5, 14 ann. 388; XVI, 5, 22 ann. 394; XVI, 5, 26 ann. 395). Auch das Bücherverbot (XVI, 5, 34 ann. 398; XVI, 5, 66; Cod. Justin. I, 1, 3 ann. 448) stellte ihre Existenz in Frage; denn wie konnten sie ohne ihre Bibel bestehen? Endlich auch die Erlasse gegen die Wiederholung der Taufe (Theodos. Cod. XVI, 6, 1—7), wenn auch zunächst nicht gegen sie gemünzt, sondern gegen den Donatismus, mußten ihnen empfindlich werden.

Chrysostomus hat in seinen Werken an mehr als fünfzig Stellen den „Pontiker" Marcion polemisch berücksichtigt (sehr häufig als Glied in der Trias „Marcion, Valentin, Manes"), und an etwa einem Dutzend Stellen gegen die Marcionitische Exegese polemisiert. Man erkennt deutlich, daß die Marcionitische Kirche zu seiner Zeit auch im griechischen Syrien noch große Bedeutung hatte und daß Chrysostomus sie ausgezeichnet gut kennt. Die meisten Stellen können hier aber unberücksichtigt bleiben, da sie die bekannten Hauptirrlehren M.s ablehnen. Hervorgehoben sei folgendes:

Ep. 221 (an den Presb. Konstantin) . . . . . *Σαλαμῖνος ἕνεκεν, χωρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον κειμένου, τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Μαρκιωνιστῶν πολιορκουμένου.* Hom. 2, 3 in Gen. c. 1 (T. IV Monf.): M. lehrt die Präexistenz der Materie. Comm. in Isai. c. 7, 6 (T. VI): M. beruft sich auf „Emmanuel" (s. Tert.). Hom. 26 (27), 6 in Matth. (T. VII): Die Marcioniten schmähen David als Mörder und Ehebrecher. Hom. 38 (39), 2 in Matth. (T. VII) zu c. 11, 27 (Luk. 10, 22): *Οὐ περὶ ἀγνώστου τινὸς θεοῦ καὶ μηδενὶ γενομένου γνωρίμου ταῦτα ἔφασκεν ὥς φησιν ὁ Μαρκίων.* Hom. 42 (41), 2 in Joh. (T. VIII): M. behauptet, daß *ἡ κτίσις ἀλλοτρία τῆς σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν.* Zu I Kor. 15, 29 (T. X): *Ἐπειδάν τις κατηχούμενος ἀπέλθῃ παρὰ τοῖς Μαρκιωνισταῖς, τὸν ζῶντα ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην τοῦ τετελευτηκότος κρύψαντες προσίασι τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ διαλέγον-*

ται καὶ πυνθάνονται, εἰ βούλοιτο λαβεῖν τὸ βάπτισμα· εἶτα ἐκείνου μηδὲν ἀποκρινομένου ὁ κεκρυμμένος κάτωθεν ἀντ' ἐκείνου φησίν, ὅτι δὴ βούλοιτο βαπτισθῆναι· καὶ οὕτω βαπτίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος (ausgeschrieben von Theophylakt). Hom. 21, 4 in II Kor. (T. X): *Κέχρηται μὲν γὰρ τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Μαρκίων καὶ Μανιχαῖος, ἀλλὰ κατατέμνοντες· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτως ἐλέγχονται ἀπὸ τῶν μελῶν.* Zu Gal. 1, 6 f. (T. X): M. sagt: *'Ιδοὺ καὶ Παῦλος εἶπεν· ‚Οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον'. Οὐδὲ γὰρ παραδέχονται τοὺς εὐαγγελιστὰς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ ἕνα μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν περικόψαντες καὶ συγχέαντες, ὡς ἐβούλοντο.* Hom. 123, 6 in Ephes. (T. XI): *Μαρκίων ὅρα τί φησίν· ‚Οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὁ θεὸς σάρκα ἀναλαβὼν μεῖναι καθαρός'.* Zu Philipp. 2, 7 (T. XI): *'Ενταῦθα ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ ῥητοῦ οἱ Μαρκίωνος, 'Ιδού, φασίν, ‚οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος'.*

In einer Marginalnote bei Nicephorus, Antirrhetica adv. Euseb. (bei Pitra, Spic. Solesm. I p. 406) heißt es: *'Εκ τῆς τ. ἁγ. 'Επιφανίου κ. τ. Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς περὶ Φιλιππ. ἑρμηνείας.* Die Worte selbst lauten: *Τί δὲ τῶν μιαρῶν τοῦ θεηλάτου Μαρκίωνος βλασφημῶν ἀπέοικε, δι' ὧν τὸν δυσώδη τῆς φαντασίας βόρβορον ἐκ τῆς ἐξαγίστου καρδίας ἀπερεύγεται; ὡς ἐκ πλειόνων ὀλίγα παραθέσθαι· Μαρκίωνος· φάσκει γὰρ αὐτός· Δοκήσει τὸν Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ταφῆναι, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν.* Das Zitat ist hier genauer wiedergegeben. Die Stichworte *δοκήσει* und *οὐκ ἀληθῶς* sind wichtig, da sich Apelles in seinem Glaubensbekenntnis, daß z. T. gegen seinen Lehrer gemünzt war, gegen sie gerichtet hat (s. unter Apelles). Zu Philem. (T. XI, hom. 3, 2): Chrysostom. erzählt, er habe einen Marcioniten gefragt, ob nicht Matth. 5, 45 ein Zeichen der Gutheit Gottes sei, dieser habe geantwortet: *Εἰ μὴ τὸν λόγον ἀπήτει τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀγαθότητος ἦν· εἰ δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ, οὐκ ἀγαθότητος.* Zu II Tim. 1, 18 (T. XI, hom. 3, 1): Die Marcioniten folgern aus den Worten: *δώῃ ὁ κύριος παρὰ κυρίου,* daß es zwei Herren gebe. Vgl. auch, was Theodoret über Chrysostomus als Bestreiter M.s berichtet; es geht aus der Stelle deutlich hervor, daß der große Bischof bei der Unterdrückung der Marcioniten im Bunde mit der Staatsgewalt arbeitete. Vgl. auch Photius (Biblioth. 96; p. 80a Bekker), der (aus den Mitteilungen des Georgius über Chrysostomus exzerpiert) erzählt, dieser habe eine Marcionitische Frau in Antiochien bekehrt und andere Marcioniten: *Γυνή τις τῶν Μαρκιωνιστῶν (ἀρχὰς δέ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ*

ταύτης ἐχείρισεν ἀνὴρ) δυσεντερικῇ περιπεσοῦσα νόσῳ ἀπέγνωστο, τυχοῦσα δὲ τῆς ἰάσεως αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ πρὸς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐπέστρεψε (also hatte dieser Marcionit eine Frau und bekleidete eine hohe Stelle in der Stadt) *καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Μαρκιωνιστῶν.* Dazu p. 80[b]: *Χρυσόστομος τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν φυομένην ἐξέτεμε.*

Isidor von Pelusium, ep. I, 371 (Migne T. 78 col. 393) schreibt: *Πανσοφίῳ· Εἰ προΐσχεται ὁ τῆς Μαρκίωνος συνήγορος βλασφημίας τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὀνομαζόμενον εὐαγγέλιον, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι καὶ εὑρήσεις εὐθὺς ἐν προοιμίοις τὴν ἀτοπίαν· αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν κατάγουσαν ἐπὶ Χριστὸν ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ γενεαλογίαν ἀπέτεμνον, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον προϊὼν ἄλλην ὄψει κακόνοιαν· ἀμείψαντες γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὴν ‚Οὐκ ἦλθον' λέγοντος ‚καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας' ἐποίησαν· ‚Δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας; ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πληρῶσαι'. ἐκ τούτων δὲ εἴση, ὅπως ἔχθραν ταῖς δυσὶ διαθήκαις κατασκευάζουσι, ξένον εἶναι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Χριστὸν σχεδιάσαντες.*

Isidor hat also das Marcionitische Evangelium noch in Händen gehabt — das zeigt diese kostbare Nachricht, die uns sogar darüber aufklärt, wo im Marcion-Ev. der gefälschte Spruch gestanden hat — und setzt voraus, daß es leicht zugänglich sei, aber es war bereits korrigiert (s. o. S. 252*).

Theodor v. Mopsveste, zu I Tim. 4, 1 ff. (Swete II p. 139 f.): „Nam et Manichaeos et Marcionistas et eos qui de Valentiniana sunt haeresi et omnes qui eiusmodi sunt, similiter quis perspiciet et nuptias damnare et escarum usum quasi inhonestum criminare, et quod adnitantur ostendere carnem a domino non fuisse susceptam.". In dem 12. Anathema des 5. Konzils, welches gegen Theodor geschleudert ist, wird ihm u. a. folgendes aufgerückt: „..... *τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ δῆθεν ἑρμηνείᾳ, συγκρίνων ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος τὸν Χριστὸν Πλάτωνι καὶ Μανιχαίῳ καὶ Ἐπικούρῳ καὶ Μαρκίωνι, λέγει ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκείνων ἕκαστος εὑράμενος οἰκεῖον δόγμα τοὺς αὐτῷ μαθητεύσαντας πεποίηκε καλεῖσθαι Πλατωνικοὺς καὶ Μανιχαίους καὶ Ἐπικουρείους καὶ Μαρκιωνιστάς, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὑραμένου δόγμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ Χριστιανοὺς καλεῖσθαι.* Diese Zusammenstellung macht dem geschichtlichen Scharfblick des aufgeklärten Bischofs alle Ehre; man versteht es aber, daß das Konzil in ihr eine fürchterliche Blasphemie erkannte.

Theodoret von Cyrus, der letzte bedeutende

griechische Kämpfer gegen M. und Berichterstatter über die Sekte, hat nach seinem eigenen Zeugnis zahllose Marcioniten in seiner Diözese, unterstützt durch die Staatsgewalt, bekehrt; er rühmt sich u. a. acht Marcionitische Dörfer für die Kirche gewonnen zu haben — der Prozeß (s. o. S. 342*), daß sich die Sekten in die abgelegeneren Teile des Landes zurückzogen und dort eigene Ansiedelungen bildeten, hat sich fortgesetzt; aber die Kirche räumte nun mit diesen „pagani" auf. Da Theodorets Bericht über M.s Lehre in seinem großen ketzerbestreitenden Werk, wenn er auch nur zum kleinsten Teil original ist, einen gewissen Wert besitzt (nach Th. hat M. vier Prinzipien gelehrt, indem er von dem schlimmen [πονηρός] Demiurgen den schlechten [κακός] Gott, der mit der schlechten Materie zusammenwirkt, unterschieden hat [vgl. Hippol., Refut. X, 19]; Schlangenkult bei Marcioniten), so soll er hier nach den Zeugnissen über die Bekehrungen folgen.:

Ep. 81: *Μανιχαίοις καὶ Μαρκιωνισταῖς . . . Κώμας ὄκτω τῆς Μαρκίωνος ⟨. . . .⟩ καὶ τὰς πέριξ κειμένας, ἀσμένας πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐφοδήγησα, ἄλλην κώμην Εὐνομιανῶν πεπληρωμένην καὶ ἄλλην Ἀρειανῶν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς θεογνωσίας προσήγαγον,* cf. ep. 113: *πλείους μὲν ἢ χιλίας ψυχὰς ἠλευθέρωσα τῆς Μαρκίωνος νόσου, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου συμμορίας προσήγαγον τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ.* Ep. 145: *Πλείους ἢ μυρίους διὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος πείσας προσήγαγον τῷ βαπτίσματι* (Marcioniten); sie wurden also wiedergetauft.

Haer. fab. I, 24 (Cerdo u. Marcion): *Μαρκίων καὶ Κέρδων, ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος . . . ὁ Κέρδων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρώτου . . .* Nach Irenäus wird seine Zwei-Prinzipienlehre dargelegt und durch zwei seiner (d. h. M.s) Antithesen erläutert („Auge um Auge" > „die andere Backe darreichen und auch den Mantel lassen"; „den Feind hassen" > „den Feind lieben") . . . *Ὁ δὲ Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς . . . . ηὔξησε τὴν ἀσέβειαν. τέτταρας γὰρ ἀγεννήτου οὐσίας τῷ λόγῳ διέπλασε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ἀγαθόν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον, ὃν καὶ πατέρα προσηγόρευσε τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν δὲ δημιουργόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν καὶ πονηρὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ὕλην, κακήν τε οὖσαν καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλῳ κακῷ τελοῦσαν. τὸν δὲ δημιουργὸν περιγενόμενον τοῦ κακοῦ, τὴν ὕλην λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης δημιουργῆσαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ τέτταρα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑποστάθμης τὸν ᾅδην καὶ τὸν τάρταρον.* Folgt die Schöpfung des Paradieses und Adams, dem der Demiurg

ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐσίας die Seele gab und damit im Menschen zwischen dem Leib und der Seele den Kampf heraufbeschwor. *οὗτοι καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἀγαθώτερον εἶναι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ λέγειν τολμῶσιν,* weil dieser vom Baum der Erkenntnis zu essen verbot, jener dazu ermahnte: *αὐτίκα τοίνυν τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν ὄφιν· καὶ εὗρον ἐγώγε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄφιν χαλκοῦν ἔν τινι κιβωτίῳ μετὰ τῶν μυσαρῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκείμενον μυστηρίων. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν βλασφημοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας καὶ τοὺς προφήτας παρανόμους ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἵνα τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀποδείξωσι πονηρῶν ἐραστήν. οὗτος ἐκ μὲν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἐδέξατο μόνον, καὶ τὴν γενεαλογίαν περικόψας ⟨καὶ?⟩ τὰ πλεῖστα, τὸν δὲ νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν πᾶσαν ἐκβέβληκεν ὡς ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίου δεδομένην θεοῦ. κατεληλυθέναι δὲ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λέγει, ἵνα τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δουλείας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας ἐλευθερώσῃ,* er sei als Mensch erschienen, habe aber nichts Menschliches gehabt, und auch sein Leiden sei nur scheinbar gewesen. Die Auferstehung der Leiber lehnt er ab. Es folgt sodann (nach Iren.) die Angabe, daß Christus in den Hades hinabgestiegen und Kain usw. die Freiheit gebracht, Abel aber und die anderen Gerechten und Propheten dort gelassen habe, weil jene ihm entgegengekommen seien, diese nicht .... *Τὰς μείζονας βλασφημίας σιγῇ παραδέδωκα. οἶδα δὲ τούτων ἕνα τινὰ πρεσβύτην ἐννενηκονταέτην, ὃς ἕωθεν ἀνιστάμενος τῷ τοῦ πτύσματος περιττώματι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπένιπτε πρόσωπον, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτηθεὶς ἔφησεν ὡς οὐ βούλεται δεηθῆναι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων λαβεῖν. τῶν δὲ παρόντων εἰρηκότων, πῶς οὖν ἐσθίεις καὶ πίνεις καὶ περιβάλλῃ καὶ καθεύδεις καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπιτελεῖς μυστήρια; ὑπολαβὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶπε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, διὰ τὸ ἑτέρως μήτε ζῆν δύνασθαι, μήτε τελεῖν τὰ μυστήρια .... Οὗτος πάλιν ὁ σύλλογος εἰς πολλὰ τμήματα διῃρέθη* (Haer. fab. I, 25): *Ἀπελλῆς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Μαρκίωνος ἀγεννήτοις καὶ ἕτερον προστέθεικε Πύρινον. οὗτος καὶ* (das Folgende hauptsächlich nach Rhodon-Eusebius) *ἕτερον βιβλίον συνθεὶς' ,Φιλουμένης προφητείαν' ὠνόμασε, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ δὲ περιτέθεικε σῶμα οὐκ ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου οὐσίας. Πότιτος δὲ καὶ Βλάστος* (Verwechslung mit Basilikus) *καὶ Σύνερος καὶ Πρέπων* (nach Hippol., Refut.) *καὶ Πίθων* (sonst unbekannt) *διαφόρων διδασκαλιῶν προέστησαν. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τῆς Μαρκίωνος ἐσχήκασιν βλασφημίας. πλεῖστοι μέντοι κατὰ τῆςδε τῆς ἀσεβείας συνέγραψαν.* Es folgen (nach Euseb. KG.) Justin, Theophilus Ant., Philippus Gorth., Irenäus, Modestus, Origenes [eingeschoben], Rhodon, Adaman-

tius [eingeschoben], Hippolyt und Eusebius von Emesa [hinzugesetzt; daß er gegen M. geschrieben hat, wird nur hier berichtet].

Hist. eccl. V, 31: *Ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τὴν Μαρκίωνος νόσον κώμαις τισὶν ἐπισκῆψαι μαθών, ἐπέστειλε* (scil. Chrysostomus) *τῷ τηνικαῦτα ποιμαίνοντι καὶ προτρέπων ἐξελάσαι τὴν νόσον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων ἐπικουρίαν ὀρέγων.*

Esnik von Kolb schrieb nicht lange vor dem Chalcedonense sein Werk in vier Büchern „Wider die Sekten" armenisch (s. I. M. Schmid, Des Wardapet Esnik v. Kolb „Wider die Sekten", aus dem Armen. übersetzt usw., Wien, 1900). Das vierte Buch handelt ausschließlich von den Marcioniten[1]. Esnik stellt einen Marcionitischen Abriß der Hauptlehren voran, und das ganze Buch ist eine Widerlegung der einzelnen Abschnitte dieses Abrisses. Ob er ihm direkt oder in einer Streitschrift zugekommen ist, läßt sich nicht sicher entscheiden. Letzteres aber ist wahrscheinlicher, weil er in seinen Widerlegungen augenscheinlich die alten Argumente gegen M. ziemlich vollständig (und sehr verständig) wiedergibt, aber eigene literarische Kenntnisse in bezug auf die Sekte nicht verrät. Augenscheinlich weiß er von der Bibel M.s nur das Allgemeinste, ohne sie selbst in Händen gehabt zu haben, und nicht einmal den Titel der „Antithesen" kennt er. Er hält darum auch dem M. bunt durcheinander Schriftstellen vor, die M. nach seiner Bibel anerkennen und die er ablehnen würde. Doch finden sich auch noch in den Widerlegungen wichtige Marcionitische Stücke, die aber wahrscheinlich aus zweiter Hand übernommen sind[2]. Immerhin ist die ganze

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1 Lehrreich ist, daß Esnik nur vier Feinde behandelt: (1) Wider die Sekte der Heiden, (2) Wider die Religion der Perser, (3) Wider die Religion der griechischen Weisen, (4) Wider die Sekte des Marcion. Daraus ergibt sich sofort ein Bild von dem damaligen religiösen Zustand in Armenien und von der Bedeutung der Kirche M.s dort.

2 S. 190 (bei Schmid, s. auch S. 92*) hat ihm seine Quelle 1 Kor. 15, 24 f. wirklich in einer Marcionitischen Fassung überliefert („bis daß alle seine Feinde unter seine Füße gestellt sind" statt „bis daß er .... gestellt habe"). Daß spätere Marcioniten so gelesen haben (Tert. bringt zu d. St. den gewöhnlichen Text), ist deshalb wahrscheinlich, weil die Fassung der Marcionitischen Lehre entspricht und M. selbst Luk. 12, 46 für *(τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων) θήσει* geschrieben hat *τεθήσεται*

Kompilation keineswegs wertlos, sondern enthält sogar an Hauptpunkten in dem „Abriß" Neues und Grundlegendes. Ist dieser auch höchst wahrscheinlich nicht von Marcion selbst — dagegen spricht schon die runde Dreiprinzipienlehre [1] und ein Widerspruch in der Erlösungslehre —, so steht er doch gewiß der ältesten Überlieferung nahe. Manichäisches und Fremdes ist nirgends eingemischt, obschon Mani ein paarmal genannt wird. Der kurze Schlußabschnitt für die Person und die Anfänge M.s stammt aus Epiphanius. Aus dem Leben und persönlich muß Esnik selbst die Marcioniten kennen gelernt haben; denn einiges gegen Schluß der Ausführungen stammt augenscheinlich aus persönlicher Kunde, bzw. aus Rede und Gegenrede zwischen den Katholiken und Marcioniten. Sie müssen auch für die armenische Kirche eine große Gefahr bedeutet haben; denn sonst hätte sich Esnik nicht so eingehend mit ihnen beschäftigt und ihnen einen so großen Abschnitt seines Werkes gewidmet. Als Probe der Gründlichkeit seiner Widerlegung der Marcioniten mag der Abschnitt dienen, in welchem er ihnen nachweist, daß es verkehrt sei, das Fleischessen zu verbieten, aber Fische zu erlauben. Die Marcioniten beriefen sich darauf, daß der Herr nach seiner Auferstehung Fische gegessen habe; er erwidert, so mögen sie selbst mit dem Fischessen bis zu ihrer Auferstehung warten; ferner, Fisch sei Fleisch, denn er habe Fett und Knochen und es gebe Fische, die mehr Fleisch am Rücken haben als ein Schwein und mehr Blut als ein Schaf; weiter, Fische seien, auf die Nahrung gesehen, minder wählerisch als Bestien, ferner sie verzehren ihresgleichen, also seien sie wilde Tiere schlimmster Sorte und die unreinsten Tiere; endlich, nicht werden Gott Opfer und Brandopfer von Fischen dargebracht.

Im folgenden gebe ich die Übersetzung größtenteils nach Schmid. Den am Anfang stehenden „Abriß" aber habe ich schon i. J. 1876 i. d. Ztschr. f. wissensch. Theol. Bd. XIX, 1876 S. 84 ff. mitgeteilt nach einer von Hübschmann auf meine Bitte revidierten Übersetzung Neumanns (Ztschr. f. d. histor. Theol. 1834), der ich auch hier folge. Eine französische Über-

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1 M. E. kann die formelle Gleichstellung des fremden Gottes, des guten Gottes und der (personifizierten) Materie nicht von M. selbst herrühren, so gewiß er neben den zwei Göttern drei ἀρχαί lehrte.

setzung samt dem Text gab Ermoni („Marcion dans la littér. Armenienne" i. d. Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien I, 4, 1896, p. 461 ff.). Was der Verf. hinzugefügt hat, ist ohne besonderen Wert, und der Versuch, M. selbst das ganze System beizulegen, welches als Marcionitisches hier dargelegt wird, ist nicht hinreichend begründet.

4. Buch „Wider die Sekten" S. 172 ff.[1]: Marcion führt irgendeine Fremdheit [2] ein gegenüber dem Gott der Gesetze, neben ihm auch die Materie aufstellend als aus sich seiend und drei Himmel. Im ersten, sagt er, ist wohnhaft der Fremde und im zweiten der Gott der Gesetze und im dritten seine Heerscharen und auf der Erde die Materie, und diese nennen sie die Kraft der Erde."

„Und so erzählt er in bezug auf die Welt und die Geschöpfe, wie es die Gesetze sagen. Aber er fügt noch hinzu, daß er alles, was er erschaffen hat, in Gemeinschaft mit der Materie erschaffen hat, und als ob die Materie ein Femininum und ein Eheweib wäre. Und nach der Erschaffung der Welt stieg er selbst mit seinen Heerscharen in den Himmel, und die Materie und ihre Söhne blieben auf der Erde, und sie nahmen ein jegliches ihre Herrschaft ein, die Materie auf der Erde und der Gott der Gesetze im Himmel."

„Und als der Gott des Gesetzes sah, daß die Welt schön sei, dachte er auf ihr einen Menschen zu machen. Und er stieg zur Materie auf die Erde herab und sagte: „Gib mir von deiner Erde, und ich gebe dir von mir Geist, und laßt uns einen Menschen machen nach unsrem Gleichnisse." Nachdem ihm die Materie von ihrer Erde gegeben hatte, schuf er ihn und hauchte Geist in ihn, und Adam wurde zu einem lebendigen Hauche, und deshalb wurde er Adam genannt, weil er von Erde gemacht war. Und nachdem er ihn und seine Gemahlin erschaffen und sie in das Paradies gesetzt hatte, wie auch die Gesetze sagen, kamen sie (nämlich der Creator und die Materie) immer, gaben ihm Befehle und freuten sich an ihm wie über einen gemeinsamen Sohn."

„Und als, sagt er, der Gott der Gesetze, welcher der Herr der Welt war, sah, daß Adam edel und würdig zum Dienst sei,

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1 Dieser Bericht ist eines genauen Kommentars würdig — u. a. auch zu dem Zweck, festzustellen, was in ihm ursprünglich Marcionitisch ist. Aber ich möchte dieses Werk nicht noch mehr anschwellen lassen.

2 Das armenische Wort drückt ὁ ἄλλος und ὁ ξένος aus.

so sann er darüber nach, wie er ihn der Materie stehlen und auf seiner Seite mit sich verbinden könnte. Er nahm ihn auf die eine Seite und sagte: „Adam, ich bin Gott, und es gibt keinen anderen, und außer mir soll dir kein Gott sein; aber wenn du andere Götter außer mir hast, so wisse, daß du des Todes sterben wirst.“ Und wie er dieses zu ihm gesagt und ihm den Namen des Todes erwähnt hatte, ward Adam von Furcht ergriffen und begann sich allmählich von der Materie zu trennen.“

„Als nun die Materie kam, ihm zu befehlen wie gewöhnlich, sah sie, daß Adam nicht auf sie hörte, sondern mißachtend sie zurückwies und ihr sich nicht näherte. Da stutzte die Materie und erkannte, daß der Herr der Geschöpfe sie hintergangen habe. Sie sagte: ‚Vom Ursprung der Quelle her ist ihr Wasser getrübt; was ist dies? Noch ist Adam nicht vermehrt durch Geburten, und er hat ihn mir gestohlen durch den Namen seiner Gottheit. Weil er mich gehaßt und mit mir den Vertrag nicht gehalten hat, so werde ich viele Götter machen und werde mit ihnen die Welt vollends ausfüllen, damit er suche, wer Gott sei, (während) dieser aber nicht zu finden sein wird.‘ “

„Und sie erschuf, sagen sie, viele Götzen und nannte sie Götter und füllte mit ihnen die Welt. Und es ging unter der Name Gottes, des Herrn der Geschöpfe, unter den Namen vieler Götter und war nirgends mehr zu finden. Und durch sie geriet sein Stamm auf Irrwege und betete ihn nicht an; denn die Materie zog alle zu sich hin und ließ keinen einzigen von ihnen ihn anbeten. Da, sagt man, erzürnte der Herr der Geschöpfe, daß sie ihn verließen und der Materie gehorchten, und er warf sie einen nach dem anderen, welche aus ihren Leibern herausgingen, aus Zorn in die Hölle, und den Adam warf er in die Hölle wegen des Baums, und so warf er allmählich alle in die Hölle bis auf 29 Jahrhunderte.“ [1]

„Und als der gute und fremde Gott, sagen sie, der im dritten Himmel wohnt, sah, daß so viele Geschlechter zugrunde gingen und gequält wurden zwischen zwei Arglistigen, dem Herrn der Geschöpfe und der Materie, da empfand er Mitleid mit den ins Feuer Geworfenen und Gepeinigten. Er sandte seinen Sohn, daß er ginge und jene errette, und die Ähnlichkeit des Knechtes

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1 S. dazu S. 23*.

annehmend in Menschengestalt unter den Söhnen des Gottes der Gesetze wäre. ‚Heile,‘ sagte er, ‚ihre Aussätzigen, belebe ihre Toten, mache sehen ihre Blinden und verrichte große Heilungen unter ihnen umsonst, bis dich der Herr der Geschöpfe erblickt und neidisch wird und uns ans Kreuz schlägt. Und nach deinem Tode wirst du in die Hölle steigen und sie von dort befreien. Denn die Hölle ist nicht gewöhnt, Leben in sich aufzunehmen, und deswegen sollst du ans Kreuz kommen, um einem Toten ähnlich zu werden, damit sich der Mund der Hölle öffne, dich aufzunehmen, und damit du so in sie eingehst und sie leer machst.‘ “

„Und nachdem er ans Kreuz geschlagen, sagen sie, stieg er hinab in die Hölle und entleerte sie, und die Seelen aus ihr befreiend, führte er sie in den dritten Himmel zu seinem Vater. Der Herr der Geschöpfe aber ergrimmte und zerriß in seinem Zorne sein Kleid und den Vorhang seines Tempels; er verdunkelte seine Sonne und kleidete schwarz seine Welt und setzte sich zur Klage trauernd nieder.“

„Da stieg Jesus zum zweiten Male, in der Gestalt seiner Gottheit, zum Herrn der Geschöpfe herab und hielt Gericht mit ihm wegen seines Todes. Und als der Herr der Welt (κοσμοκράτωρ) die Gottheit Jesu erblickte, da erkannte er, daß ein anderer Gott sei außer ihm. Und es sprach zu ihm Jesus: ‚Gericht ist zwischen mir und dir und niemand sei Richter als deine eigenen Gesetze, die du geschrieben.‘ Und nachdem sie die Gesetze vorgelegt, sprach Jesus zu ihm: ‚Hast du nicht geschrieben in diesen deinen Gesetzen, daß, wer töte, sterben soll, wer Blut des Gerechten vergießt, selbst sein Blut vergießen müsse?‘ Und er sprach: ‚Ich habe es geschrieben.‘ Jesus sprach zu ihm: ‚Gib dich also in meine Hände, daß ich (dich) töte und dein Blut vergieße, wie du mich getötet und mein Blut vergossen hast. Denn ich bin mit Recht gerechter als du und habe deinen Geschöpfen große Wohltaten erwiesen.“ Und er begann die Wohltaten aufzuzählen, welche er seinen Geschöpfen erwiesen hatte.“

„Als aber der Herr der Geschöpfe sah, daß er besiegt sei, noch etwas zu sagen wußte, weil er durch seine eigenen Gesetze beschuldigt wurde, noch eine Antwort geben konnte, weil er um seines (Jesu) Todes willen des Todes schuldig geworden, da

bat er flehentlich: ‚Dafür, daß ich gesündigt und dich unwissend getötet habe, weil ich nicht wußte, daß du Gott seiest, sondern dich für einen Menschen hielt; dafür gebe ich dir zur Genugtuung alle jene, welche an dich glauben werden, sie zu führen, wohin du willst.‘ Da verließ ihn Jesus und entrückte und nahm den Paulus und offenbarte ihm den Preis und sandte ihn zu predigen, daß wir um den Preis erkauft seien, und ein jeder, welcher glaubt an Jesus, wurde verkauft von dem Gerechten dem Guten.“

„Dies ist der Anfang der Irrlehre des Marcion außer vielen Nebensachen; auch wissen dieses nicht alle unter ihnen, sondern nur wenige; und sie sagen sich mündlich diese Lehre: der Fremde hat uns durch den Preis von dem Herrn der Geschöpfe erkauft; wie und wodurch er aber erkauft habe, das wissen nicht alle.“

S. 179: „Und wenn sie auch tausendfach auf den Namen des Fremden und seines Sohnes Jesu, welchen sie ‚Guttäter‘ nennen, sich berufen“ . . . .

S. 180: „Aber Paulus,“ sagen sie, „wurde in den dritten Himmel entrückt, und er hörte diese unaussprechlichen Worte, welche wir predigen.“ . . . Der Apostel sagt: „Unaussprechlich sind die Worte, welche ich gehört habe,“ und Marcion sagt: „Ich habe sie gehört“ (II Kor. 12, 2. 4).

S. 180: „So sehr erdreistet sich M. durch den Geist der Teufelei, daß er eine Auslese trifft aus den Aussprüchen des h. Geistes, einen Teil des Evangeliums auszuwählen und anzunehmen und einen anderen Teil als unnütz wegzulassen, so auch in bezug auf die apostolischen Briefe, und das AT gänzlich wegzuleugnen, wie wenn sie von einem Gottlosen gegeben wären und nicht von einem Guten.“

S. 181: „‚Der Gute,‘ wie sie ihn nennen, da er, wie sie sagen, von Natur gut ist und das Böse gar nicht in ihm ist.“ . . . „Ferner, den sie den ‚Gerechten‘ nennen.“ . . .

S. 182: „Warum nennen sie auch als ‚Herrn der Geschöpfe‘ ‚den Gerechten‘ allein?“ . . . „Wenn, wie sie sagen, der Gott der Gesetze allein gerecht war.“ . . .

S. 183: „Als er sah, daß niemand ihn anbete, erzürnte (der gerechte Gott) und machte die Menschen sterblich.“

S. 184: „M. nennt drei Himmel."

S. 187: „Nur nach der Ähnlichkeit wurde (Jesus) Mensch."

S. 188: „Wie also mögen sie sagen, daß (Jesus) durch die Kreuzigung die Menschen erkaufte?" S. 192: „Mit dem Preise des Blutes kaufend."

S. 189: „Jesus hat das Gesetz und die Propheten aufgehoben und sein eigenes Königtum verkündigt."

S. 190: „Ferner das andere Wort des Apostels, welches richtig gesprochen ist, untergraben sie: ‚Wenn er alle Herrschaften und Mächte zerstört haben wird, muß er herrschen, bis daß alle seine Feinde unter seine Füße gestellt sind' (I Kor. 15, 24 f.). Und sie sagen, daß der Herr der Welt sich selbst zerstört und seine Welt in Ewigkeit" (d. h. nicht Jesus braucht sie feindselig zu zerstören, sondern der Weltschöpfer vernichtet sich und seine Herrschaften selbst; nach M. wechselt also in diesen Versen das Subjekt; in v. 24 ist es der Weltschöpfer, in v. 25 Jesus).

S. 192: „Aus Barmherzigkeit hat er (der gute Gott) es getan; sehend die Seelen der den Qualen Unterworfenen, bedrängt in der Hölle, sandte er seinen Sohn, sie zu erlösen."

S. 193: „Aber so sehr entgegengesetzt, sagen sie, sind die Gesetze des Gerechten den Gnaden Jesu; denn dort wird das Glück gegeben den Reichen und das Unglück den Armen, und hier das Glück den Armen und das Unglück den Reichen. Dort sagt er: ‚Töte nicht,' und hier sagt er: ‚Wer seinem Nächsten ungerecht zürnt, der ist schuldig der Hölle.' Dort sagt er: ‚Du sollst nicht ehebrechen,' und hier sagt er: ‚Wer auf ein Weib hinschaut, um es zu begehren, hat dadurch die Ehe gebrochen in seinem Herzen.' Dort sagt er: ‚Du sollst nicht falsch schwören, sondern halte dem Herrn deine Schwüre,' und hier sagt er: ‚Ihr sollt gar nicht schwören'."

S. 195: „Werden sie etwa auch von dem Pascha sagen, daß es ein Fisch war und nicht ein Lamm?" . . . „Aber wenn sie sagen, daß Christus nach seiner Auferstehung Fisch aß und nicht Fleisch (Luk. 24, 12), weswegen auch wir Fisch essen und nicht Fleisch," usw.

S. 197: „Aber sie sagen, daß der Apostel sagt: ‚Besser ist

es, nicht Fleisch zu essen und nicht Wein zu trinken und nicht etwas (zu tun), woran mein Bruder Ärgernis nimmt' (Röm. 14, 21), und wiederum: ‚Ich werde nicht Fleisch essen in Ewigkeit, wodurch mein Bruder geärgert würde' " (I Kor. 8, 13).

S. 198: „Wie ist es zu erklären, daß die Marcioniten sich von dem Fleisch enthalten und vor dem Weine sich nicht in acht nehmen? . . . „ ‚Aber', sagen sie, ‚warum sind denn eure Gottgeweihten enthaltsam vom Fleisch?' "

S. 199: „Auch die Jungfrauen der h. Kirche bewahren nicht deswegen die Jungfräulichkeit, weil sie die von Gott gegebene Ehe für Unreinigkeit erachten, wie Marcion und Mani."

S. 199 f.: „Die Sekte der Marcioniten verwirft die Ehe und das Fleischessen, . . . aber sie lügt dem Gelübde; denn weil sie der Begehrlichkeit nicht widerstehen, unterwerfen sie (die Sünder) wieder einer Buße. . . . Die wahrhaft Gläubigen (die Katholiken) sind nicht wie jene, die da großsprechen, daß ‚wir von der Taufe an verlobt werden zur Enthaltung vom Fleischessen und von der Ehe', und dann das Gelübde lösen und in die Buße eintreten."

S. 200: „Und wenn du fragst, ob Qualen bestehen für den Guten [d. h. ob der gute Gott Qualen verhänge], so sagen sie: sie bestehen nicht; aber wenn vor den Qualen keine Furcht wäre, wozu wäre die Buße? Ist es daher nicht klar, daß sie sich vor den Qualen nicht fürchten und daß sie vor den Sünden nicht zurückscheuen." . . . „Aber wir, sagen sie, sind aus diesem Grunde vor dem Gerechten geflohen, weil er in seinen Gesetzen furchtbare Drohungen androht, nämlich: ‚Das Feuer ist entfacht in meinem Zorne und es wird brennen bis in die unterste Hölle' und ‚Alles dieses wurde aufbewahrt in meinem Schatze', und anderswo: ‚Durch Feuer richtet Gott' ". (Deut. 32, 22—34).

S. 201: „Aber auch an die Auferstehung der Leiber nicht zu glauben, woher haben das Marcion und Mani? . . . Sie sagen: Der Apostel hat gesagt: ‚Der Leib und das Blut erben nicht das Reich Gottes und die Verweslichkeit nicht die Unverweslichkeit', und ferner: ‚Ich verlange herauszugehen aus dem Leibe und mit dem Herrn zu sein' (I Kor. 15, 50; Phil. 1, 23), woraus es klar ist, sagen sie, daß der Leib, weil er von der Materie ist, deshalb nicht würdig gemacht wird der Auferstehung."

S. 202: „Die Worte: ‚Wenn die Toten nicht auferstehen, was sollen diejenigen tun, welche anstatt der Toten getauft worden sind‘ (I Kor. 15, 29) sind nicht so zu verstehen, wie M. faselt, daß man anstatt des gestorbenen Katechumenen seinen lebenden Nächsten taufe, damit es ihm dort angerechnet werde — was auch die Marcioniten wirklich tun.“

S. 204 f.: „Dieser Marcion stammte aus der Provinz Pontus als der Sohn eines Bischofs, und nachdem er eine Jungfrau entehrt hatte, ging er flüchtig wegen seiner Ausstoßung aus der Kirche durch seinen eigenen Vater. Und als er nach Rom ging, um Buße zu verlangen in jener Zeit und sie nicht erlangen konnte, wütete er gegen den Glauben. Und er stellt drei Prinzipien auf und lehrt das des Guten und des Gerechten und das des Bösen, und das NT hält er für fremd dem AT und dem, was darin geredet wurde; er verwirft die Auferstehung des Leibes. Und die Taufe erteilt er nicht nur einmal, sondern dreimal nach dem Sündigen, und anstatt der gestorbenen Katechumenen zwingt er andere, die Taufe zu empfangen. Und so verwegen ist er, daß er den Weibern befiehlt, die Taufe zu spenden, was keine von den anderen Sekten zu tun wagte, weder zweimal oder dreimal die Taufe zu spenden, noch die Weiber für Priester zu halten“ (nach Epiphan., haer. 42, 1 f.) . . . „Er wagte es, Hand an die Aussprüche des h. Geistes anzulegen, einen Teil abzutrennen, als unnütz wegzuwerfen und einen anderen Teil auszuwählen und als nützlich anzunehmen.“ —

Mit dieser sehr respektablen Berichterstattung eines armenischen, aber griechisch erzogenen Theologen schließt die beachtenswerte orientalische Überlieferung über Marcion; denn was später überliefert ist, ist ganz unselbständig und wertlos oder so irrig wie Malalas' Bericht (Chronographie p. 279 f. Dindorf), Marcion habe die manichäische Lehre ausgebreitet. Der Name wird fort und fort noch genannt. Noch im 95. Kanon der Trullanischen Synode (J. 692) sind bei der Bestimmung über die Ketzertaufe die Marcioniten aufgeführt. Über das 12. Anathema des 5. Konzils s. o. S. 369*.

Anhang.

Nur einer kurzen Darlegung bedarf es, um falsche oder unerweisliche Behauptungen in bezug auf das Verhältnis anderer Sekten zum Marcionitismus abzulehnen oder richtig zu stellen.

(1) In haer. 49, wo Epiphanius die von ihm erfundene, besondere montanistische Partei der „Pepuzianer oder Priszillianer" behandelt, bemerkt er schon in der Überschrift: *οἷς συνέπονται Ἀρτοτυρῖται;* im Texte aber sagt er nicht mehr über diese, als daß jene montanistische Partei auch diesen Namen führe, weil sie bei ihren Mysterien Brot und Käse brauche. Filastrius (h. 74) führt die Artotyriten als eigene Sekte zwischen den Borborianern und Askodrogiten auf, sagt aber lediglich dasselbe über sie, nur hinzufügend, sie fänden sich in Galatien. Hieronymus nennt sie (Comm. in Gal., praef. ad. lib. II) unter den vielen Sekten, die die Metropole Galatiens, Ancyra, unsicher machen („Omitto Cataphrygas, Ophitas, Borboritas et Manichaeos .... quis umquam Passaloryncitas et Ascodrogos et Artotyritas et cetera magis portenta quam nomina in aliqua parte Romani orbis audivit?"). Es ist in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich, daß Filastrius, der ein Häretikernamen-Jäger war, seine Angaben aus Epiphanius und Hieronymus genommen hat, da sie restlos in ihnen aufgehen [1]. Soweit kommt also Marcion gar nicht in Betracht; allein der Presbyter Timotheus v. Konstantinopel hat (im 6. Jahrh.) in seinem Werk über die Häretiker (Cotelier, Eccl. Graec. Monum. III p. 378) den Titel: *Μαρκιωνισταὶ ἤγουν Ἀρτοτυρῖται* und bietet unter demselben zuerst eine Darstellung der Marcionitischen Lehre, dann fährt er fort: *Οἱ οὖν Ἀρτοτυρῖται ἐκ τῆς αἱρέσεως τούτου τοῦ Μαρκίωνος κατάγονται, παραμείβουσι δὲ τὴν κλῆσιν προσθήκαις ἐπινοιῶν. γάλακτι γὰρ φυρῶντες ζύμην τοῖς οἰκείοις μύσταις ὀρέγουσιν. οὗτοι νόμον καὶ προφήτας καὶ πατρίαρχας ἀποβάλλονται, δοκήσει [. . .] μᾶλλον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον προσιέμενοι. τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν τῶν σωμάτων γελῶσιν ὡς ἄτοπον· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μαρκίων ὕδωρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσφέρει· ἐξ αὐτοῦ λοιπὸν παρέλαβον καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.* Unstreitig sind diese Artotyriten wesentlich Marcioniten ge-

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1 Damit wäre erwiesen, daß Filastrius nach d. J. 388 geschrieben hat (Zeit des Kommentars des Hieronymus); man setzt jetzt sein Werk 383 bis 391 (Zahn, Bardenhewer).

worden; aber man darf wohl vermuten, daß dies eine singuläre Fusion (wo?) gewesen ist, wie solche in jener Zeit öfters hier und dort bei asketischen Sekten vorgekommen sein mögen.

(2) Die Messalianer[1], die sich im Orient dort finden, wo auch die Marcioniten noch in späterer Zeit zahlreich waren (Syrien, Armenien), haben in der Lehre nichts mit ihnen zu tun[2]; nur in ihrer strengen Askese treffen sie mit ihnen zusammen und unglücklicherweise durch den Umstand, daß im 6. Jahrh. unter Justinian und Justin II. ein Mann namens Marcian unter ihnen eine große Rolle spielte. Seine Anhänger wurden nach ihm genannt, und so entstanden Verwechslungen mit den Marcioniten bis in die Neuzeit (s. z. B. Baxmann, Politik der Päpste I S. 74 f. 79 zu Jaffé, Regesta, 1851, Nr. 1024. 1025. 1078, der die des Marcianitismus in Konstantinopel i. J. 595 beschuldigten Presbyter für Marcioniten hält), zumal da auch die Marcioniten „Marcianiten" genannt werden konnten und genannt worden sind (s. o. S. 9*)[3]. Daß in dem häretisch-asketischen Brei des 6. Jahrh. und der folgenden wirklich hier und dort einmal Messalianer und Marcioniten ineinander geflossen sind — doch darf man nicht vergessen, daß es damals zum guten Ton gehörte, jeder Sekte möglichst viele alte Ketzernamen anzuhängen —, ist immerhin möglich.

(3) Die Paulicianer[4], die im 7. Jahrhundert auftauchen, spotten noch immer des Versuches, sie auf eine einheitliche Wurzel zurückzuführen; ja selbst der Ursprung des Namens ist noch dunkel; denn die Ableitung von dem berühmten Paul von

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1 S. Tillemont, den Artikel von Bonwetsch PRE³ Bd. 12 und Holl, Amphilochius, 1904, S. 30 ff.

2 Durch die ihnen nachgesagte Bereitschaft, ihre Lehren gegebenenfalls zu verleugnen, unterscheiden sie sich sehr bestimmt von den Marcioniten.

3 Wo daher in den Handschriften der Name „Marcianiten" neben Messalianern, Euchiten, Phundaiten, Adelphianern, Lampetianern und anderen obskuren Namen steht, ist nicht an die Anhänger Marcions zu denken, s. z. B. den 77. Cod. Graec. der Wiener Bibl. (Lambecius, l. III p. 152 sq., fol. 250 b nr. 82).

4 S. den Artikel v. Bonwetsch PRE³ Bd. 15; dort auch die Literatur; Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, Die Paulicianer im byz. Kaiserreich u. verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien, 1893, bes. S. 97. 104 ff. 148. Zahn, Kanonsgesch. II S. 438 ff.

Samosata hätte ihren alten Bestreitern nie nachgesprochen werden dürfen, auch ob ein häretischer Armenier namens Paulus der Heros Eponymos gewesen ist, ist zweifelhaft [1]. Gieseler, Neander, bedingter Döllinger und in neuester Zeit Karapet sehen in dem Marcionitismus die Wurzel der Sekte, der letztere für die ostkleinasiatischen Paulicianer. Seit Jahrzehnten immer wieder auf diese Frage geführt, vermag ich eine befriedigende Aufklärung nicht zu bringen. Vielen Zügen, welche die Paulicianer, und gerade die älteren, den Marcioniten verwandt erscheinen lassen, stehen andere und kräftige gegenüber, die sie von ihnen trennen. So wird man vorsichtigerweise nur behaupten dürfen, daß der ostkleinasiatische Marcionitismus eine sehr wichtige Voraussetzung des Paulicianertums gewesen ist, dessen Voraussetzungen so mannigfaltig waren wie seine Lehren und Gebräuche disparat. Die Unterscheidung eines höheren himmlischen Gottes vom Weltschöpfer wird auf Marcion zurückgehen, ferner die Verwerfung des AT, die exklusive Hochschätzung des Paulus (Verwerfung des Petrus) und die exklusive Schätzung des Evangeliums und Apostolus gegenüber allen anderen Schriften; und noch in ihrem NT, das aus den vier Evangelien und 15 Paulusbriefen (Hebr., Laod.) bestand, tritt der Marcionitische Charakter durch die überlieferte Bevorzugung des Lukas und die Ablehnung von Acta und Cath. hervor (aber den Marcionitischen Text haben sie nicht übernommen). Sie mußten als halbschlächtige Marcioniten erscheinen; aber eben dies konnte ihrer Propaganda nützlich sein [2]. Ein bedeutender Teil der morgenländischen Marcioniten mag vom 8. Jahrhundert an in dieser neuen großen Welle des orientalischen dualistisch-asketischen und scharf antiromäischen Christentums untergegangen sein [3].

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1 Am nächsten liegt es, daß sie sich nach dem Apostel Paulus genannt haben oder von anderen genannt worden sind. Überliefert ist als ihre Selbstbezeichnung „Katholische Kirche". Ob die seltsame Form „Paulicianer" aus Armenien gekommen und von den Griechen übernommen ist? („der kleine", d. h. der liebe Paul?).

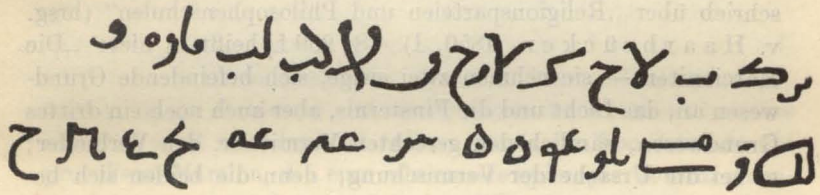
2 Mit dem Manichäismus haben die Paulicianer nichts zu tun und sich jede Zusammenstellung mit ihm verbeten.

3 Sofern die Paulicianer auf die Bogomilen eingewirkt haben, besaßen auch diese ein Marcionitisches Element.

Eine nicht unwichtige, wenn auch späte Quelle fließt noch für die Marcioniten bei den arabischen Berichterstattern. Voransteht Abulfaradsch Muhammed ben Ishak an-Nadim (auch Ibn Abi Jakub der Papierhändler al-Warrak genannt), aus Bagdad oder dort lebend, der i. J. 987/88 den Fihrist al-ulum schrieb (= das Verzeichnis der Wissenschaften), aus welchem Flügel die Nachrichten über Mani und Marcion veröffentlicht hat („Mani", 1862). Die Quellen dieser Nachrichten sind unbekannt. Die wertvolle genaue Mitteilung über die Zeit M.s (S. 85) ist bereits oben S. 29* benutzt worden. Über die Sekte heißt es (S. 160):

„Die Marcioniten — das sind die Anhänger des M., die vor den (Bar)desaniten auftraten und eine Gemeinde bildeten, die den Christen näher steht als die Manichäer und Bardesaniten. Sie behaupten, daß die beiden ewigen Prinzipien das Licht und die Finsternis seien und daß es ein drittes Wesen gebe, welches sich ihnen beigemischt habe. Sie behaupten ferner, daß Gott der Erhabene rein sei von aller Art Bösem und (nichts zu tun habe) mit der Erschaffung aller Dinge insgesamt, die von schädlichen Bestandteilen nicht frei ist, während er darüber erhaben ist. Sie sind aber verschiedener Meinung darüber, was das dritte Wesen sei. Einige sprechen sich dahin aus, daß es das Leben d. i. Isa (Jesus) sei, andere behaupten, daß Isa der Gesandte dieses dritten Wesens sei, der die Dinge auf dessen Befehl und vermittelst dessen Macht geschaffen habe. Alle dagegen stimmen darin überein, daß die Welt etwas Neuerschaffenes sei und daß die schaffende Hand sich darin nicht verkennen lasse (??). Darüber lassen sie keinen Zweifel zu. Sie behaupten ferner, daß, wer fette Fleischspeisen und berauschende Getränke vermeide, zu Gott sein ganzes Leben hindurch bete und ununterbrochen faste, den Stricken des Satans entgehe. Die Berichte, die dem M. zugeschrieben werden, weichen sehr voneinander ab und sind vielen Schwankungen unterworfen. — Die Marcioniten haben ihre eigene Schrift, mit der sie ihre Religionsbücher schreiben. M. verfaßte ein Buch, das er Evangelium nannte, und seine Schüler eine Anzahl andere, die Gott allein zu finden weiß. Sie verkriechen sich hinter das Christentum und halten sich zahlreich

in Chorasan auf [1]. Ihr Kultus ist ebenso bekannt wie der der Manichäer". — Sodann wird (S. 166 f.) über die Manichäischen Schriftzüge bemerkt, daß Mani ihr Erfinder sei, der sie ebenso aus dem Persischen und Syrischen abgeleitet habe, wie seine Lehre aus der magischen und christlichen Religion; die Buchstaben seien zahlreicher als die der arabischen Sprache. „Mit dieser Schrift schreiben die Manichäer ihre Evangelien und ihre Gesetzbücher. Die Bewohner Transoxaniens und Samarkands bedienen sich dieses Schriftcharakters zu ihren Religionsbüchern, und er heißt davon der Schriftcharakter der Religion. Auch die Marcioniten haben eine ihnen eigentümliche Schrift. Ein glaubwürdiger Mann berichtet mir, daß er diese gesehen. Sie gleiche, sagt er, der Manichäischen, das ausgenommen, was er (Mani) daran änderte. Das aber sind die Buchstaben der Manichäischen Schrift." Ich drucke sie hier nach der Ausgabe F l ü g e l s S. 168 in mechanischer Reproduktion (7 Zeilen) ab.



Sie (die Marcioniten) haben (eine und dieselbe) Form. Folgende Buchstaben sind aber von jenen verschieden. Sie schreiben nämlich das Ṣâd ڞ das Mîm ▭ das Ḥâ ح das Kâf ك das Ḳâf ڧ oder ق und das Hâ ه oder ھ *).

1 Also im Gebiet zwischen der Südhälfte des Kaspischen Meeres und dem Oxus. Die deutsche Tarfun-Expedition hat viel weiter östlich wohl noch Manichäische Schriften gefunden, aber keine Marcionitischen.

*) „Diesen Faksimiles (ob zuverlässig? Harnack) liegt der Pariser Codex zugrunde. Wo er zu sehr von dem Wiener abwich, habe ich die in diesem gegebene Form mitgeteilt. Ausführlichere Bemerkungen würden hier zu weit führen" (F l ü g e l).

Es ist zu bedauern, daß Flügel nicht die Buchstaben nach der Überlieferung der beiden Zeugen nebeneinander abgedruckt hat. Ich muß es den Schriftgelehrten überlassen, zunächst die Überlieferung zuverlässig wiederzugeben und dann die Herkunft dieser Schriftcharaktere zu bestimmen, da ich die Geschichte der orientalischen Schriftzüge nicht kenne und zurzeit auch aus Paris schwerlich ein Faksimile erhalten würde. In bezug auf den Ursprung der Schrift gibt der Verfasser des Fihrist zwei sich widersprechende Traditionen wieder: nach der ersten haben die Manichäer diese Schrift erfunden, nach der zweiten die Marcioniten. Letzteres ist aber ganz unwahrscheinlich, da die Nachricht, Mani selbst habe die aus syrischen und persischen Schriftcharakteren gemischte Estrangelo-Schrift erfunden, nicht unglaublich ist, und da, selbst wenn sie es wäre, der Manichäismus dort heimisch ist, wo man persisch und syrisch schrieb, während der Marcionitismus eingeschleppt ist.

Muhammed asch-Schahrastani (1086—1153) schrieb über „Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen" (hrsg. v. Haarbrücker, 1850, I). S. 259 f. heißt es hier: „Die Marcioniten — sie nehmen zwei ewige, sich befeindende Grundwesen an, das Licht und die Finsternis, aber auch noch ein drittes Grundwesen, nämlich den gerechten Vermittler, den Verbinder; er sei die Ursache der Vermischung; denn die beiden sich bekämpfenden und feindlich gegenüberstehenden vermischen sich nur durch einen, der sie verbindet. Sie sagen, der Vermittler sei auf der Stufe unter dem Licht und über der Finsternis, und diese Welt sei entstanden durch die Verbindung und Vermischung. Es gibt unter ihnen solche, welche sagen, die Vermischung sei nur zwischen der Finsternis und dem Gerechten vor sich gegangen, da er dieser näher stehe, sie sei aber mit ihm vermischt worden, damit sie durch ihn besser gemacht werde und durch seine Vergnügungen ergötzt werde; das Licht aber habe einen Christus-Geist in die vermischte Welt gesandt, das sei der Geist Gottes und sein Sohn, aus Erbarmen über den reinen, in das Netz der verdammungswürdigen Finsternis gefallenen Gerechten, um ihn aus den Stricken der Satane zu befreien; wer ihm folge und die Weiber nicht berühre und fette Fleischspeisen nicht nehme, entkomme und werde gerettet, wer ihm aber widerstrebe, komme um und gehe zugrunde. Sie sagen aber, wir nehmen den Ge-

rechten nur an, weil das Licht, welches der höchste Gott ist, sich mit dem Satan nicht vermischen kann; wie sollte es auch möglich sein, daß die beiden Gegner, welche von Natur miteinander im Kampfe sind und vermöge ihres inneren Wesens voneinander ausgeschlossen sind, sich miteinander vereinigen und vermischen? Es sei also ein Vermittler notwendig, der unter dem Licht und über der Finsternis stehe und mit welchem (durch welchen) die Vermischung stattfinde".

Das letzte Zeugnis bringt Abulfaradsch (Barhebräus, gest. 1286) in der „Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum" (ed. Pococke, 1663). Hier werden die alten Häretiker charakterisiert. Von Marcion heißt es (p. 77 unter Antoninus Pius nach Valentin): „Prodiit etiam quidam nomine Marcion, qui asseruit tres esse deos, Aequum, Bonum et Malum; Aequum autem opera sua in Malo, i. e. Materia, exercuisse atque ex eo mundum condidisse; Bonum vero cum videret mundum in partem Mali trahi misisse filium suum, ut homines ad cultum patris sui Boni invitaret. qui veniens legem, quae legem iustitiae continebat, commutavit evangelio, quod continet legem praestantiae; Aequum ergo cultores suos in ipsum concitasse, qui se potestati eorum permisit, adeo ut ipsum occiderent; at resurrectione sua a mortuis homines captivos cepit et redegit ad cultum patris sui. hoc delirium ubi protulisset Marcion, diu eum admonuere episcopi; at cum a sententia sua non recederet, sed in ineptiis suis persisteret, ecclesia ipsum expulerunt et anathema factus est". Diese Darstellung gibt nicht die Lehre der späteren ausgearteten Marcioniten wieder, sondern beruht auf der alten griechischen Überlieferung (letztlich auf Epiphanius).

5. Die occidentalischen Polemiker des 4. uud der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.

Lucifer von Calaris (De non conv. c. haer. c. 9), ein wenig gebildeter Theologe, hat vom Doketismus M.s gehört („M. noluit dei filium hominem suscepisse confiteri de utero virginis et per hoc hominem factum"). Gennadius, De vir. inl. 25, berichtet, daß der sonst nicht bekannte gallische Bischof Sabbatius gegen Marcion und Valentin ein Werk geschrieben habe, fügt aber hinzu „auch gegen Eunomius und dessen Lehrer

Aëtius". Diese polemische Adresse ermöglicht es, die Zeit der Schrift ungefähr zu bestimmen. Die Zusammenstellung der je zwei Namen erklärt sich sicherlich daraus, daß Sabbatius die zwei Gottheiten und Naturen des strengen Arianismus durch die zwei Prinzipien der alten Häretiker diskreditieren wollte. Genaueres über diese kann er nicht mehr gewußt haben, da er Valentin den „auctor Marcionis" nennt. Was ihn veranlaßt hat, auch den Doketismus zu bekämpfen, bleibt dunkel. Die Worte lauten: „Sabbatius, Gallicanae provinciae episcopus, rogatus a quadam casta et Christo dedicata virgine Secunda nomine, conposuit librum De fide adversus Marcionem et Valentinum, eius auctorem, et adversus Eunomium et Aëtium, ostendens et ratione et testimoniis Scripturarum, unum esse deitatis principium, et ipsum esse et suae aeternitatis auctorem et mundi ex nihilo conditorem, simulque et de Christo, quod non in phantasia homo apparuerit, sed veram habuerit carnem, per quam manducando, bibendo, lassando, plorando, patiendo, moriendo, resurgendo verus probatus sit homo. his enim sententiis Marcion et Valentinus contrarii extiterunt, adserentes duo deitatis principia et Christum venisse in phantasia. Aëtio vero et Eunomio, discipulo eius, ostendit, patrem et filium non duarum esse naturarum et divinitate parilium, sed unius essentiae et alterum ex altero, i. e. ex patre filium, alterum alteri coaeternum, cui credulitati Aëtius et Eunomius contradicunt".

Wahrscheinlich um dieselbe Zeit erklärt Optatus von Mileve (De schism. Donat. I, 9) den Marcionitismus samt den meisten anderen alten Häresien für Afrika für „gestorben und in Vergessenheit begraben" [1]. Dasselbe bezeugt, jedoch

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1 „Haereticos cum erroribus suis iam mortuos et oblivione sepultos quodammodo resuscitare voluisti, quorum per provincias Africanas non solum vitia, sed etiam nomina videbantur ignota. Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus et ceteri usque ad Cataphrygas temporibus suis a Victorino Petavionensi et Zephyrino urbico et a Tertulliano Carthaginiensi et ab aliis adsertoribus ecclesiae catholicae surperati sunt. ut quid bellum cum mortuis geris, qui ad negotium temporis nostri non pertinent?" Der römische Bischof Zephyrin wird nur hier als Ketzerbestreiter genannt; die Nachricht ist unglaubwürdig, da er ein ganz ungebildeter Mann (nach Hippolyt) war; nicht unwahrscheinlich aber ist, daß man eine ketzerbestrei-

etwas vorsichtiger, der in Rom schreibende Ambrosiaster etwas später für das kirchliche Gebiet, das er überschaute [1]. Wiederum etwas später sagt Augustin (Ep. 118 ad Dioscurum c. 2, 12): „Marcionitarum et Sabellianorum multorumque praeterea iam dissensiones quaestionesque silentur" [2]. Was daher Ambrosius [3], Pacianus von Barce-

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tende Schrift Hippolyts (das Syntagma), des Schismatikers, auf Zephyrin übertragen hat. Über Victorin s. oben S. 334*. Optatus berichtet noch (IV, 5): „M. ex episcopo apostata factus (!!) inducebat duos deos et duos Christos" (stammt aus dem Hippolytischen, freilich ganz verfälschten Bericht und aus Tert.); vgl. I, 10: „Haeretici falsaverunt symbolum, dum alter dixit duos deos" etc. und V, 3: „Unum deum esse negare non potestis, ne in Marcionis foveas incidatis" (das Bild stammt aus Tert.).

1 Zu I Tim. 4. 1 ff: Doctrina... quae nunc in Marcionitis, quamvis paene defecerint, Patricianis aut maxime in Manichaeis denotatur; hi enim et Christum natum negant et nuptias prohibent et abstinendum a cibis tradunt". Zu Röm. 1, 1: „Marcioni videtur odio legis Christum et corpus eius negare, Jesum profiteri". Zu I Kor. 1, 2: Der Doketismus M.s und Manis. Zu I Kor. 2, 2: Aus dem Spruch I Joh. 2, 23 („qui negat filium nec patrem habet"): „ipsum patrem sibi filium appellatum dicebant; ex quibus M. traxit errorem." Der mit Ambrosiaster (Euagrius von Antiochien? Isaak?) wahrscheinlich identische Verf. der pseudo-augustinischen Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test. (Souter) hebt p. 129. 459 den Doketismus M.s hervor (den Mani nach ihm nennend); s. ferner p. 21, der Satan sei nach M. der Weltschöpfer und p. 406: „Sed quis tu es, qui nuptias prohibes? forte M., quia corpus non a deo fabricatum putas, sed a diabolo, animam vero errore quodam lapsum passam, ut ad tenebrarum partes, in quibus nunc mundus est, veniret, contendis".

2 Vincentius v. Lerinum (Commonit.), obschon er so viele Häresien anführt, nennt die Marcioniten nicht, auch nicht, wo er (c. 20) den Doketismus eifrig bekämpft. Nur unter Tertullians Schriften wird von ihm auch (c. 24) das Werk gegen M. erwähnt.

3 Ambrosius, De fide lib. II, 5 (T. II, 1 p. 478 Ballerini): „Manichaeus, Valentinus, Marcion („Christus phantasma") lehren doketisch". L. c. lib. V, 8 (p. 569): „‚Filius David' est contra Marcionem". L. c. lib. V. 13 (p. 579): „Sabelliani et Marcionitae dicunt, quod haec futura sit Christi ad deum patrem subiectio, ut in patrem filius refundatur". In Ps. 118, Mem 4 (T. I, 2 p. 1131): „Non potest dicere Marcionita: ‚Quomodo dilexi legem tuam', qui legem non suscipit". In Hexaëm. I c. 8 (T. I, 1 p. 17): „Hinc Marciones, hinc Valentini, hinc pestes illae Manichaeorum" (sie machen Gott zum Urheber des Bösen). De incarn. c. 2, 8 (T. II, 1 p. 704):

lona[1], Aponius[2], Paulinus von Nola[3] und Augustinus[4] berichten oder streifen, stammt nicht mehr aus selb-

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„Marcionita putat alium deum Novi, alium Veteris Testamenti". Ep. 72, 10 (T. II, 1 p. 1073): Marcion und Mani tadeln Gott, weil er die Beschneidung angeordnet hat und das Gesetz, welches Blutvergießen vorschreibt.

1 Pacian, Ep. ad Sempron. I, 1: „Simon Magus et Menander et Nicolaus . . . posterioribus temporibus Ebion et Apelles et Marcion et Valentinus et Cerdo, nec longe post eos Cataphryges et Novatiani". Die Reihenfolge zeigt, daß Pacian zwar in der Hauptsache chronologisch orientiert war, aber über das Verhältnis von Cerdo, M. und Apelles nichts gewußt hat. Aus dem folgenden Satz darf man nicht auf Marcioniten in Spanien schließen (I, 3): „Ego forte ingressus populosam urbem hodie, cum Marcionitas, cum Apollinariacos [vielleicht Apelleiacos zu lesen], Cataphrygas, Novatianos et ceteros eiusmodi comperissem, qui se Christianos vocarent, quo cognomine meae plebis cognoscerem, nisi Catholica diceretur?" (Vgl. oben S. 351*: Cyrill v. Jerus.).

2 In seiner Auslegung des Hohenlieds um d. J. 400 (lib. II, 35 ed. Bottino et Martini) erwähnt Aponius, obgleich er sehr oft sonst Häretiker nennt, den Marcion nur einmal: „Si in illis gregibus devenerit, ubi Valentinianus [sic], Marcion, Basilides vel Manichaei primi esse probantur, necesse est, ut in vestigiis eorum ambulans" etc. (es folgen Photin, Bonosus, Arius, Montanus). Da an der parallelen Stelle (p. 33 f.) fast alle dieselben Häretiker stehen mit noch anderen dazu, M. aber fehlt, so ist gewiß, daß die Häresie M.s für Aponius keine Bedeutung mehr hatte und er sie aus der literarischen Überlieferung gekannt hat.

3 Ep. 21, 4: „Arius . . . Sabellius . . . Photinus . . . Marcion, qui deum legis et evangelii discernit . . . Manichaeus".

4 Augustins Traktat gegen die Häresien, Schulzwecken dienend, ist für die alten Häresien ohne Wert, weil bloßes Exzerpt aus Epiphanius. Als lebendige Größe gab es für A. keinen Marcionitismus mehr; aber im Kampf gegen die Donatisten über die Ketzertaufe fiel ihm die schwere Aufgabe zu, die Marcionitische, obgleich „fabulosis falsitatibus inquinata" zu verteidigen; s. de bapt. c. Donat. III, 15, 20 u. sonst. An mehreren Stellen seiner Werke erwähnt er flüchtig die „Marcionisten', nur Bekanntes bringend, so z. B. de perfect. iust. 14; de gestis Pelag. 15; de bapt. c. Donat. VII, 31 („In Marcione agnoscenda est baptismi integritas"). Ep. 237, 2 steht M. neben den Priszillianisten. Auch die Donatisten Parmenian, Petilïan und Cresconius erwähnen die Marcioniten, s. z. B. c. Cresc. II, 4; IV, 75; ferner Prosper Chron. s. Monum. Germ., Chron. Min. I. p. 426. — Die Schrift Augustins „Contra Adversarium legis et prophetarum" widerlegt einen Traktat, der anonym auftauchte (I, 1), sich gegen den Schöpfergott und das AT. richtete und sich auf die Autorität eines Lehrers Fabricius (II, 3 u. 40) stützte.

ständiger Kunde, sondern aus der gelehrten Überlieferung. Wichtig ist hier nur, daß damals, wie aus den Angaben bei Optatus, Ambrosius, Ambrosiaster und Augustin folgt, auch im Abendland die Marcioniten in der Polemik mit den Sabellianern zusammengestellt worden sind [1]. Im Abendland war der Monarchianismus noch immer zu bekämpfen; welches giftigere Argument gegen ihn konnte es da geben als die Zusammenstellung mit der Lehre Marcions? Wie auf ein mot d'ordre hin werden die Sabellianer den bereits fast unbekannten, aber verabscheuten Marcioniten angehängt! Auch die Zusammenstellung mit Mani, wie im Morgenland, ist zu beachten. Julian von Eklanum, der in seinem großen Werk gegen Augustins Lehre diese des Manichäismus anklagt, nennt auch an ein paar Stellen Marcion

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Augustin hält ihn nicht für Manichäisch, eher für Marcionitisch (s. auch Retract. II, 58); aber auch Marcionitisch ist er nicht; denn Marcioniten, die den Namen ihres Stifters unterdrückten, gab es u. W. nicht; auch beruft sich der Verf. an mehreren Stellen auf die Pastoralbriefe, das Johannes-Ev. und Matth., sowie auf apokryphe Schriften und auf einen apokryphen Herrnspruch (II, 14: „Dimisistis vivum, qui ante vos est, et de mortuis fabulamini"). Endlich sagt er (II, 35): „In mundo peregrinamur" und spricht von unserer Verwandtschaft mit dem guten Gott. Das ist nicht Marcionitisch, sondern gnostisch. Allein andrerseits ist offenbar nicht nur ein großer Teil der Ausführungen einfach den Antithesen Ms entnommen, sondern auch die Grundunterscheidungen zwischen dem guten und milden Gott des Evangeliums und dem grausamen Weltschöpfer. Handgreiflich gibt der Verf. seine Quelle an, wenn er nicht nur „den schlechten und den guten Baum" anführt, sondern auch (II, 35) schreibt: „Discretio spirituum malignitatis et bonitatis" (als Thema) und nun, wie Augustin bemerkt, anfängt „contrariis inter se brevibus crebrisque sententiis laudare Christum et accusare legis deum" (vgl. I, 34). Seine Schrift bestätigt einen beträchtlichen Teil der Marcionitischen Antithesen; aber was und wieviel von dem, was der Verf. sonst bringt, Marcionitisch ist, läßt sich nicht ausmachen. Eine Rekonstruktion der Schrift nebst gründlicher Untersuchung wäre auch noch nach den trefflichen Ausführungen von Zahn (Kanonsgesch. II S. 432 ff.) erwünscht. Seine Annahme, „Fabricius" sei = „Patricius" ist gesichert. In Beilage X habe ich die Reste der Schrift zusammengestellt, weil sie viel Marcionitisches (vielleicht auch Apellejisches) enthält und für die spätere Geschichte des Marcionitismus wichtig ist.

1 Vgl. oben S. 353*: Brief des Eustathius.

neben Mani als Gesinnungsgenossen Augustins [1]. Doch das ist nur eine literarische Reminiszenz: im 5. Jahrhundert hatte im Abendland der Manichäismus den Marcionitismus völlig verdrängt [2].

Zwei Abendländer jedoch scheinen auf den ersten Blick ein anderes Bild in bezug auf die noch fortbestehende Bedeutung der Marcionitischen Kirche zu gewähren, Prudentius und Hieronymus; aber bei genauerer Betrachtung schwindet der Eindruck [3].

Der spanische Dichter Prudentius (gegen Ende des 4. Jahrh.) hat in der „Hamartigenia" den Dualismus („adv. Duitas") bekämpft und ihm die Etikette „Marcion" aufgeklebt, dessen Vorbild er in Kain sieht. Eine wirkliche Kenntnis aber der Marcionitischen Lehre geht aus dem langen Streitgedicht nicht hervor. Nicht einmal das ist sicher, daß Pr. die Bücher-Tert.s gegen M. gelesen hat; dennoch redet er ihn in dem Gedichte an, als kenne er ihn genau. Er wird zuerst in der Präfatio des Gedichts (v. 36) genannt, sodann v. 56 f.: „Haec tibi, Marcion, via displicet; hanc tua damnat secta fidem, dominis caelum partita duobus; v. 122 f.: „(Secundum Marcionem) Testamenta

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1 S. Augustin, Opus imperf. c. Iulianum I, 59; III, 53; V, 26.

2 Zu erwähnen ist hier noch der unbekannte arianische Prediger, der einen Satz aus den „Antithesen" zitiert hat (s. o. S. 188*), ferner Jovinian (bei Hieron. adv, Jov. I, 3: „Neque vero nos Marcionis et Manichaei dogma sectantes nuptiis detrahimus". Ob in Priszillian ein Marcionitisches Element steckt (s. Lezius, Protest. REnzkl. [3] Bd. XVI S. 60), ist mindestens fraglich.

3 Man könnte noch einen dritten nennen, den Verf. der vermutlich gleich nach der Mitte des 4. Jahrh. verfaßten Consult. Zachaei et Apollonii (Migne T. 20), wenn Reatz (vgl. seine Monographie „Das Theol. System der Cons. Z. et A.", 1920, S. 64, 98) recht hätte, daß dieser Verfasser gegen den angeblich Marcionitischen „Adoptianismus" die wahre Gottheit des Gottmenschen verteidige; denn ein Marcionitischer Adoptianismus wäre ganz etwas Neues und höchst Paradoxes in der inneren Geschichte des Marcionitismus und würde zeigen, daß derselbe irgendwo im Abendland noch eine merkwürdige Umgestaltung erlebt hat. Allein der Verf. polemisiert an der Hauptstelle (II, 11 Col. 1127) ganz deutlich, wie alle anderen Polemiker, gegen M.s Doketismus, verwechselt dann aber Marcion und Photin (II, 13), ein schlimmes Zeugnis seiner Unkenntnis! Nur eine entfernte Möglichkeit besteht, daß die Überlieferung an dem Schaden schuld ist.

duo fluxerunt principe utroque; tradidit iste Novum melior Vetus illud acerbus; haec tua, Marcion, gravis et dialectica vox est, immo haec attoniti phrenesis manifesta cerebri . . . . . Marcionita deus tristis, ferus, insidiator . . . . invidia impatiens iustorum gaudia ferre . . . ipse manu laqueos per lubrica fila reflexos in nodum revocat" etc. Die wirklichen Gegner, die P. bekämpft, mögen die Priszillianisten, Manichäer u. ä. gewesen sein. Daß im Priszillianischen Streit in Spanien nur auf der Synode v. Braga (563) der Marcioniten gedacht worden ist, ist ein Beweis, daß sie auch in diesem Lande keine Rolle mehr gespielt haben [1].

Was Hieronymus gegen und über M. an sehr zahlreichen Stellen seiner Werke beigebracht hat, ist nachweisbar zum größten Teil dem Origenes und Tertullian entnommen; daher ist auch der Hauptteil des Rests höchst wahrscheinlich, und zwar vor allem aus Origenes, abgeschrieben. Diese Mitteilungen, von denen die in ep. 131 (I p. 1031 Vall.) stehende ganz singulär ist („M. Romam praemisit mulierem, quae decipiendos sibi animos praepararet"), sind oben bei der Feststellung des Marcionitischen Bibeltextes und der Antithesen bereits verwertet worden. Nicht korrekt kann die Mitteilung Comm. in Jesaj. l. XII, 45, T. IV p. 534 sein (wenn sie auch von Orig. stammen mag): „Marcion duos deos intelligit, unum bonum et alium iustum, alterum invisibilium, alterum visibilium conditorem, e quibus prior lucem faciat, secundus tenebras, ille pacem, hic malum"; denn nach M. ist der Demiurg auch Schöpfer des Lichts (oder ist hier an eine lux superior zu denken?). Für M. unrichtig ist auch der Satz (Comm. in Eccles. p. 450): „Marcion et Valentinus melioris se dicunt naturae esse, quam conditor est" — übrigens nicht die einzige Stelle, in der Hieron. leichtfertig über M. aussagt, was von Valentin und anderen Gnostikern gilt. Sehr oft faßt Hieron. M. und Mani zusammen, indem er M.s Lehren einfach auf Mani überträgt (doch haben die Manichäer selbst Marcionitisches angenommen). Comm. in Naum p. 539 findet sich die Zusammen-

1 Die Synode von Braga (can. 4) nennt M. neben Mani und Priszillian als solchen, der die Geburt Christi in wahrer Menschnatur leugnet.— In Rom erinnerte sich Leo I. in seinem Brief an Turribius (ep. 15, 4 ann. 447) bei der Bekämpfung der Priszillianer des Cerdo und Marcion, deren doketischer Lehre sie folgen.

stellung: „Valentinus, Marcion, Bardesanes, Tatianus". — Hieronymus war eine internationalkirchliche Persönlichkeit, die mit Menschen aller Art zusammenkam; so hat er auch Marcioniten reden hören und gesprochen. Adv. Rufin. II, 17 schreibt er: „Quidquid nos a Marcione impie dictum obiecerimus, discipuli respondebunt, non a magistro suo ita editum, sed ab inimicis esse violatum". Haben sich diese Schüler der katholischen Kirche nähern wollen? Interessanter noch ist die Mitteilung im Lib. c. Johannem. Hierosol. 36: „Nuper de Marcionis quidam schola: ‚Vae', inquit, ‚ei qui in hac carne et in his ossibus resurrexerit' ". Es folgt der Bericht über einen kurzen Dialog über die Auferstehung zwischen diesem Marcioniten und Hieron.; jener beruft sich auf I Kor. 15, 50. Wichtig ist endlich die wohl auf Origenes zurückzuführende Mitteilung über M.s Geist und Gelehrsamkeit (Comm. in Osee II, 10): „Haereticorum terra foecunda est, qui a deo acumen sensus et ingenii percipientes, ut dona naturae in dei cultum verterent, fecerunt sibi ex eis idola. nullus enim potest haeresim struere, nisi qui ardens ingenii est et habet dona naturae, quae a deo artifice sunt creata. talis fuit Valentinus, talis Marcion, quos doctissimos legimus, talis Bardesanes, cuius etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium".

Endlich ist noch eines rätselhaften, von jeder begleitenden Tradition verlassenen Werks zu gedenken, das handschriftlich seit dem ältesten Druck nicht mehr existiert, nämlich der umfangreichen fünf Carmina adv. Marcionem, die unter den Werken Tertullians abgedruckt zu werden pflegen. Das Problem, welches sie geschichtlich bieten, war nicht sehr schwer, solange man sie an den Schluß des 3. oder vor die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts setzte [1]. Allein jüngst hat es Holl (Sitzungsber. d. Preuß. Akad. 1918 S. 514 ff.) wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß die Gedichte viel später sind. Nun erscheinen sie als eine literarische Stilübung — denn damals gab es im Abendland keine Marcioniten mehr —, die höchstens an der Hamartigenia des Prudentius eine Parallele hat. Aber der Verf. hat sich doch fleißig

1 S. Harnack i. d. Ztschr. f. wissensch. Theol. Bd. 19 H. 1 S. 113 ff. u. Altchristl. Lit.-Gesch. II, 2 S. 442 ff. Freilich — auch um diese Zeit war M. im Abendland bereits sehr zurückgetreten. Ob Commodian der Verfasser ist, ist noch kontrovers.

bemüht, Kunde über M. zu erhalten, hat Irenäus, Tertullian, Hippolyt (III, 302) und anderes gelesen und erweist sich als leidenschaftlicher Gegner M.s, der wie ein Zeitgenosse vor ihm steht. Woher sein Interesse und welchen Zweck verfolgte er? Ich weiß diese Fragen nicht zu beantworten. Sind Holls Argumente vielleicht doch nicht zwingend? Sind sie es, so wird man in bezug auf den Ursprung der Gedichte an Spanien denken wollen, bezw. an das benachbarte Gebiet, wenn dort der Priszillianismus noch eine Rolle spielte. Sollten die Gedichte nach Rom gehören, so müßte man eine singuläre Situation annehmen, wie die war, in die Augustin kam, als ihm die anonyme Schrift gegen den Schöpfergott und das AT gebracht wurde und er sich genötigt sah zu schreiben, als schriebe er gegen M. („Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum" s. o.). Im folgenden teile ich die Verse mit, die für M.s Leben und Lehre von Interesse sind. Bis auf eine Nachricht bringen sie kaum etwas Neues [1]; aber was sie bringen, entstammt guter literarischer Überlieferung (s. o.) [2]:

I, 73 ff.: „Praedicat [scil. diabolus] his duos esse patres divisaque regna,
Esse mali causam dominum qui condidit orbem,
75 Quique figuravit carnem spiramine vivam,
Quique dedit legem et vatum qui voce locutus.
Hunc negat esse bonum, iustum tamen esse fatetur,
Crudelem, durum, belli cui saeva voluptas,
Iudicio horrendum, precibus mansuescare nullis; [3]
80 Esse alium suadens, nulli qui cognitus unquam,
Qui non est usquam, falsum sine nomine numen,
Constituens nihil et nulla praecepta locutus.
Hunc ait esse bonum, nullum qui iudicat aeque,
Sed parcit cunctis, vitam non invidet ulli.

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1 Beachtenswert ist der Ausdruck „homo interior" als Marcionitisch, falls er es ist, s. V, 40. 62. 90. Nach Hippolyt (s. o. S. 333*) ist Christus der innere Mensch.

2 Ich drucke die fehlerhaften Verse wesentlich so ab, wie sie überliefert sind.

3 Zu beachten, wie zutreffend der Schöpfergott M.s charakterisiert wird.

85 Iudicium negat esse reis, dulcique cruentum
Circumfert miseris mixtum cum melle venenum.
Surgere posse negat carnem, cui causa ruinae
Ipse fuit, quam contemptam spoliavit inique.
Propterea maledictus habet sine fine dolorem,
90 Hostis huic semper, vario quia valuere vitam
Nititur excutere et, de qua ruit ipse, salutem.
Inque hoc et Christum terris venisse repente,
Sed nulla socium carnis compagine factum;
Spiritus at forma et fictum sub imagine corpus,
95 Fallere vult homines, quod non est, esse videri."

I, 106: (Marcionitae) „ignotum dominum quaerunt notumque relinquunt."

I, 141 ff.: „Haec vobis per Marcionem, Cerdone magistro,
Terribilis refuga adtribuit fera munera mortis,
Nec venit in mentem quod vos a nomine Christi
Seductos ad Marcionis tulit infima nomen." [1]

II, 13 ff.: „Supremum nefas in tantum dementia mersos
Abruptos homines numen sine fine tremendum
15 Dividere in partes, Christi sublimia facta
Falsa laude sequi culpareque gesta priora,
Innumerata dei miracula, visa nec umquam,
Tam temere scelus illicitum componere verbis,
Ante nec audita, contentaque corde nec ullo (?)
20 Adversum sese duo testamenta sonare,
Contra prophetarum domini committere verba,
Dissimili longe sententia velle probare,
Omnem legis et infamem deducere causam
Sanctorumque patrum vitam reprobare priorem,
25 Quos in amicitiam adlexit deus ad sua dona.
Accipitur sine principio pro parte minori,
Quattuor ex uno cum sint, ex quattuor unum.
His tamen una placet, reprobrant tres denique partes,
Auctoremque sui Paulum per multa cupessunt.

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1 Richtig wird hervorgehoben, daß diese Sekte sich selbst „Marcioniten" nennt.

30 Necnon ex ipso furiebat in extima verba,
Omnia quae veteri de foedere cumque locutus
Dura videntur eis, merito quia corde gravatis."

II, 215 ff: „Quid? caro si moritur nec spes datur ulla salutis,
Quas habuit causas hominem se fingere Christus
Et medicare homines aut curam carnis habere?
Si revocat paucos, cur non revocavit et omnes?"

II, 240 f.: „Ergo caro et sanguis dei regno digna negatur,
Tamquam sit Paulus proprie de carne locutus."

III, 29: „Est Abraham, cuius gnatos vos esse negatis."

III, 296ff.: „Atque Pio suscepit Anicetus ordine sortem,
Sub quo Marcion hic veniens, nova Pontica pestis,
Nondum secretum facinus suo corde reclusum,
Passim vulgo loquens latebrosa perfidus arte.
300 Sed postquam coepit mortis proferre sagittas,
Abiectus merito tam saevi criminis auctor,
A sanctis reprobus patuit mirabile monstrum." [1]

IV, 47: „Iudicium durum, sententia saeva videtur." [2]

IV, 50: „Quod crudele putes, hoc est pietatis honestum." [3]

IV, 57 ff.: „Cur deus ergo iubet pecorum sibi sanguine fundi,
Legeque constringit, ne quis transcenderet errans
In populo, lapidum praesenti morte minatus?
60 Atque iterum haec reprobat, negat haec sibi munera grata,
Corripiens plebem peccati examine pressam,
Ipse iubet verax, iustus simul ipse repellit?"

IV, 215ff.: „Sic igitur lex et miri cecinere prophetae,
Omnia sic coniuncta vigent, Veterisque Novique
Foederis, illa sacra et verborum immania dicta.
Sic et apostolicae voces testantur ubique,
Nec quidquam Veteris non est Novo denique iunctum.
220 Sic errant, et dictorum sic facta retorquent
Qui falsas finxere vias; dominumque deumque
Aeternum regem, qui tantum protulit orbem,

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1 Vorher geht ein Bericht über Cerdo; s. o. S. 34*.

2 Marcionitischer Tadel der Sintflut.

3 Marcionitischer Tadel der Gerichts über Sodom.

Detrectant, aliud quaerunt sub nomine ficto,
Mentibus orbati, quas amisere furentes,
225 Externum legi Christum affirmare volentes,
Nec mundi dominum, carnis neque velle salutem,
Nec virtute patris, factorem corporis ipsum."

V, 25: „Ignotumque alium quemquam non esse probamus."

V, 28: „Culpamusque alias Ignoti tempora sera."

V, 31 ff.: „Quisnam ergo deus? quem verum dicitis esse
Ignotum populis, alienum denique mundo?
Hunc quem nemo prius norat, hic venit ab alto?
Si sua, cur tam sero petit? si non sua, quare
35 Ut praedo rapit et populum sub lege morantem
Ignotis totiens per legem vocibus opplet?
Si misereri etiam venit et succurrere cunctis
Et revelare gravi devictos funere mortis,
Carnis et obsceno spiramen solvere vinclo,
40 Quo cohibetur homo interior, concisus inique,
Cur tam sero pius vigilans semperque benignus?
Qui nunquam prius omnino se praebuit ulli?
Transmissis numero [?] alienos ore requirens,
Numquam expectatus, non notus, missus in orbem."

V, 68 ff. wird gegen das Eheverbot Marcions polemisiert, s. u. a.

77 ff. „Vos autem astuta quis suasit fraude manere,
Diviso prolis securos degere amore,
Crimen adulterii committere, perdere vitam?
. . . . . .
83 In faciem casti, maculati crimine furtim.
Hac causa vos connubio privavit honesto."

V, 88 ff.: „Partem hominis, dum speratis retinere salutem,
Totus homo vester deperdit mente profana,
90 Interior simul et veterem quem dicitis hostem.
Sed nec homo solum spiramen dicitur esse,
Nec vetus est homo dicta caro, nec sunt inimica
Spiritus et caro."

V, 160 f.: „. . . vos falso hominem sine corpore corpus dicitis."

V, 185 f.: „De qua carne [scil. Christus surgit], quia illum vos habuisse negatis?
Aut finxit potius, si vos dicere tutum est?" —

Die späteren lateinischen Schriftsteller und Häreseologen sind mehr oder weniger unwissende Abschreiber. Arnobius minor (Conflictus Arnob. et Serap. p. 309 C) zitiert M. und im Praedest. 21 schreibt er: „Marcionitae, cum universalem orientis ecclesiam macularent, ab Origene superati, confutati et per singulas sunt civitates damnati" (Stammt wohl aus Pamphilus, Apol. pro Orig., die c. 22 zitiert wird). Woher die Schlußmitteilung stammt (l. c.): „Quos Tertullianus modis omnibus ita obtinuit, ut ipsos faceret contra sectam suam publice praedicare", weiß ich nicht; zu vergleichen ist Tert.s Nachricht, M. habe auf dem Totenbett in die Kirche zurückkehren wollen. Bei Gennadius Massil. findet sich (de eccl. dogm. Nr. 21) die Überlieferung: „Duo principia sibi ignota introducunt ut Cerdo et Marcion". Richtig hat noch im Mittelalter ein gelehrter Schreiber in einem Cod. Casin. (Biblioth. Casin. I, 2 p. 290) zum bekannten Argumentum des Epheserbriefs die Notiz hinzugefügt: „Sciendum sane, quia haec epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios scriptam habemus, haeretici et maxime Marcionitae ad Laudicenses attitulant".

Nicht nur der Manichäismus hat fort und fort im Abendland große Anleihen bei dem Marcionitismus gemacht, sondern es hat auch, vermutlich in der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrh., in Rom ein Lehrer namens Patricius eine Sekte begründet, die, soweit wir zu urteilen vermögen, von Marcionitischen Gedanken lebte, aber das katholische NT anerkannte (vgl. oben S. 383* die Paulicianer), jedoch vom Manichäismus apokryphe NTliche Schriften hinzunahm (ebendeshalb kann sie nicht in das 3. Jahrh. gehören, es sei denn, daß sie die apokryphen Schriften [ein Evangelium, Leuciusschriften] nicht vom Manichäismus erhalten hat). Die beiden Zeugnisse über die Patricianer (bei Ambrosiaster zu I Tim. 4, 1 f. und Filastr., h. 62) bekunden zwar nur, daß sie das Fleisch keine Schöpfung Gottes sein ließen, sondern des Teufels, Christum nicht geboren sein lassen wollten, die Ehe verwarfen und eine so harte Askese trieben, daß einige von ihnen bis zum Selbstmord schritten. Aber Ambrosiaster hat sie zwischen die Marcioniten und Manichäer gestellt, und dazu wird Zahn (s. ob. S. 391*) recht haben, daß der „Fabricius" im augustinischen Traktat „Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum", „Patricius" ist. Dann ist die

starke Abhängigkeit von Marcion sicher; denn jener „adversarius", der Schüler des „Patricius", steht (l. c.) dem Marcionitismus ganz nahe und hat die Antithesen ausgeschrieben. Da Ambrosiaster an derselben Stelle von den Marcioniten bemerkt, sie seien im Aussterben (in Rom, bzw. in Italien), und dann sofort die Patriciani (und Manichaei) nennt, so darf man wohl vermuten, daß ein Teil der Marcioniten von Patricius gewonnen worden ist. Im allgemeinen bemerkt man, daß im Abendland die Marcioniten in dem Maße zurücktreten, als die Manichäer erstarken. Daraus läßt sich mit Sicherheit schließen, daß die abendländischen Marcioniten, sofern sie nicht ausstarben oder katholisch wurden, im Manichäismus aufgingen, der im Abendland christlicher war als im Morgenland. Es war kein rühmlicher Übergang.

Beilage VII: Lukanus, der Schüler Marcions.

An 24. Stelle, zwischen Marcion und Apelles, stand nach dem einstimmigen Zeugnis des Pseudotert., Epiphanius und Filastrius im Syntagma Hippolyts gegen die 32 Häresien Lukanus; er wird als Schüler M.s bezeichnet, ohne daß von ihm, wie von Apelles, berichtet wird, daß er vom Meister abgefallen sei; im Gegenteil wird seine Übereinstimmung mit M. bezeugt und sonst nichts. Warum ihn daher Hippolyt als einen besonderen Häresiarchen in seinen Katalog aufgenommen hat, bleibt ganz dunkel, zumal da er auch in den Philos. VII, 11 u. 37 nur konstatiert, daß Lukanus, der Schüler M.s, wie sein Meister gelehrt habe.

Aber von Tertullian (de resurr. 2) und Origenes (c. Cels. II, 27) erfährt man beiläufig etwas Näheres. Jener teilt uns mit, daß fast alle Häretiker, sei es auch auf ihre Weise, die Errettung der Seele zugestehen („animae salutem, quoque modo volunt, non negant"), daß aber einer, ein gewisser Lukanus, der Seele etwas anderes unterschiebt, indem er sie wie Aristoteles auflöst, und die Auferstehung nur diesem dritten (also wohl dem Aristotelischen *νοῦς*), das weder Seele noch Leib sei, zuspricht[1]. Origenes aber sagt, daß der Vorwurf des Celsus, das Evangelium werde fort und fort von Christen verändert, nur die Marcioniten, die Valentinianer und wohl auch die Schüler des Lukanus treffe (*τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς*

1 Wenn Tert. fortfährt: „Habet et iste a nobis plenissimum, ‚De omni statu animae' stilum", so will er damit nicht sagen, daß er die Lehre des Lukanus unter ausdrücklicher Beziehung auf ihn in dem Werke „De anima" (dieses ist hier gemeint) ausführlich widerlegt habe — denn eine solche Widerlegung sucht man vergebens —, sondern daß Lukanus durch die Ausführungen dort tatsächlich widerlegt sei; s. de anima 12 ff.

ἀπὸ Λουκάνου). Aus diesen Mitteilungen geht hervor, daß Lukanus sein eigenes Didaskaleion gehabt hat, dem er als philosophisch (aristotelisch) geschulter Marcionit vorstand, und daß in seiner Schule auch die kritische Arbeit M.s am Evangelium fortgesetzt wurde: Lukanus war also ein selbständiger Lehrer innerhalb der Marcionitischen Kirche. Da Hippolyt, der römische Schriftsteller, ihn als besonderen Häresiarchen eingeführt und Tertullian ein Werk von ihm gelesen hat, während Origenes, wie es scheint, nur die Glocken hat läuten hören, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß Lukanus samt seiner Schule im Abendland (Rom?) zu suchen ist; Rhodon hat ihn, soweit wir nach Eusebius zu urteilen vermögen, nicht genannt.

Nun bringt aber Epiphanius (haer. 43) ein paar Einzelheiten aus der Lehre des Lukanus (den er „Lukianus" nennt). Hier ist es fraglich, ob sie im Syntagma Hippolyts gestanden haben — die beiden anderen Referenten wissen nichts von ihnen, aber sie benutzten wahrscheinlich nur die Epitome des Syntagma — oder ob sie von Epiphanius herrühren. Prüft man sie, so wird jenes wahrscheinlich. Die Mitteilungen beschränken sich darauf, daß Lukanus wie M. gelehrt habe [1], ein Anhänger der Dreiprinzipienlehre gewesen sei, in Weise M.s ATliche Aussagen gegen den Schöpfergott verwertet habe (als Beispiele werden Mal. 3, 14 u. 15 genannt, die sich bei M., soviel wir wissen, nicht finden) und gegen die Ehe als strenger Asket aufgetreten sei. In diesem Zusammenhang wird ein Satz des Lukanus mitgeteilt: *Ἀφ' οὗ γάμος, εὐθηνία* [das ist ein von Aristoteles eingeführtes Wort, welches den Aristotelismus des Lukanus bezeugt] *διὰ τῆς παιδοποιΐας ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ δημιουργῷ γίνεται.* Das ist alles, aber es macht in seiner Schlichtheit nicht den Ein-

1 Leider hat der Text an der wichtigsten Stelle eine Lücke (c. 1 p. 187, 8); *κέχρηται δὲ ὡς ὁ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθὼν λόγος καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμφασις* .... Holl ergänzt sie versuchsweise: < *περιέχει, μόνον τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ· οὐκ οἶδα δέ, εἰ καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁμοίως τῷ Μαρκίωνι ῥᾳδιουργεῖ* >. Vielleicht stand hier etwas, was die Mitteilung des Orig. über die fortgesetzte tendenziös-kritische Arbeit des Lukanus an dem Ev. bestätigte. In der Anakephal. sagt Epiph. von Lukanus: *Πάντα κατὰ τὸν Μαρκίωνα ἐδογμάτισεν, ἕτερα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Μαρκίωνα καὶ αὐτὸς δῆθεν περισσότερον δογματίζει.*

druck, daß es Epiphanius erfunden, und in seiner Dürftigkeit nicht den Eindruck, daß er es einer besonderen Quelle entlehnt habe; also wird es aus Hippolyts Syntagma stammen, und wir haben neben den beiden Zügen zur Charakteristik des Lukanus, die Tert. und Orig. beigebracht haben, hier einen dritten anzuerkennen: Lukanus war ein treuer Marcionit auch darin, daß er sowohl auf der Linie der Evangelienkritik und der „Antithesen" weitergearbeitet, als auch die Askese des Meisters literarisch verteidigt hat. Über die Seele und über die Ehe, über das AT und über den Text des Ev.s hat er seine Ansichten veröffentlicht. Diese Vielseitigkeit mag ihn zum Ruf eines Häresiarchen verholfen haben.

Als stadtrömische Erscheinungen sind Cerdo, der „Lehrer" M.s, und vielleicht auch Lukanus, der Schüler, in den Ketzerkatalog gekommen.

Beilage VIII: Apelles, der Schüler Marcions und Sektenstifter.

1. Aus Rhodons Werk „Gegen die Häresie Marcions" bei Euseb., h. e. V, 13 [1]:

Den Eingang s. o. S. 321* f.; sodann *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς* (scil. die Marcioniten) *ἀσύμφωνοι γεγόνασιν, ἀσυστάτου γνώμης ἀντιποιούμενοι. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἀγέλης Ἀπελλῆς μέν, ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν σεμνυνόμενος καὶ τὸ γῆρας, μίαν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖ, τὰς δὲ προφητείας ἐξ ἀντικειμένου λέγει πνεύματος πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης, ὄνομα Φιλουμένης . . . . (Γράφει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς* [scil. Rhodon] — bemerkt Eusebius — *ὡς καὶ εἰς λόγους ἐληλύθει τῷ Ἀπελλῇ, φάσκων οὕτως)· Ὁ γὰρ γέρων Ἀπελλῆς συμμίξας ἡμῖν, πολλὰ μὲν κακῶς λέγων ἠλέγχθη· ὅθεν καὶ ἔφασκεν μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον, ὡς πεπίστευκεν, διαμένειν· σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἠλπικότας ⟨ἀπεφαίνετο⟩, μόνον ἐὰν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὑρίσκωνται· τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδογματίζετο πρᾶγμα, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ θεοῦ· ἔλεγεν μὲν γὰρ μίαν ἀρχὴν καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος* (hier hat Euseb. den Nachsatz ausgelassen). *Λέγοντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· ‚Πόθεν ἡ ἀπόδειξις αὕτη σοι, πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν μίαν ἀρχήν; φράσον ἡμῖν', ἔφη τὰς μὲν προφητείας ἑαυτὰς ἐλέγχειν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἀληθὲς εἰρηκέναι· ἀσύμφωνοι γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ ἑαυταῖς ἀντικείμεναι· τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστιν μία ἀρχή, μὴ γινώσκειν ἔλεγεν, οὕτως δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον. εἶτ' ἐπομοσαμένου μου τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὤμνυεν ἀληθεύων λέγειν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἷς ἐστιν ἀγένητος* (wahrscheinlich ist mit ABDM *ἀγέννητος* zu schreiben, s. unten die Stelle aus Orig. Comm. in ep. ad Titum) *θεός, τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσας κατέγνων*

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1 Rhodon, aus Asien gebürtig, schrieb nach Euseb unter Commodus. Da Irenäus und Clemens Alex. den Apelles nicht kennen, ist Rhodon der älteste Zeuge für ihn.

αὐτοῦ, διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ᾔδει τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν.

Eusebius fährt fort, nachdem er mitgeteilt, daß Rhodon bekennt, er sei (einst) in Rom von Tatian bekehrt, nachher aber dessen Gegner geworden: *Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον ὑπόμνημα. ὅ γέ τοι Ἀπελλῆς οὗτος μυρία κατὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως ἠσέβησε νόμου, διὰ πλειόνων συγγραμμάτων τοὺς θείους βλασφημήσας λόγους, εἰς ἔλεγχόν τε, ὥς γε δὴ ἐδόκει καὶ ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν οὐ μικρὰν πεποιημένος σπουδήν* [1].

2. Tertullian.

De praescr. 6: „Providerat iam tunc (als Paulus den Galaterbrief schrieb) spiritus sanctus futurum in virgine quadam Philumene angelum seductionis, transfigurantem se in angelum lucis, cuius signis et praestigiis Apelles inductus novam haeresim induxit" [2].

De praescr. 7: Ubi aliquid de igneo deo allegatur (nämlich bei Apelles) Heraclitus intervenit" (d. h. Apelles hat seine Lehre von diesem).

De praescr. 30: „Sed et (vorher waren Marcion und Valentin besprochen) Apellis stemma retractandum est, tam non vetus et ipse quam Marcion institutor (institor B) et praeformator eius, sed lapsus in feminam desertor continentiae Marcionensis ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit. inde post annos regressus non melior, nisi tantum qua iam non Marcionites, in alteram feminam impegit, illam virginem Philumenen, quam supra edidimus, postea vero immane prostibulum et ipsam, cuius energemate [3] circumventus quae ab ea didicit ‚Phaneroseis' scripsit.

1 Rufin schreibt in seiner Übersetzung: „Est autem eiusdem et in Hexaemeron commentarius, in quo refert, quod Apelles quam plurima adversum legem Moysei conscripserit impia" etc. Dieses „in quo refert" ist lediglich Vermutung Rufins; denn den Kommentar Rhodons hat er gewiß nicht eingesehen.

2 Vgl. Hieron., Comment. zu Gal. 1, 8: „Eleganter in hoc loco vir doctissimus Tertullianus adversus Apellem et eius virginem Philumenem, quam angelus quidam diabolici spiritus et perversus impleverat, hunc esse scribit angelum, cui multo antequam Apelles nasceretur, spiritus sancti vaticinio anathema per apostolum prophetatum."

3 Vgl. de carne 24 (nach dem Zitat Gal. 1, 8): „ad energema Apelleiacae virginis Philumenes". Das Wort „energema" ist im obszönen Sinn zu fassen.

adhuc in saeculo supersunt, qui meminerint eorum (des Marcion, Valentin und Apelles), etiam proprii discentes et successores ipsorum, ne (se) posteriores negare possint" (Hiernach Hieron., ep. 133, 4: „Apelles Philumenem suarum comitem habuit doctrinarum").

De praescr. 33: „Ita (Verwerfung der Ehe) instituit Marcion et Apelles, eius secutor.

De praescr. 34: „Apelles creatorem angelum nescio quem gloriosum superioris dei fecit, deum legis et Israelis illum (lies alium) igneum affirmans." [1]

De praescr. 37: Marcion, Valentin, Apelles als Häretiker; schon c. 30 waren ihre Sekten als „insigniores et frequentiores" den anderen entgegengestellt.

Adv. Marc. III, 11: „Nam et Philumene illa magis persuasit Apelli ceterisque desertoribus Marcionis, ex fide quidem Christum circumtulisse carnem, nullius tamen nativitatis, utpote de elementis eam mutuatam".

Adv. Marc. IV, 17: „Non est discipulus super magistrum. hoc meminisse debuerat Apelles, Marcionis de discipulo emendator .... Nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit, nec Apelles de Marcionis."

De carne 1: „Quasi non eadem licentia haeretica et ipse scil. Marcion) potuisset aut admissa carne nativitatem negare, ut Apelles discipulus et postea desertor ipsius, aut et carnem et nativitatem confessus aliter illas interpretari, ut condiscipulus et condesertor eius Valentinus."

De carne 7: „Quidam discentes Pontici illius, supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem sine praeiudicio tamen renuendae nativitatis. ‚Habuerit', inquiunt, ‚carnem dum omnino non natam'. Pervenimus igitur de calcaria,

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1 So ist die Stelle zu interpunktieren und daher nicht zu übersetzen, (so Kellner u. a.): „Apelles machte einen beliebigen erhabenen Engel des oberen Gottes, den Gott des Gesetzes und Israels, zum Schöpfer und behauptete von ihm, daß er feuerartigen Wesens sei", sondern: „A. machte zum Schöpfer irgend einen berühmten Engel des oberen Gottes, für den Gott des Gesetzes und Israels jenen feurigen (Engel) erklärend". Aber hier macht „illum" Schwierigkeit; ich vermute „alium" (s. Tert., De resurr. 5; Hippol., Refut. VII, 38; X, 20); „illum" läßt sich halten, wenn es einfach als τόν zu nehmen ist, doch ist das bei Tert. noch selten.

quod dici solet, in carbonariam, a Marcione ad Apellem, qui, posteaquam a disciplina Marcionis in mulierem carne lapsus, dehinc in virginem Philumenen spiritu eversus est, solidum Christi corpus, sed sine nativitate suscepit ab ea (eo *Aφ*) praedicare. et angelo quidem illi Philumenes eadem voce apostolus respondebit (folgt Gal. 1, 8) .... Confitentur vere corpus habuisse Christum ... ‚De sideribus', inquiunt, ‚et de substantiis superioris mundi mutuatus est carnem', et utique proponunt non esse mirandum corpus sine nativitate, cum et apud nos angelis licuerit nulla uteri opera in carnem processisse .... Vos hoc (die Erscheinungen des Herrn und der Engel vor Abraham) non recipitis ... Probent (Apelles und seine Schüler) angelos illos carnem de sideribus concepisse ... C. 7 Apelles beruft sich gegen die kirchliche Ansicht vom Fleisch Christi auf Christi Wort (Luk. 8, 20): ‚Quae mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres?' „Audiat igitur Apelles, quid iam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni eo libello, quo evangelium ipsius provocavimus" (adv. Marc. IV, 19) ... Apelles sagt: ‚Temptandi gratia nuntiaverant ei matrem et fratres, quos non habebat' ..... Tert., sich gegen Apelles auf Joh. 7, 5 berufend („die Brüder des Herrn glaubten nicht an ihn"), fügt hinzu: „sicut evangelio ante Marcionem edito continetur"; er setzt also voraus, daß Apelles nur das Ev. Marcions anerkennt. Im folgenden werden auch Apelles und Marcion gemeinsam bekämpft, und von Luk. 8, 20 wird (c. 8) gesagt, daß beide in diesem Wort Jesu eine Hauptstütze ihrer Lehre sehen („maxime instructi sibi videntur"); aber diese Stütze verschwinde, wenn man das Wort „secundum veritatem integri et incorrupti evangelii" erklärt.

De carne 8: „Sed quoniam et isti Apelleiaci carnis ignominiam praetendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo praeside mali sollicitatis animabus adstructam et idcirco indignam Christo, et idcirco de sideribus illi substantiam competisse, debeo eos de sua paratura repercutere. angelum quendam inclitum nominant qui mundum hunc instituerit et instituto eo paenitentiam admiserit (lies admiscuerit). et hoc suo loco tractavimus — nam est nobis et ad illos libellus[1] — an qui

1 Diese Schrift haben Hippolyt (aber nicht im Syntagma, sondern in der Refut.), Pseudotertullian (adv. haer.) und vielleicht auch Vincentius

spiritum et voluntatem et virtutem Christi habuerit ad ea opera, dignum aliquid paenitentiae fecerit, cum angelum etiam figura erraticae ovis interpretantur. tute igitur paenitentia institutoris sui peccatum erit mundus, siquidem omnis paenitentia confessio est delicti, quia locum non habet nisi in delicto; Tert. meint nun schließen zu müssen, daß das Fleisch Christi auch nach A. doch sündig sei, denn die Gestirne (das „Himmlische") gehörten auch zu der Welt, die nach A. eine sündige Substanz, weil aus sündigem Ursprung, sei .... (Carnem) nostram ut peccatricem Christo dedignantur inducere."

De resurr. carnis 2: „Aut nullius veritatis (haeretici) contendunt carnem secundum Marcionem et Basilidem, aut propriae qualitatis secundum haereses Valentini et Apellen."

De resurr. carnis 5: Corpusculum istud (der menschliche Leib), quod malum denique appellare non horrent, ignei alicuius exstructio angeli, ut Apelles docet."

De anima 23: „Apelles sollicitatas refert animas terrenis escis de supercaelestibus ab igneo angelo, deo Israelis et nostro, qui exinde illis peccatricem circumfinxerit carnem."

De anima 36: „Apelles ante corpora constituens animas viriles ac muliebres, sicut ab Philumena didicit, utique carnem ut pos teriorem ab anima facit accipere sexum."

Aus der verlorenen Schrift Tertullians „Adv. Apelleiacos" (s. oben de carne 8) ist zu Augustin de haeres. 24 (es gehört aber zu 23) in einem jetzt verschollenen Ms. folgendes Stück abgeschrieben worden (es gehört also nicht zum Text Augustins): „Hic (Apelles) praeterea Philumenen quandam puellam dicebat inspiratam divinitus ad praenuntianda futura, ad quam somnia et aestus animi sui referens divinationibus seu praesagiis eius secretim erat solitus praemoneri, eodem phantasmate eidem Philumenae pueri habitu se demonstrante, qui puer apparens Christum se aliquando, aliquando esse assereret Paulum, a quo phantasmate sciscitans ea soleret respondere quae se audientibus diceret. nonnulla quoque illam miracula operari solitam, inter quae illud praecipuum, quod in angustissimi oris ampullam vitream panem grandem immitteret eumque extremis digitulis

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v. Lerin. (Commonit. 24) gekannt, da er Apelles unter denen aufzählt, gegen die Tert. besonders geschrieben hat.

levare soleret illaesum, eoque solo quasi divinitus sibi cibo dato fuisset contenta.“ [1]

3. Hippolyt.

Der Bericht Hippolyts im „Syntagma gegen 32 Häresien“ ist aus Epiph., Haer. 44, Filastr. 47 und Pseudotertullian, Adv. haer. 6 zu gewinnen. Der letztere hat aber auch eine andere Quelle und zwar höchst wahrscheinlich die verlorene Schrift Tert.s adv. Apell. benutzt (s. meine Schrift De Apellis gnosi monarchica, 1874).

Pseudotert. 6: „Post hos (Cerdonem et Marcionem) subsequitur Apelles, discipulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est, a Marcione segregatus est. hic introducit unum deum ⟨in⟩ infinitis superioribus partibus. hunc potestates multas angelosque fecisse; propterea et aliam virtutem, quam dicit, dominum dicit, sed angelum ponit; ⟨ab⟩ hoc vult videri mundum institutum ad imitationem mundi superioris, cui mundo permiscuisse paenitentiam, quia non illum tam perfecte fecisset quam ille superior mundus institutus fuisset. legem et prophetas repudiat. Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut Marcion, neque in substantia veri corporis, ut evangelium docet, sed in eo, quo de superioribus partibus descenderit, ipso descensu sideream sibi carnem et aëream contexuisse. hunc in resurrectione singulis quibusque elementis quae in descensu suo mutuatus fuisset in ascensu reddidisse, et sic dispersis quibusque corporis sui partibus in caelum spiritum tantum reddidisse (rediisse?). hic carnis resurrectionem negat. solo utitur .... apostolo, sed Marcionis, id est non toto [2]. animarum solarum dicit salutem. habet praeterea privatas, sed extraordinarias lectiones suas, quas appellant ‚Phaneroseis‘, Philumenes cuiusdam puellae, quam quasi prophetissam

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1 Den Beweis, daß diese Worte dem Tert. gehören, s. Texte u. Unters. Bd. 20, Heft 3 S. 93 ff.

2 Zwischen „utitur“ et „apostolo“ muß notwendig etwas ausgefallen sein (vgl. bei Cerdo, l. c. eine Seite vorher: „solum evangelium Lucae nec tamen totum recipit; apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistolas sumit“); es muß hier gestanden haben, daß A. das Lukas-Ev., aber verfälscht, benutzt hat. Auch sonst ist die Überlieferung hier schlecht, und wohl mit Recht hat Kroymann den Satz „animarum solarum dicit salutem“ unmittelbar nach „hic carnis resurrectionem negat“ folgen lassen.

sequitur. habet praeterea suos libros, quos inscripsit ‚Syllogismorum', in quibus probare vult quod omnia, quaecunque Moyses de deo scripserit, vera non sint, sed falsa sint."

Filastr. 47: „Fuit Apelles discipulus eius (Marcionis), similia in quibusdam Marcioni praedicans, qui interrogatus a quibusdam, quo modo de fide sentiret, respondit: ‚Non mihi opus est discere a Marcione, ut duo principia adseram coaeterna; ego enim unum principium esse praedico, quem deum cognosco, qui deus fecit angelos, fecit etiam alteram virtutem, quem deum scio esse secundum, qui et virtus dei est, quae fecit mundum. hic autem deus, qui fecit mundum, non est', inquit, ‚bonus, ut ille qui fecit eum, subiectus autem est deo illi, a quo et factus est iste, qui et nutui et iussioni et praeceptis paret illius in omnibus' .... Dicit autem Christum in carne apparuisse, non tamen, sicut Valentinus, de caelo carnem deposuisse (?). ait etiam post passionem non carnem surrexisse, sed de quattuor elementis, i. e. de sicco calido umido et frigido accepisse Christum et in resurrectione iterum reddidisse elementis quae de mundo acceperat, eaque in terram dimisisse, ipsum autem in caelum sine carne ascendisse adserit."

Epiphan., haer. 44, 1: *Τοῦτον τὸν προειρημένον Λουκιανὸν διαδέχεται Ἀπελλῆς ... ἐξ οὗπερ Ἀπελληϊανοί, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς συσχολαστὴς αὐτοῦ Λουκιανοῦ καὶ μαθητὴς τοῦ προειρημένου Μαρκίωνος. ... ἕτερα δὲ οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους βούλεται δογματίζειν καὶ κατὰ μὲν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ διδασκάλου ὁπλισάμενος ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰς τὸ συναγείρειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς σχολὴν πεπλανημένων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλεται δογματίζειν, φάσκων μὲν ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως, φησί, γεγένηται, ἀλλὰ πεπλάνηται Μαρκίων .... Φάσκει γοῦν οὗτος ὁ προειρημένος Ἀπελλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ οὔτε δύο, ὡς τοῖς περὶ Λουκιανὸν καὶ Μαρκίωνα ἔδοξεν, ἀλλά, φησίν, εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς θεὸς καὶ μία ἀρχὴ καὶ μία δύναμις ἀκατονόμαστος· ᾧ ἑνὶ θεῷ ἤγουν μιᾷ ἀρχῇ οὐδὲν μεμέληται τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ γεγενημένων, ἀλλὰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος ἄνωθεν θεὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐποίησεν ἕνα ἄλλον θεόν· ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἄλλος θεὸς ἔκτισε τὰ πάντα, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. ἀπέβη δὲ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα, φησίν, οὐκ ἀγαθῶς εἰργασμένα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φαύλην διάνοιαν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκτισται. ...*

2. *Χριστὸν δὲ ἥκειν φησὶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν, υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ ἄνω ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένων, καὶ ἐλθόντα οὐ δοκήσει πεφηνέναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν*

ἀληθείᾳ σάρκα εἰληφέναι, οὐκ ἀπὸ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινὴν μὲν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν σάρκα καὶ σῶμα, οὔτε ⟨δὲ⟩ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς παρθένου. ἀλλὰ ἔσχεν μὲν σάρκα ἀληθινήν, τούτῳ ⟨δὲ⟩ τῷ τρόπῳ· καί, φησίν, ἐν τῷ ἔρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνήγαγεν ἑαυτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων σῶμα. . . . ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ξηροῦ τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑγροῦ τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τὸ ψυχρὸν ⟨λαβὼν⟩ καὶ οὕτως πλάσας ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἀληθινῶς πέφηνεν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἄνω γνῶσιν, καταφρονεῖν τε τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα, ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ γραφῇ ποῖά ἐστι τὰ φύσει ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰρημένα καὶ ποῖά ἐστι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. ,,οὕτως γάρ", φησίν, ,,ἔφη ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται· χρῶμαι γάρ", φησίν, ,,ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς ἀναλέγων τὰ χρήσιμα." [1] *εἶτα, φησίν, ἔδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἑαυτὸν παθεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀνέστη ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτὴν τὴν σάρκα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς. καὶ ἀναλύσας, φησίν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεμέρισε πάλιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν στοιχείων τὸ ἴδιον, ἀποδοὺς τὸ θερμὸν τῷ θερμῷ, τὸ ψυχρὸν τῷ ψυχρῷ, τὸ ξηρὸν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὸ ὑγρὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ· καὶ οὕτως διαλύσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν τὸ ἔνσαρκον σῶμα ἀνέπτη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἧκε. . . .*

3. *Τὰ ὅμοια δὲ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστάτῃ Μαρκίωνι περί τε τῆς ἄλλης σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἐδογμάτισεν, φάσκων μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσαπερ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔδοξεν ὁμοίως δογματίζειν.*

Hippol., Refut. VII, 11 [2]; *Ὅτι καὶ Ἀπελλῆς* (wie Lukanus) *⟨Μαρκίωνος⟩ γενόμενος μαθητὴς οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐδογμάτισεν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ φυσικῶν (!) δογμάτων κινηθεὶς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέθετο.*

L. c. VII, 38: *Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ἐκ τούτων γενόμενος* (von Cerdo und Marcion) *οὕτως λέγει· Εἶναί τινα θεὸν ἀγαθόν, καθὼς καὶ Μαρκίων ὑπέθετο, τὸν δὲ πάντα κτίσαντα εἶναι δίκαιον, ὃς τὰ γενόμενα ἐδημιούργησε, καὶ τρίτον τὸν Μωσεῖ λαλήσαντα — πύρινον δὲ τοῦτον εἶναι —, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον ἕτερον, κακῶν αἴτιον· τούτους δὲ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζει. νόμον δὲ καὶ προφήτας δυσφημεῖ, ἀνθρώπινα καὶ ψευδῆ φάσκων εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα, τῶν δὲ εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ αἱρεῖται. Φιλουμένης δέ τινος λόγοις προσέχει ὡς προφητίδος φανερώσεσι.*

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1 Hierzu c. 5., wo Epiph. (Hippolyt) sagt: *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἃ βούλει λαμβάνεις ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ ἃ βούλει καταλιμπάνεις*, dazu s. unten Orig., Comm. in ep. ad Tit. (T. V. p. 283 f).

2 In der Refut. ist Hippolyt augenscheinlich auch von Tertullian abhängig, vgl. auch Pseudotertullian.

τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἐκ τῆς ὕπερθεν δυνάμεως κατεληλυθέναι, τουτέστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, κἀκείνου αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν. τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι οὐδὲ ἄσαρκον εἶναι φανέντα λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας μεταλαβόντα μερῶν σῶμα πεποιηκέναι, τουτέστι θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι λαθόντα τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐξουσίας βεβιωκέναι ὃν ἐβίωσε χρόνον ἐν κόσμῳ· αὖθις δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνασκολοπισθέντα θανεῖν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθέντα φανῆναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, δείξαντα τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς, πειθόντα ὅτι αὐτὸς εἴη καὶ οὐ φάντασμα, ἀλλὰ ἔνσαρκος ἦν. ‚σάρκα', φησίν, ‚δείξας ἀπέδωκε γῇ, ἐξ ἧσπερ ἦν οὐσίας, μηδὲν ἀλλότριον πλεονεκτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν χρησάμενος, ἑκάστοις τὰ ἴδια ἀπέδωκε, λύσας πάλιν τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ σώματος, θερμῷ τὸ θερμόν, ψυχρῷ τὸ ψυχρόν, ὑγρῷ τὸ ὑγρόν, ξηρῷ τὸ ξηρόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν πατέρα, καταλιπὼν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς σπέρμα εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῖς πιστεύουσι'.

L. c. X, 20: Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ὁ τούτου μαθητὴς ἀπαρεσθεὶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰρημένοις, καθὰ προείπομεν, ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ὑπέθετο τέσσαρας εἶναι θεούς, ὧν ἕνα φάσκει ⟨ἀγαθόν⟩, ὃν οὔτε . . . οἱ προφῆται ἔγνωσαν, οὗ εἶναι υἱὸν τὸν Χριστόν· ἕτερον δὲ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ παντός, ὃν οὐ θεὸν εἶναι θέλει, ἕτερον δὲ πύρινον τὸν φανέντα, ἕτερον δὲ πονηρόν· οὓς ἀγγέλους καλεῖ, προσθεὶς δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἐρεῖ. προσέχει δὲ βίβλῳ, ἣν Φανερώσεις καλεῖ Φιλουμένης τινός, ἣν προφῆτιν νομίζει. τὴν δὲ σάρκα τὸν Χριστὸν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου λέγει προσειληφέναι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης τοῦ κόσμου οὐσίας. οὗτος κατὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν συντάγματα ἐποίησε, καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρῶν ὡς ψευδῆ λελαληκότας καὶ θεὸν μὴ ἐγνωκότας· σάρκας τε ἀπόλλυσθαι ὁμοίως Μαρκίωνι λέγει.

4. Origenes[1].

Wie für Tertullian, so sind auch für Origenes die Apellejaner mit den Marcioniten, Valentinianern und Basilidianern die „insigniores et frequentiores haeretici", so jedoch daß sie mit den letztgenannten an zweiter Stelle stehen. Sehr häufig werden diese Häretiker von Orig. in zahlreichen seiner Schriften zusammen genannt (nicht selten auch M. Val. Apel. ohne Basilides),

1 S. Harnack, Der kirchengesch. Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes l. II (Texte u. Unters., Bd. 42 H. 3 S. 24—37; H. 4 S. 55—72. 142 f., 148), ferner Harnack, Sieben neue Bruchstücke der Syllogismen des Apelles (Texte u. Unters. Bd. 6 H. 3). — In dem Werk *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* hat Orig. den Apelles noch nicht erwähnt.

und seine Kenntnis der Lehre des Apelles ist direkt und gut. Wir würden noch mehr Proben von ihr besitzen, wenn uns sämtliche Werke des O. erhalten wären; haben uns doch hier Ambrosius und Hieronymus noch manches vom Wissen des Orig. erhalten (jener Wichtiges, dieser Unbedeutendes).

In Gen. hom. II (Lomm. T. VIII p. 102 f.): *'Επηπόρουν τινὲς εἰ δύναται ἡ τηλικαύτη κιβωτὸς χωρῆσαι κἂν τὸ πολλοστὸν μόριον τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πάντων ζώων. καὶ μάλιστα 'Απελλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μαρκίωνος γνώριμος καὶ γενόμενος ἑτέρας αἱρέσεως παρ' ἐκεῖνον πατήρ, ἀθετεῖν βουλόμενος ὡς οὐχ ἅγια τὰ Μωυσέως γράμματα, τοῦτο ἐπαπορήσας ἐπιφέρει, τό· ‚ψευδὴς ἄρα ὁ μῦθος· οὐκ ἄρα ἐκ θεοῦ ἡ γραφή.'* Dasselbe Stück Lat. p. 134 f.: ,,Obiciunt quidam quaestiones et praecipue Apelles, qui fuit discipulus quidem Marcionis, sed alterius haereseos magis quam eius, quam a magistro suscepit, inventor. is ergo dum assignare cupit, scripta Mosis nihil in se divinae sapientiae nihilque operis sancti spiritus continere, exaggerat huiusmodi dicta et dicit, nullo modo fieri potuisse, ut tam breve spatium tot animalium genera eorumque cibos, qui per totum annum sufficerent, capere potuisset. cum enim bina et bina ex immundis animalibus, h. e. bini masculi et binae feminae — hoc enim indicat sermo repetitus —, ex mundis vero septena et septena, quod est paria septena in arcam dicantur inducta, quomodo, inquit, fieri potuit istud spatium, quod scriptum est, ut quatuor saltem elephantes capere potuerit? et posteaquam per singulas species hoc modo refragatur, addit super omnia his verbis: ‚Constat ergo fictam esse fabulam; quod si est, constat non esse a deo hanc scripturam.' " Orig. sucht den Einwurf zu widerlegen und bemerkt dann: ,,Haec, quantum ad historiae pertinet rationem, adversum eos dicta sint, qui impugnare scripturas V. T. nituntur, tamquam impossibilia quaedam et irrationabilia continentes."

Orig. bei Ambros., De paradiso V, 28: ,,Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, sicut habes in XXXVIII. tomo eius, has quaestiones proponunt: ‚Quomodo lignum vitae plus operari videtur ad vitam quam insufflatio dei?' Deinde: ‚Si hominem non perfectum fecit deus, unusquisque autem per industriam propriam perfectionem sibi virtutis adsciscit, nonne videtur plus sibi homo acqui-

rere, quam ei deus contulit?' Tertium obiciunt: ‚Et si homo non gustaverat mortem, utique quam non gustaverat, scire non poterat. ergo si non gustaverat, nesciebat, si nesciebat, timere non poterat. frustra igitur deus mortem pro terrore obiecit, quam homines non timebant[1].' "

Sicher sind auch noch folgende Stücke in der Schrift de paradiso aus Origenes geschöpft und geben Einwürfe des Apelles wieder:

De paradiso VI, 30: „Rursus faciunt alias quaestiones hoc modo: ‚Non semper malum est non obedire praecepto. si enim bonum est praeceptum, honesta est obeditio; quod si improbum praeceptum, non obedire utile, ergo non semper malum est non obedire praecepto, sed bono praecepto non obedire improbum est. bonum autem est operatorium (= *δημιουργικόν*) cognitionis boni et mali lignum, quando quidem deus et bonum et malum novit. denique ait: Ecce Adam factus est tamquam

1 Das letztere Argument kehrt wieder in den Pseudojustinischen Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthod. 91 (Otto, Corp. Apol. T. IV p. 136): *Εἰ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως ὁ Ἀδὰμ λογικοῦ ἢ ἀλόγου . . . οὐ τεθέαται θάνατον, πῶς δν οὐκ εἶδεν, ὡς ἑωρακὼς ἀπειληθέντα ἐδειλίασε θάνατον; πῶς δὲ τοῦτον ἀγνοούμενον αὐτῷ ὡς ἐγνωσμένον ἠπείλησεν ὁ θεός;* vgl. (Pseudoaugustin, Dial. cum Orosio, quaest. 33: „Quomodo poterat timere mortem Adam, quam nullatenus sciebat?"). In jenen Quästionen kann manches aus den Syllogismen des Apelles geflossen sein, was sehr an seine Art erinnert; aber wir besitzen keine Mittel, um das zu bestimmen, da ähnliche Werke auch von anderen geschrieben sein können (s. über diese Quästionen meine Abhandlungen in den „Texten u. Unters." Bd. 21 Heft 4). Dasselbe gilt von einem Teil des Materials, welches Grabe (Spicilegium I p. 308 f.) aus Moses Bar-Cepha Part. III Comment. de paradiso c. 1 p. 200 f. (edit. Antverp. 1569) über „Simons des Magiers" Kritik an der mosaischen Urgeschichte entnommen hat. Vielleicht ist auch das merkwürdige, dem Irenäus (gegen die Ophiten) zugeschriebene Stück bei Anastasius Sinaita (in seinen Contempl. Anagog. über das Sechstagewerk), abgedruckt bei Harvey Iren. T. II p. 483 ff., den Syllogismen des Apelles zuzuweisen.

unus nostrum. si igitur bonum est scientiam habere boni et mali, bona autem est quam etiam deus habet, videtur qui interdicit eam hominibus non recte interdicere', idque proponunt".

De parad. VI, 31: „Alia quaestio: ‚Qui non cognoscit bonum et malum, nihil a parvulo distat; parvuli autem apud iustum iudicem nulla est culpa. iustus autem operator mundi nunquam parvulum vocasset in culpam propter quod non cognoverat bonum et malum, quia parvulus sine ullo est crimine praevaricationis et culpae.'"

De parad. VI, 32: „Iterum quaestiones serunt: ‚Qui nescit', inquiunt, ‚bonum et malum, ne ipsum quidem novit esse malum non servare mandatum, nec ipsum bonum novit, quod est obedire malo. et ideo, quia non noverat, venia', inquiunt, ‚dignus fuit, qui non obedivit, non condemnatione'."

De parad. VII, 35: „Iterum alia quaestio subrepit, ‚unde mors accideret Adae, utrum a natura ligni eiusmodi an vero a deo. si naturae ligni hoc adscribimus, videtur ligni huius fructus vivificandi insufflationi dei praestare, siquidem quem vivificaverat insufflatio, fructus huius ligni traxit ad mortem. aut si deum operatorem mortis esse memoramus', dicunt, ‚quod gemina eum opinione accusemus, quod aut ita immitis, ut noluerit ignoscere cum posset, aut si ignoscere non potuerit, videatur infirmus'."

De parad. VIII, 38: „Iterum quaestio: ‚Sciebat praevaricaturum deus Adam mandata sua an nesciebat? si nesciebat, non est ista divinae potestatis assertio; si autem sciebat et nihilominus sciens negligenda mandavit, non est dei aliquid superfluum praecipere; superfluum autem praecepit protoplasto

illi Adae, quod eum noverat minime servaturum; nihil autem deus superfluum facit; ergo non est scriptura ex deo'. hoc enim obiciunt qui V. non recipiunt T. et has interserunt quaestiones". In der Widerlegung bemerkt Ambrosius (Origenes) u. a.: „Si a deo factus est ille, ut dicunt, operator hominis, quomodo bonus deus operatorem mali fecit?"

De parad. VIII, 40: „Iterum hinc aliam faciunt quaestionem, ut ad invicem mandati eius, quod diximus in hominis opinione consistere, hanc ipsam opinionem impressam a deo nobis tamquam praescriptum divinae legis accusent. ‚noverat', inquiunt, ‚hominem peccaturum, qui creavit eum et has opiniones boni et mali impressit, annon noverat? ut si dixeris quia non noverat, alienum a maiestate dei sentias; si autem dixeris quia sciens deus peccaturum hominem, communes tamen opiniones ei boni et mali impressit, ut propter admixtionem malorum vitae perpetuitatem servare non posset, sicut in illo non praesagum futuri, ita in hoc non bonum deum significare videris. atque hinc argumentantur, ‚quia non est creatura hominis a deo facta'. nam sicut supra ostendimus eos dicere, ‚quod non est mandatum dei', sic et hic dicunt: ‚Non ergo creatura hominis a deo, quia deus malum non facit; homo autem opinionem accepit mali, dum a malis praecipitur abstinere.' hoc autem genere alium bonum deum, alium operatorem hominis conantur asserere."

De parad. VIII, 41: „Dicunt ‚quomodo bonus deus, qui non solum passus est introire in hunc mundum malitiam, sed etiam in tantam confusionem venire permisit?'" (Ob auch VI, 34; IX, 42; XI, 52 auf Apelles zurückgehen, ist mindestens zweifelhaft).

Orig., Hom. XVI, 3 in Gen. (Lomm. T. VIII p. 274) zu c. 12, 10 mag Apelles gemeint sein, wenn Orig. sagt, daß hier der sermo scripturae divinae nach dem Urteil einiger „incaute et imperite compositus" sei.

Apelles mag gemeint sein (oder Marcion; s. dort), wenn es Orig., Hom. VII, 1 in Num. (T. X p. 54) heißt: „Haeretici, qui

non recipiunt legem et prophetas detrahunt de Mose; denique solent ei etiam crimen impingere, dicentes, quia homicida fuit Moses, interfecit enim Aegyptium, et alia multa vel in ipsum vel in prophetas blasphemo ore concinnant" ; und ebenso vielleicht hom. XXVII, 2 in Num. (l. c. p. 336) zu den „mansiones filiorum Israel" beim Wüstenzug c. 33, 1 ff.: „Quis audeat dicere, quod ea, quae per verbum domini scribuntur, nihil utilitatis habeant nec salutis aliquid conferant, sed solam rem gestam narrent, quae tunc quidem praeterierit, nunc autem nihil ad nos ex eius relatione perveniat? impia haec et aliena a catholica fide sententia est et eorum tantummodo, qui legis et evangeliorum negant unum solum sapientem esse deum patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Orig., Comm. in ep. ad Titum (T. V p. 283 ff.): „Sed et Apelles, licet non omnibus modis Dei esse deneget legem vel prophetas, tamen et ipse haereticus designatur, quoniam dominum hunc, qui mundum edidit, ad gloriam alterius ingeniti et boni dei eum construxisse pronuntiat; illum autem ingenitum deum in consummatione saeculi misisse Jesum Christum ad emendationem mundi, rogatum ab eo deo, qui eum (scil. mundum) fecerat, ut mitteret filium suum ad mundi sui correctionem."

Orig., Comm. Ser. 46 in Matth. (T. IV p. 295): „Secundum Marcionis doctrinam, et secundum traditiones Valentini aut Basilidis longam fabulositatem, aut secundum Apellis adversus Paulum testimonium falsum."

Das oben Seite 309* aus Origenes angeführte Marcionitische Stück gegen die Beschneidung (Comm. II, 13 in Rom.) kann von Apelles herrühren. Dasselbe gilt von dem wertvollen Stück Comm. II § 199 f. in Joh. (S. 285*) und von der Bemerkung zu Röm. 4, 18 ff. (Comm. in Rom. i. Journ. of Theol. Stud. XIII, 1911, p. 361; s. auch das Stück vorher).

Vielleicht bezieht sich auf Apelles Comm. IX, 2 in Rom. (T. VII p. 296), wo von solchen Häretikern gesprochen wird, „qui negant Christum in carne venisse et natum esse ex virgine, sed coeleste ei corpus assignant", und ebenso mit auf ihn Hom. XIV in Luc. (T. V. p. 134): „Negant dominum humanum habuisse corpus, sed coelestibus et spiritualibus fuisse contextum; .... de coelestibus, et ut illi falso asserunt, de sideribus et alia quadam spiritualique natura corpus eius fuerit."

Orig.. Selecta in Psalm. (T. XII p. 73, erhalten in der Apol. Pamphili): „Quidam quidem dicebant, quod salvator noster adscendens e terris ad coelum et corpus suum adsumens pervenit usque ad eum circulum, qui solis zona nominatur, et ibi, aiunt, posuit tabernaculum corporis sui, non enim ultra erat possibile id progredi. sed haec illi ita sentiunt pro eo, quod allegoriam nolunt in scriptura divina recipere et ideo purae historiae deservientes huiusmodi fabulas et figmenta componunt.“ Entweder Apelles oder Hermogenes.

Orig., Hom. XVIII, 9 in Jerem. p. 163 (Klosterm.) *Οἱ ἕνα μὲν τηροῦντες θεόν, ἐξουδενοῦντες δὲ τὰς προφητείας, οὐκ ἐδίψησαν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.*

Orig., c. Cels. V, 54: *Ὁ Μαρκίωνος γνώριμος Ἀπελλῆς, αἱρέσεώς τινος γενόμενος πατὴρ καὶ μῦθον ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰ Ἰουδαίων γράμματα, φησίν· ὅτι μόνος οὗτος* (scil. Christus) *ἐπιδεδήμηκε τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Aus Pamphilus' Apologie für Origenes stammt die Angabe im Liber Praedest. 22: „Hos (die Sekte des Apelles) Origenes ita perfecte superavit, ut eorum causa periodeutes fieret et per singulas quasque urbes per orientem eundo praedicaret“. Die Notiz ist unerfindbar, und außerdem wird ausdrücklich am Schluß des Abschnitts jene Apologie zitiert, wenn auch für eine andere Angabe [1].

5. Cyprian.

Ep. 73,4: Patripassiani, Anthropiani, Valentiniani, Appelletiani, Ophitae, Marcionitae et ceterorum haereticorum pestes;“ cf. ep. 74, 7: „In tantum Stephani fratris nostri obstinatio dura prorupit, ut etiam de Marcionis baptismo, item Valentini et Appelletis et ceterorum blasphemantium in deum patrem contendat filios dei nasci.“

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1 Im Prolog zu seinem Comm. in Matth. führt Hieronymus neben anderen falschen Evv. ein Evangelium Apellis auf. Da er bei solchen Angaben in der Regel von Orig. abhängig ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß er auch diese Notiz ihm verdankt. Allein, da sonst berichtet wird, Apelles habe das in der Sekte M.s gültige Ev. gebraucht und von einem besonderen Ev. Apellis nichts bekannt ist, wird man ein solches auf Grund der beiläufigen Bemerkung des Hieronymus, der gern mit Namen und Schriften prunkt, nicht anzunehmen haben.

6. Firmilian in Kappadozien.

Bei Cypr., ep. 75, 5: „... cum et Marcion Cerdonis discipulus inveniatur sero post apostolos ... sacrilegam adversus deum traditionem induxisse. Appelles quoque blasphemiae eius consentiens multa alia nova et graviora fidei ac veritati inimica addiderit.“ (Es folgen Valentin und Basilides).

7. Anthimus, Bischof von Nikomedien († sub Diocl.), *Ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Θεόδωρον περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας.*

Im Cod. Ambros. H. 257 inf. hat Mercati (Rendic. del R. Istit. Lomb. di sc. et lett., Ser. II, Vol. 31, 1898, p. 1 ff.) Fragmente obenstehender Schrift entdeckt; eines lautet: *Παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπελλῆ, τοῦ μαθητοῦ Μαρκίωνος, ὃς στασιάσας πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκαλον οὕτως ἔφη· Ψεύδεται Μαρκίων λέγων ⟨β'⟩εἶναι ἀρχάς· ἐγὼ δέ φημι μίαν, ἥτις ἐποίησε δευτέραν ἀρχήν.*

8. Theodorets Zeugnis s. o. S. 371*; er ist von Rhodon (Eusebius) und Hippolyt abhängig.

9. Paulus v. Taron (Ende des 11. Jahrh.), armenischer Schriftsteller, schreibt (s. Karapet, Die Paulikianer S. 97): „Ein gewisser Apelles, ein verworfener Mensch, dem Leibe nach ein Greis, verbittert durch das (lange) Leben und stolz auf den Beistand der bösen Geister, sagte von den Propheten, daß ihre Prophezeiungen aus dem Widerspruch zum h. Geist zustande kämen (dies nach Rhodon-Eusebius) und stellte folgendes fest: Die Messe sei von keinem Nutzen, die man für die Toten darbringt. Gott verdamme ihn!“

Da die pseudoklementinischen Homilien denselben eklektischen Standpunkt wie Apelles zum AT einnehmen und sich für ihn, wie Apelles, auf das apokryphe Herrnwort von den Geldwechslern berufen (s. oben bei Epiph. u. Hom. Clem. II, 51: *Εἰ οὖν τῶν γραφῶν ἃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, ἃ δὲ ψευδῆ, εὐλόγως ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν· „Γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι“, ὡς τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τινῶν μὲν δοκίμων ὄντων λόγων, τινῶν δὲ κιβδήλων)*, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß sie Schriften des Apelles, bzw. die „Syllogismen“, gekannt haben. Dann aber wird wohl der auf II, 51 folgende Abschnitt auf Apelles zurückgehen, in welchem die biblische Überlieferung als lügenhaft bezeichnet wird, Adam, der aus der Hand Gottes hervorgegangen, habe den Sündenfall

begangen, Noah sei betrunken gewesen, Abraham habe drei, Jakob vier Weiber — unter ihnen zwei Schwestern — gehabt, und Moses sei ein Mörder gewesen (II, 52). Das hindert den Verfasser der Homilien nach seiner Eigenart nicht, andrerseits gegen Lehren des Apelles zu polemisieren; so ist es augenscheinlich seine Lehre, die III, 2 also charakterisiert wird: *μὴ τοῦτον εἶναι θεὸν ἀνώτατον, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισε καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἄλλον τινὰ ἄγνωστον καὶ ἀνώτατον ὡς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ὄντα θεὸν θεῶν· ὃς δύο ἔπεμψε θεούς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμον κτίσας, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ τὸν νόμον δούς,* cf. XVIII, 12: *οὐ λέγομεν δύο ἀπεστάλθαι ἀγγέλους, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κτίσαι κόσμον, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θέσθαι τὸν νόμον.* Auf eine Schrift des A. mögen noch III, 50 (wo wieder der Spruch von den Geldwechslern zitiert wird), XVI, 6 ff. und vieles aus XVII und XVIII zurückgehen; aber eine höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit läßt sich hier nicht gewinnen.

In den Häresiologien pflanzt sich der Name des Apelles (nach Epiph. u. Filastr.) fort; es ist überflüssig, darauf einzugehen (Augustin [de haer. 23] u. Praedest. [22] referieren, Christus habe sich seinen Leib aus den Elementen der Welt gebildet und ihn nach der Auferstehung der Welt [der Luft] zurückgegeben). Schon Pacian von Barcelona weiß von der Geschichte der Marcionitischen Bewegung nichts mehr, wenn er (ad Semprom. I, 1) ordnet: „Apelles, Marcion, Valentinus, Cerdo", und auch das will nichts besagen, daß er I, 3 (s. o. S. 390*f.) vielleicht von „Apelleiaci" spricht, die er bei Tert. oder Cyprian aufgelesen hat.

Beilage IX: Ein wahrscheinlich antimarcionitisches Fragment aus der Schrift Melitos von Sardes „Über die Taufe".

In seinem Katalog der Werke Melitos verzeichnet Eusebius zwischen den Titeln *Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος (ἢ νοός?)*[1] und *Περὶ ἀληθείας* eine Schrift: *Περὶ λουτροῦ*. Von dieser Schrift, die bisher weder durch eine Handschrift noch durch ein Zitat bekannt war, fand Pitra ein Fragment im Cod. Vatic. 2022 fol. 238 mit der Überschrift *Μελήτονος ἐπισκόπου Σαρδέων περὶ λουτροῦ* und veröffentlichte es in den Analecta Sacra T. II (1884) p. 3 ff.[2]. Eine zweite Handschrift des Fragments (in genau gleichem Umfang, mit der Überschrift *Μελίτωνος ἐπισκόπου Σαρδαίων*) entdeckte Mercati im Ambros. I. 9. Sup. (script. ann. 1142 von dem auch sonst bekannten Schreiber Nikolaus Chtamalus) und teilte in der Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr. Bd. 26 (1894) S. 597 ff. die Varianten zum Texte des Vaticanus mit[3]. Die beiden hand-

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1 S. Ed. Schwartz in seiner Eusebius-Ausgabe z. d. St.

2 Leider hat Pitra, wie gewöhnlich, nichts Näheres über die Handschrift und den Kontext des Stücks bemerkt.

3 Mercati bemerkt, daß das Melitonische Stück „post subscriptionem ipsam ultimo loco" stehe, u. fährt fort: „Licet fragmentum subscriptionem sequatur et litteris minutioribus densioribusque, imo frequentioribus atque etiam novis compendiis conscriptum sit, attamen vel in eo manifeste se prodit manus Nicolai. Adhoc tum Epiphanii fragmentum et ipsum subscriptioni subditum, tum postremum Melitonis annumerantur reliquis codicis partibus, quarum proprius numerus margini colore rubro appingitur. Ita Epiphanii locus est *ρκδ'*, Melitonis autem *ρκε'*; qui vero absque medio subscriptioni praeit, est *ρκβ'* (*ρκγ'* deest, folio abscisso): idem dic de reliquis. — Certissime igitur utraque appendix ab eodem Nicolao eodemque plus minus tempore descripta est". Leider hat auch Mercati anzugeben unterlassen, was der Codex sonst enthält.

schriftlichen Zeugen sind voneinander unabhängig; aber haben gemeinsame Fehler. Da das Stück nicht leicht zugänglich und auf Grund der beiden Handschriften noch nicht rezensiert worden ist, so wird es hier mitgeteilt (V = Vatic., A = Ambros.); Orthographica sind beiseite gelassen.

Das ganz rhetorische und daher echt kleinasiatische Fragment hat sein Akumen in der Verteidigung der Taufe Jesu im Jordan. Da Marcion sie in seinem Evangelium gestrichen hatte, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß die Verteidigung sich gegen ihn gerichtet hat. Eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit Tertullians Schrift „De baptismo" in bezug auf die Darlegung der kosmischen Voraussetzungen der Taufe ist deutlich.

Μελίτωνος ἐπισκόπου Σάρδεων περὶ λουτροῦ.

Ποῖος δὲ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ χαλκὸς ἢ σίδηρος πυρωθεὶς οὐ βαπτίζεται ὕδατι, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἵνα φαιδρυνθῇ διὰ τῆς χρόας, ὁ δὲ ἵνα τονωθῇ διὰ τῆς βαφῆς;

Ἡ δὲ σύμπασα γῆ ὄμβροις καὶ ποταμοῖς λούεται, καὶ λουσαμένη καλῶς γεωργεῖται. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτιακὴ γῆ λουσαμένη ποταμῷ πληθύνοντι αὔξει μὲν τὸ λήϊον, πληροῖ δὲ τὸν στάχυν, ἑκατοντάχοα δὲ γεωργεῖ διὰ καλοῦ λουτροῦ· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀὴρ λούεται ταῖς τῶν ψεκάδων καταπομπαῖς.

Λούεται καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄμβρων μήτηρ πολυανθὴς ἶρις, ὁπόταν κατὰ ῥευμάτων κυρτωθῇ ποταμοὺς ὑδραγωγῷ πνεύματι προκαλουμένη.

Εἰ δὲ βούλῃ τὰ οὐράνια θεάσασθαι βαπτιζόμενα, ἐπείχθητι νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, κἀκεῖ σοι δείξω θέαμα καινόν — πέλαγος ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ θάλασσαν ἀόριστον καὶ ἀπείρητον βυθὸν καὶ ἀμέτρητον ὠκεανὸν καὶ ὕδωρ καθαρόν, τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου βαπτιστήριον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν λαμπ⟨ρυν⟩τήριον καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης λουτρόν· τὸ δὲ πῶς λούονται μυστικῶς, παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθε πιστῶς·

Ἥλιος μέν, διανύσας τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμον πυρίνοις ἱππεύμασι, τῇ περιδινήσει τοῦ δρόμου πυροειδὴς γενόμενος καὶ ὡς λαμπὰς ἐξαφθείς, διακαύσας δὲ τὴν μέσην τοῦ δρόμου ζώνην, ὡς ἂν πλησίον ὀφθῇ, δοκεῖ ἀκτινοβόλοις ἀστραπαῖς καταφλέξαι τὴν γῆν, δυσωπούμενος κάτεισιν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν· καθάπερ σφαῖρα χαλκῆ, πυρὸς ἔνδοθεν γέμουσα, πολὺ φῶς ἀναστράπτουσα, λούεται ἐν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ, μέγα ἠχοῦσα, λαμπρυνομένη δὲ ἀπαυγεῖ· τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἔνδοθεν οὐ σβέννυται, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀναστράπτει ἀνακαυθέν· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος, πεπυρωμένος ὡς ἀστραπή, ὅλως [οὐ] τελευτῶν λούεται ἐν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ, ἀκοίμητον ἔχων τὸ πῦρ· λουσάμενος δὲ

βαπτίσματι μυστικῷ, σφόδρα εὐφραίνεται, τὸ ὕδωρ ἔχων τροφήν· εἷς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν, ὡς καινὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνατέλλει ἥλιος, τετονωμένος ἐκ βυθοῦ, κεκαρθαμένος ἐκ λουτροῦ· τὸ δὲ νυκτερινὸν ἐξελάσας σκότος λαμπρὰν ἐγέννησεν ἡμέραν.

30 *Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τούτου δρόμον καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄστρων κίνησις καὶ ἡ τῆς σελήνης φύσις ἐνεργεῖ· λούονται γὰρ εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου βαπτιστήριον ὡς καλοὶ μαθηταί· οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες μετὰ τῆς σελήνης κατ' ἴχνος τοῦ ἡλίου διώκουσιν, καθαρὰν ἕλκοντες αὐγήν.*

Εἰ δὲ ἥλιος σὺν ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ λούεται ἐν ὠκεανῷ, δ ι ὰ τ ί κ α ὶ
35 *ὁ Χ ρ ι σ τ ὸ ς ἐ ν Ἰ ο ρ δ ά ν ῃ ο ὐ λ ο ύ ε τ α ι ; — βασιλεὺς οὐρανῶν καὶ κτίσεως ἡγεμών, ἥλιος ἀνατολῆς, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾅδου νεκροῖς ἐφάνη καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ βροτοῖς ⟨. . . . ?⟩, καὶ μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.*

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[1] χαλκοῦς V — [9] *μήρα* aus *μῆρ* A — [10] *κυρτωθῇ* W (= v. Wilamowitz), *κυρτώσῃ* V, *κυρώσει* A — *προκαλουμένη* W, *προσκαλουμένη* AV — [11] *ἐπ⟨ε⟩ίχθητι* A, *ἐπάχθητι* V — [14] *λαμπ⟨ρυν⟩τήριον* W — [16] *μάθες* V — [18] *παραδινήσει* A — [19] *διακαύσας* V, *διασώσας* A — [19] *ὀφθῆται* V — *δοκεῖ* W, *δέκα* AV — [21] *ἔνθαπερ* A — [23] *ἀπαυγεῖ* A, Pitra (Text): *ἀπ' αὐγῆς*, Pitra (Note): *δὲ ἐπ' αὐγῇ* sic V; an conic. *τε ἀπαυγῇ?* — [24] [*οὐ*] W — [31] *φύσις* A, *φύσει* V — V am Rande nach *μαθηταί*: *καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί* — [32] *τὸν ἥλιον* W — [33] *ἕλκοντες* A, *ἔχοντες* V — [36] *ἐφάνη* V, *φαίνει* A — [37] ⟨. . . . ?⟩ fehlt hier etwas, so ist ein Synonymum zu *φαίνειν* einzusetzen.

Beilage X: Inhaltsangabe und Fragmente der Schrift eines Patricianers (Neu-Marcioniten), gegen welche Augustin seinen Tractat „Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum“ (lib. II) gerichtet hat.

I, 1: Libro, quem misistis, fratres dilectissimi, nescio cuius haeretici, invento sicut scripsistis, in platea maritima, cum venalis codex ipse ferretur et concurrentibus turbis periculosa curiositate et delectatione legeretur, ut quanto possem compendio responderem, prius quaesivi cuiusnam esset erroris. Non enim soli Manichaei legem prophetasque condemnant, sed et Marcionistae et alii nonnulli, quorum sectae non ita innotuerunt populis Christianis. Iste autem, cuius nomen in eodem libro non comperi, detestatur deum mundi fabricatorem, cum Manichaei, quamvis librum Geneseos non accipiant atque blasphement, deum tamen bonum fabricasse mundum, etsi ex aliena natura atque materia, confiteantur. Sed quamquam non mihi apparuerit, cuius sectae sit iste blasphemus (cf. I, 10: iste vaniloquus blasphemator, qui scripsit librum sacrilegis conviciis plenum), defendenda est adversus eius linguam scriptura divina, quam maledicis disputationibus insectatur. Et quoniam quoquo modo Christianum se videri cupit, unde et ex Evangelio et ex Apostolo ponit aliqua testimonia, etiam scripturis ad Novum Testamentum pertinentibus refellendus est, ut ostendatur in reprehensione Veterum inconsiderantius quam versutius insanire [1].

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1 Cf. Retract. II, 58: Interea liber quidam cuiusdam haeretici sive Marcionistae, sive cuiuslibet eorum quorum error opinatur, quod istum mundum non deus fecerit, nec deus legis quae data est per Moysen et Prophetarum ad eandem legem pertinentium verus sit deus, sed pessimus daemon, cum apud Carthaginem multis confluentibus et adtentissime audientibus in platea maritina legeretur, pervenerunt ad eum fratres

Erst in II, 34 f. gibt Augustin den Inhalt der ersten, wie es scheint, größeren Hälfte der Schrift, die einem Unbekannten gewidmet war (II, 9. 35), genau an:

De initio Geneseos,
De lucis fabrica,
De die vel sole,
De causa constituendi hominem,
De peccato Adae,
De fabrica hominis,
De persuasu serpentis,
De maledicto in homine et de vitae arbore,
De poenitentia dei,
De diluvio,
De arcu in nubibus,
De induratione cordis Pharaonis,
De spiritu mendacii secundum Micham prophetam,
De testimonio Iesaiae prophetae (propter quod ait, „Filios genui et exaltavi" [c. 1, 2], quibus rursum dicit: „Filii scelesti, semen pessimum" [Jes. 1, 4], et quod item apud eum scriptum esse dixit: „Ego sum deus faciens bona et creans mala" [c. 45, 7]),
De perditione populi mandato Moysi (Exod. 32, 27 etc.),
De maledicto (quod turpe existimat),
De dei (quam putat confessa) *crudelitate*,
De studio (quod putat) *malitiae iuxta David regem*,
De eo quod scriptum est: „*Poenitet me quod constituerim Saul in regem*" (I Reg. 15, 11),
De spiritu Moysi (quod scripturas putat dixisse apostolum fabulas aniles),
De qualitate figurarum,
De Abraham,
De filiis Heli sacerdotis,
De sacrificiis (quae putat nonnisi daemonis exhiberi),
De prophetis dei (quos putat ante adventum domini non fuisse),
De eo quod in lege positum est, sanguinem esse animam,

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studiosissime Christiani eumque mihi redarguendum sine ulla dilatione miserunt, multum rogantes, ut nec ego respondere differrem. Refelli eum libris duobus, quos ideo praenotavi „Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum", quia codex ipse, qui missus est, nomen non habebat auctoris.

De deo cui Moyses servivit (quem putat deum verum non fuisse),

De varietate personarum (in quibus putat apostolum locutum esse fallaciter[?]).

Augustin fährt fort: „Quae omnia non hoc ordine persecutus sum, qui est in libro eius, sed sicut nostrae disputationis sibimet connexa series postulavit. Post haec ergo omnia titulum posuit ita se habentem:

Discretio spirituum malignitatis et bonitatis. et coepit contrariis inter se brevibus crebrisque sententiis laudare Christum et accusare legis deum (das sind höchstwahrscheinlich die Antithesen Marcions), hoc modo velut eum ad quem scribebat exhortans:

Quare igitur frater, inquit, *recedentes ab iniquitate praeteriti erroris intendamus Christum verum ac summum deum non huius saeculi principem et mundi fabricatorem, in quo nos peregrinari saepissime declaratum est; intendamus, inquam, illum pium ac mitem, qui nos suae cognationis ostendens mundi lumen vocavit, non illum qui secundum scripturas Iudaicas terrenum nobis initium assignans, in terra nobis finem indixit. intendamus illum, qui nos fratres appellans vigilare ac divina sapere persuasit, non illum qui nec dignoscentiae quidem sensum nobis permisit.* At hoc modo, fügt Augustin hinzu, cetera multa contexuit.

Es folgen nun die Fragmente:

I, 2 *Quomodo accipiendum est quod scriptum est*: „*In principio fecit deus caelum* et terram"; [quamquam non addiderit „terram" de qua post loquitur. quaerit ergo], *quo principio, eiusne quo idem deus esse coepit, an ex eo quo illum esse vacuum taeduit*? (Der letzte Satz wird I, 4 wörtlich wiederholt, doch mit der Einleitung: „*in principio igitur quo ?*").

I, 4 *Si mundus iste bonum aliquid est, cur non olim ex initio ab eo factum est, quod melius fuit*?

I, 10 *Adeo antea nescivit, lux quid esset, ut modo eam primum videns optimam iudicaret.*

I, 11 Quin etiam *stultitiae scribentis* assignet, quod *tenebras* dixerit *sine initio semper fuisse, lucem vero initium sumpsisse de tenebris.*

I, 14 Dicit se scire, *summum deum incomparabilem splendorem incomprehensibilis esse lucis.*

I, 17 Quid quod etiam *de aquarum congregatione* ingerit nescio quis imperitissimus quaestionem, immo vero non quaestionem, sed reprehensionem, tamquam *non recte dictum sit*: „*Congregentur aquae in congregationem unam et appareat arida*", *eo quod aquis omnia tenebantur.*

I, 18 Quod vero *in hominis conditorem deum* caecus et ingratus invehitur et audet dicere ei qui se finxit : Quare sic me fecisti? cum omnino quomodo sit factus ignoret, multum praecipitis mentis audacia est. Sed vasa irae permittuntur ista garrire . . . Ecce enim in eo quod reprehendit iste *hominis conditorem, quia prohibuerit sumere cibum dignoscentiae boni et mali, tamquam eum pecoribus parem esse voluisset nescientibus ista discernere, et hoc ei negasset cui potestatem dedisset in bestias, quo solo homo superat bestias . . .* § 19: *hominis institutorem a magno bono prohibuisse quem fecerat, dum eum pecori similem sine dignoscentia boni et mali esse voluisset* (s. II, 36).

I, 23 *Invenitur serpens in loco meliore quam deus, quia praevaluit decipere hominem quem fecerat deus.*

I, 24 *Quatenus ergo ante maledictum immortalis homo perpetuo vivere poterat, qui nondum ex ista arbore cibum sumpserat?*

I, 25 *Quomodo ex dei maledicto mori coeperit, cum vita ipsa nunquam ex ipso initium sumpserit?*

I, 26 *Ista arbor quae in paradiso vitae fructus ferebat, cui proderat?*

I, 27 *Primo deum non praescisse quod contigit, deinde implere non valuisse quod magnopere cogitavit, tertio ad maledictum se convertisse superatum.*

I, 30 Propterea videtur huic *deus legis et prophetarum*, qui unus et verus est deus, *crimine crudelitatis arguendus, quia propter levissimas causas vel etiam erubescendas poenam mortis vel corporalis inflixit, quod David populum numerasset, quod infantes* sicut iste dicit, *filii Heli sacerdotis de ollis vel cacabis deo praeparatis aliquid degustassent.*

I, 33 *Confessus est deus suam crudelitatem, qui dicit per prophetam*: „*Exacuam sicut fulgur gladium meum, inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine, et gladius meus manducabit carnes de sanguine vulneratorum* (Deut. 32, 41). De quibus verbis si iste accusat *deum* velut *semper humanum sanguinem esurientem . . .*, sed quantumlibet hanc utilem dei comminationem tamquam *facinoris*

aridam et, ut dicit, *in sola crudelitate malis tantummodo gloriantem.*

I, 34 Reprehendit etiam, quod *poenas impiorum significatas per uvam fellis et botrum amaritudinis et furorem draconum atque aspidum collectas dicit esse deus apud se et signatas in thesauris suis, reddendas in tempore, cum lapsus fuerit pes eorum* (Deut. 32, 32 f.).

I, 34 Vaniloqui — sagt Augustin — et mentis seductores adversantes litteris sacris, quas intelligere nolunt, eligunt ex iis aspera quae ibi leguntur ad commendandam severitatem dei et de litteris evangelicis atque apostolicis lenia quae ibi leguntur ad commendandam bonitatem dei, et apud homines imperitos hinc ingerunt horrorem, inde quaerunt favorem.

I, 35 Quid est ergo quod iste blasphemus haec (Stellen von der Güte Gottes) tamquam contraria Veteri Testamento de Novo colligit aut utrasque litteras nesciens aut, ut decipiat imperitos, se scire dissimulans. Besonders auf das „malum pro malo" muß sich der Anonymus berufen haben.

I, 36 Nach diesem Paragraph hat der Anonymus, wie Marcion, keine Strafgerechtigkeit dem Gott des NT. beigelegt und Matth. 18, 22 so verstanden, daß stets die Vergebung an die Stelle der Strafe zu treten hat.

I, 37 *David deum rogavit et non est exauditus nisi oblato sacrificio, ut hominibus qui non peccaverant parceretur, et ideo non est credendus deus verus, qui sacrificiis delectatur* (II Reg. 24, 10 ff.).

I, 38 Unde autem iste probare conatus est, *evidenter servisse daemoniis* (scil. David), *qui sacrificiis ea promeruit*, volens hoc intelligi de S. David, ibi evidentius quanta fraude imperitorum animis insidietur ostendit; adhibuit enim Apostolorum (Apostolum?) testem, eo quod dixerit: „*Videte Israel carnaliter; nonne qui edunt hostias participes sunt altaris? quid ergo, dico quod idolum sit aliquid? sed qui sacrificant, daemonibus sacrificant*" (I Kor. 10, 18). Augustin tadelt diesen Text, stellt ihm einen anderen entgegen („Videte Israel secundum carnem; nonne qui de sacrificiis manducant socii sunt altaris? quid ergo, dico quia idolis immolatum est aliquid, aut idolum est aliquid? sed quia quae immolant, daemoniis et non deo immolant. nolo vos socios daemoniorum fieri"), räumt aber ein, daß vielleicht manche Codices so bieten, wie der Anonymus zitiert hat.

I, 39 Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quae sub

nominibus Apostolorum Andreae Johannisque conscripta sunt, quae si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesia.

I, 40 Non sicut hominem poenitet deum ... non sicut homo irascitur nec sicut homo miseretur, nec sicut homo zelat ... Unde iste qui tam loquaciter exagitavit dei poenitentiam.... Der Anonymus muß sie auf Nicht-wissen Gottes zurückgeführt haben, s. § 41. Ebenso hat er (l. c.) den Zorn Gottes und seine Vergeßlichkeit im AT. beanstandet und sich an Stellen wie Ps. 110, 4 „*iuravit dominus et non poenitebit eum*" und I Reg. 15,11 (§ 42): „Poenitet me unxisse Saul in regem" gestoßen. Hoc ergo de poenitentia dei, ne sic eam putaret accipiendam, ut ex eo quod non intelligit in blasphemiarum latratus rabidus insaniret, habebat unde commoneretur in proximo; ipse quippe commemoravit deum dixisse (folgt I Reg. 15, 11).

I, 43 *Obliviosus deus et emortua memoria arcum posuit in nubibus, qui Iris dicitur, unde commoneatur non amplius humanum genus delere diluvio, quid agat omnino nesciens, cui merito opus sit assiduo monitore....*

I, 43 *Nemo nisi ignarus interrogat* (in bezug auf das Fragen Gottes im AT).

I, 45 *Si putamus merito conversationis suae homines diluvii excepisse sententiam et Noë iustum ad reparationem creaturae melioris esse servatum, cur exinde peiores oriuntur et in eosdem actus vitae sordentis humani generis etiam nunc nativitas revolvitur?*

I, 46 De testimonio quoque Isaiae prophetae calumniatur atque blasphemat, eo quod dixerit: „*Filios genui et exaltavi, ipsi autem me spreverunt*", *et eosdem paullo post appellaverit semen pessimum*, tamquam *se ostendens genitorem malorum, cuius filii sunt semen pessimum.*

I, 47 *Hunc deum* (den Schöpfergott) *dominus Christus appellavit arborem malam facientem fructus malos.*

I, 48 *Ipse deus per eundem prophetam* (scil. Iesajas 45, 7) *fatetur et dicit*: „*Ego sum deus faciens bona et creans mala*".

I, 49 *Non facit mala* (scil. der Weltschöpfer), *sed creat, quia, si faceret, aliena ab illo essent eique forinsecus accederent; cum vero creat, ipse illa de se ipso tamquam radicitus generat.*

I, 50 Item verba quaedam ex libro Deuteronomio velut impura exhorrescens impurus exagitat, quasi deus verecundari debuerit pudenda impiis irrogare vel praenuntiare tormenta, nec

eo comminari modo ut diceret: „*Quae mollis in vobis et tenera nimis fuerit, cuius experimentum non accepit pes eius ambulare super terram prae teneritudine et mollitie et zelabit oculo suo virum suum et filium suum et filiam suam et secundas suas et quod exierit per femora eius comedet*" (Deut. 28, 56).

II, 1 Iam nunc ea discutienda sunt, quae iste de Novi Testamenti libris suffragari sibi arbitratur adversus Propheticas litteras, tamquam eas apostoli Christi sua sententia condemnaverint. Quod ergo *profanas et aniles fabulas et genealogias infinitas appellasse apostolum existimat* devina *eloquia Legis et Prophetarum, quia dixit* „*Profanas et aniles fabulas devita*" (I Tim. 4, 7), et alio loco „*Ne intendas fabulis Iudaicis et genealogiis infinitis, quae quaestiones praestant magis quam aedificationem* (I Tim. 1, 4).

II, 3: *Apostolus pro qualitatibus ingeniorum in quinque personis locutus est; insinuans enim rudi adhuc populo quae dei sunt, non debuit a perfectioribus incipere et consuetudinem ab eis vetustatis excludens a difficilioribus inchoare, ne novos adhuc ad fidem perfecta doctrina turbaret.* Es folgt zum Beweis I Kor. 9, 19 ff.; hier habe der Apostel erklärt, daß er sich auf den Standpunkt von vier Gruppen stelle, dazu noch auf den Standpunkt der „perfectiores". Durch diese Annahme, bemerkt Augustin, escamotiere sein Gegner die Stellen, an denen in den Briefen das Evangelium im Einklang mit dem Gesetz und den Propheten erscheine, und lasse den Apostel bei den Unvollkommenen das aufbauen, was er dann bei den Vollkommenen niederreiße; „hanc videlicet ei erroris machinationem nescio quis Fabricius (lies Patricius) fabricavit, quem velut magistrum veritatis Romae se invenisse gloriatur" (vgl. II, 40: „Sed cuiuslibet sit haeretici erroris vel ipse vel Fabricius nescio quis, cuius se gloriatur esse discipulum" etc.).

II, 6 Aus den Ausführungen Augustins geht hervor, daß sein Gegner die Bibelstellen Röm. 1, 3; 11, 17 als Interpolationen *pessimi daemonis* beurteilt hat, speziell die Geburt aus dem Samen Davids als *fabula anilis.*

II, 9: *Fieri non potuit, ut a Iudaeorum prophetis salvatoris nostri adnuntiaretur adventus;* die Propheten in Röm. 1, 2 seien nicht jüdische Propheten (wo sie zu suchen sind, hat er nicht

gesagt, kann es auch nicht sagen, da er doch an einer andern Stelle bemerkt hat: „Sanctus ac divinus spiritus super terram non fuit ante salvatoris adventum").

II, 10 Zur Herabsetzung des Gesetzes beruft er sich auf Joh. 1, 17 („Das Gesetz ist durch Moses gegeben" usw.).

II, 11 Von den Juden, nicht von den Heiden ist gesagt, daß sie den nicht anrufen können, an den sie nicht geglaubt haben, und an den nicht glauben können, von dem sie nicht gehört haben (Röm. 10, 14).

II, 12 Aus der Stelle I Kor. 12, 28 folgert er, daß die Apostel zuerst aufgetreten seien, dann die Propheten, es also keine wahren jüdischen Propheten gebe.

II, 13 Auf die jüdischen Propheten deutet er den Propheten (Tit. 1, 12), der gesagt hat, die Kretenser seien Lügner usw.; er verstand also die Kretenser allegorisch.

II, 13 Er wirft dem Abraham Unglauben an seinen Gott vor, weil er an der Verheißung der Nachkommenschaft gezweifelt hat.

II, 14 Er sagt, daß der Herr in bezug auf die ATlichen Propheten das (apokryphe) Wort gesprochen habe: *Dimisistis vivum qui ante vos est et de mortuis fabulamini.*

II, 15 Ebenso soll das Wort Matth. 7, 22 („Herr, haben wir nicht in deinem Namen Dämonen ausgetrieben" usw.) auf die ATlichen Propheten gehen, sowie

II, 16 das andere, Joh. 10, 8 („Die vor mir gewesen sind, sind Diebe und Räuber gewesen").

II, 17 Aus Joh. 2, 31 („Eure Väter haben Manna gegessen und sind gestorben") folgt, daß sie nicht zum wahren Gott gehört haben, desgleichen (II, 18) auch nicht die Patriarchen, da auch sie gestorben sind, und das ganze Volk nicht (II, 19), da Jesus (Joh. 8, 19) von ihm gesagt habe, daß es ihn und seinen Vater nicht kenne.

II, 20 Aus Matth. 11, 11 folgt, daß Johannes der Täufer nicht zum Himmelreich gehört, da der Kleinste im Reiche Gottes größer ist als er.

II, 21 Da Moses gesagt hat (Gen. 9, 5), daß die Seele das Blut sei, hat er die Hoffnung auf die Auferstehung der Toten ausgetilgt: „ratiocinando magnis viribus conatur ostendere, non esse animam sanguinem".

II, 22 Auch auf I Kor. 15, 50 hat sich der Gegner berufen („Fleisch und Blut können das Reich Gottes nicht erwerben").

II, 23 Aus II Kor. 3, 7 ff. folgert er, daß Moses ein Diener des Todes gewesen sei, d. h. des Herrn des Todes, scil. *maligni spiritus, qui mundi huius auctor est.*

II, 28 f. In II Kor. 4, 4 ist unter dem Gott dieser Welt der schlechte Gott, der im AT geredet hat, zu verstehen; denn *deus bonus mentem neminis excaecat.*

II, 31 „Abrahae crimen fornicationis obiiciunt" (wegen Sarah und des Weibes nach ihr), und wenn das allegorisch zu verstehen ist, so gilt der Satz, daß es unerlaubt ist, *figuras rerum honestarum de rebus turpibus ducere.*

Aus den Antithesen des Gegners (s. o. S. 426*. 428*; II, 35) flicht Aug. in seiner „Responsio" am Schluß des Werkes noch folgendes ein (II, 36—39): Der *malignus huius saeculi princeps* ist nicht der höchste Gott; er hat den Leib geschaffen (ob auch die Seele eingeblasen, ist nicht ganz klar), ist überhaupt der Gott in Gen. 1—3, und daraus ergeben sich zahlreiche Vorwürfe gegen ihn (s. o. S. 426* f.); er hat den Diebstahl der Juden beim Auszug aus Ägypten geboten; er erweist sich durch das Strafen bis ins 3. und 4. Glied als ungerecht und dadurch, daß er auch für die Sünden anderer büßen läßt; er gebietet zu schwören, ja schwört selbst; er ändert seine Entschließungen; er hat die Seinigen durch falsche Verheißungen getäuscht; er hat sich selbst getadelt durch Reue; er gestattet sieben Frauen, während Christus gebietet, eine Frau nicht einmal anzusehen; er hat den Inzest der Töchter Lots herbeigeführt; er hat die Schwagerehen vorgeschrieben, während Christus sagt, daß im Jenseits die Geschlechtlichkeit aufhören wird; er hat Schlangen geschickt, während Christus verheißt, daß die Seinigen auf die Schlangen treten werden; er hat die Reinigungsgesetze gegeben, während Christus sagt: „Gebt Almosen, und alles ist euch rein"; er hat das blutige Opfer der Erstgeburt verlangt, während Christus der Erstgeborene von den Toten ist; er hat es mit vergänglichen irdischen Speisen zu tun, während Christus die unvergänglichen ihnen überordnet; er will Opfer; er sagt, daß er Arme und Reiche mache, während Christus den irdischen Reichtum verdammt; er sagt, daß die Eltern mit eigenen Händen ihre Kinder ihm opfern sollen, und er befiehlt überhaupt zu töten, während Christus die Feinde zu lieben befiehlt; er sagt: „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn"; er sagt, daß es außer ihm keinen Gott gebe;

er will Geschenke, Christus aber sagt seinen Aposteln, daß sie umsonst geben sollen, was sie umsonst empfangen haben, und daß sie nichts mit sich nehmen sollen; er hat den Sabbat eingesetzt und befiehlt den zu töten, der am Sabbat Holz sammelt, Christus aber heilt am Sabbat; er verstockt die, welche er will; er gab die Gebote zum Tode, Christus aber gibt den Blinden das Gesicht, macht die Lahmen gehen usw. (Wörtlich Marcionitisch): *Alius est pacis et caritatis pater, alius belli et furoris auctor; ille est Christus* (man beachte den Modalismus), *hic autem legis et prophetarum deus; alius est incestus et adulteriorum conscius, alius vero pudicae castitatis et sanctimoniae dominus* (II, 37). Aus der Geschichte vom blutflüssigen Weibe ist zu begründen, daß der Teufel (bzw. der Weltschöpfer?) der Urheber der Krankheiten ist (II, 38). Der Antichrist (II Thess. 2) ist der ATliche Gott (II, 39).

In der Ketzerliste, die Aug. dann gibt (l. c.), heißt es am Schluß (nach Apelles): „Fuerunt etiam a quodam Patricio nonnulli Patriciani vel sunt, similiter adversantes divinis veteribus libris . . .; de aliqua istorum haeresi est iste, nam non eum puto esse Manichaeum". Aug. hat also nicht durchschaut, daß der „Fabricius", den der Verf. als seinen Lehrer nennt, Patricius ist.

Am Schluß sagt Aug., daß er nur die Hauptausführungen im Buch widerlegt habe (II, 40), und bemerkt, daß der Gegner am Ende seines Buches erkläre, wie das alle Häretiker täten, er habe nur wenige Anhänger, aber eben dies sei ein Zeichen der Weisheit, die nur bei wenigen sei; es folge dann noch ein zweiter Schluß im Buche, „rursus alterius apparet exordium, eiusdem forsitan hominis auctoris, eiusdem tamen quod non dubitatur erroris; disputare autem coeperat, quod caro alium haberet factorem, non deum; unde cum perpauca dixisset, in ipso exordio coepta finita sunt. sed utrum ipse auctor an scriptor codicis non potuerit implere quod coeperat, nescio." . . . „iam illud aliud quod in eodem codice scribi coeperat, Adimanti opus est, illius discipuli Manichaei, qui praenomine Addas dictus est."

Beilage XI:
Marcion in der Manichäischen Literatur genannt.

Die Handschriftenfunde in Turfan, die uns einen Schatz von Manuskripten und Sprachen zugeführt haben — unter ihnen ganz unerwartet Werke der Manichäer und Manis selbst —, haben auch ein urkundliches Zeugnis dafür gebracht, daß sich die Manichäer in diesen Werken mit Marcion auseinandergesetzt haben. Das war nach den Acta Archelai, Esnik und dem Fihrist aufs bestimmteste zu vermuten; nun aber ist es unwidersprechlich bezeugt.

Aber unsre Freude über diesen Fund ist leider eine gedämpfte; denn unmittelbar nach der Erwähnung Marcions wird das Manuskript unübersetzbar. Hier der Tatbestand:

In den Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1904 S. 1 ff. hat F. W. K. Müller „Handschriften-Reste in Estrangeloschrift aus Turfan" (II) herausgegeben und kommentiert, unter ihnen sehr zahlreiche Manichäische. Nr. 28 dieser letzteren (S. 94 f.) ist ein kleines, schlecht erhaltenes Doppelblatt mit sehr kleiner Schrift. Müller hat folgende Zeilen übersetzt (S. 3 unten):

„. . . . . ferner auch diese,
welche anbeten das Feuer,
das brennende, hieraus (können) sie
selbst erkennen, daß ihr Ende
im Feuer (sein wird)."

„Und sie sagen, daß Ormuzd
und Ahriman Brüder sind,
und infolge dieses Worts
gelangen sie zur Vernichtung" (?) usw.

„Sie rufen den Sohn Maria's,
den Sohn des אדני, den siebenten.
Wenn jener ist Herr
des Alls sein Sohn, welcher
gemacht“..... ?.. .....

„Sie kommen rechtmäßig, die Schlimmen
zur Hölle; denn von ihnen
selbst ist gemacht die Sündhaftigkeit und
Vernichtung der Sünder.“

„ist gleich dem, was von ihnen
getan ist. Er, der Gott des Markion“
[folgen noch 3 unübersetzbare Zeilen]

(S. 4): „Darauf werden sie kommen am Ende
(jüngsten Tage)
alle, welche anbeten die
Götzenbilder, an jenem Tage,
dem letzten, und gehen zur
Vernichtung!“

Also haben die Manichäer noch in Zentralasien die Marcioniten bekämpft und haben ihre Religion als eine Hauptreligion betrachtet [1]. Die Polemik richtet sich an die Perser, Christen und Götzenanbeter; aber augenscheinlich werden die Markioniten als eine ganz selbständige Religionsgemeinschaft von den katholischen Christen unterschieden. Diese sind in der 3. Satzgruppe gemeint; jene aber augenscheinlich schon in der 4.; denn der Marcionitische Weltschöpfer im Verein mit der Materie sind „die Schlimmen“, welche schuld sind sowohl an der Sündhaftigkeit als auch an der Vernichtung der Sünder (s. die Darstellung Esniks). Nun folgte augenscheinlich (Satzgruppe 5) eine Aussage über den („fremden“ und „guten“) Gott Marcions, die man aber nicht mehr zu entziffern vermag. Immerhin aber haben wir hier ein Zeugnis für den besonderen Gott M.s und für die beiden anderen ἀρχαί, den Schöpfergott und die Materie.

1 Oder sie haben eine ältere Streitschrift aus Persien mitgebracht.

Beilage XII: Boussets Darstellung der Prinzipienlehre Marcions[1].

(„Hauptprobleme der Gnosis", 1907, S. 109 ff. u. sonst).

Eine Geschichte der Kritik in bezug auf Marcion zu schreiben, muß ich mir versagen. Die Kritik beginnt mit Gottfried Arnolds Urteil (Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie I, 1699, S. 76): „Sonsten mag bei diesem Manne eben kein so boshaftig Gemüt gewesen sein, als man aus den Auflagen der Skribenten schließen möchte, indem er von seinen Meinungen nicht anders überzeugt, und, da er es worden, so willig gewesen sich mit den anderen zu vertragen. Daß ich nicht gedenke, wie er in vielen Stücken etwas anderes und Wahrhaftiges mag gemeint haben, als mans im ersten Augenschein erkennt und angenommen". Damit war der Bann der Tradition gebrochen, und langsam entwickelte sich nun die Forschung und das geschichtliche Urteil: Semler, Neander — er vor allen —, Hahn, Baur und Zahn stehen im Vordergrund. In der Geschichte der Bemühungen um das richtige Verständnis Marcions und seines Werkes spiegelt sich die gesamte Geschichtsschreibung der alten Kirche; hoffentlich erhalten wir bald eine Darstellung dieser Bemühungen. Nur auf die jüngste gehe ich im folgenden ein.

Bousset erklärt, man habe in letzter Zeit die spekulative und weltanschauungsmäßige Grundlage des Systems M.s allzusehr

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1 In seiner Rezension der 1. Auflage dieses Werks ist Walter Bauer (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1923 S. 1 ff.) der Darstellung der Prinzipienlehre M. s, wie sie Bousset gegeben hat, nahe gekommen, und von Soden (Ztschr. f. KGeschichte Bd. 60 S. 193 ff.) hat ihr gewisse Konzessionen machen zu müssen geglaubt. Beiden habe ich in den „Neuen Studien zu M." (Text. u. Untersuch. Bd. 44 Heft 4, 1923) geantwortet und wiederhole diese Replik hier nicht.

übersehen; „M. hat, genau genommen, den absoluten orientalisch-persischen Dualismus und den Gegensatz des guten und des bösen Gottes auf den Gegensatz zwischen dem höchsten unbekannten Gott, dem Vater J. Christi, und zwischen dem Gott des AT übertragen. Ihm ist der Gott des AT Ahriman, Satan, geworden" (S. 109); vgl. S. 130: „Die ursprüngliche Lehre M.s war ein schroffer Dualismus, in welchem der Gott der neuen christlichen Religion mit dem unbekannten, guten Gott des Lichts, der Gott des AT dagegen einfach mit dem Gott der Bosheit und Finsternis identifiziert war; die Schule M.s blieb vielfach bei diesem schroffen Dualismus nicht stehen, sondern suchte irgendwie zu vermitteln; S. 329: „Indem M. den großen Gegensatz (von Licht und Finsternis) mit unerhörter Schroffheit auf den Gott des NT und AT übertrug, letzteren zum Satan-Ahriman degradierte und somit die Neuheit und Absolutheit des Christentums mit besonderer Schärfe erfaßte, gab er, sich aller weiteren Spekulationen enthaltend, seiner Lehre die grandiose Einfachheit und Geschlossenheit, die es ihm ermöglichte, ganz anders als die übrigen gnostischen Winkelsekten und Gelehrtenschulen in die Masse und Breite zu wirken."

Wenn ein unbedeutender Gelehrter diese Darstellung, die uns hinter Neander, ja hinter Gottfried Arnold zurückwirft, gegeben hätte, würde man sie ihrem Schicksal überlassen können; aber da sie von einem hochgeschätzten, uns zu früh entrissenen Historiker stammt, darf sie nicht übersehen werden. Nach Bousset, um es kurz zu sagen, soll die Gestalt des Marcionitismus die ursprüngliche sein, die erst für jene späte Zeit bezeugt ist, da der Manichäismus schon längst auf dem Plane stand und einen Teil der Marcioniten beeinflußte.

Wie hat Bousset seine These bewiesen?

(1) Durch Streichung des gerechten Gottes überhaupt; er sowohl als auch der Gegensatz von „gut" und „gerecht" werden für das genuine System als vermittelnde Hinzufügungen späterer Schüler ausgeschaltet. Daß dies ein ungeheurer Gewaltstreich ist, der nur von jemandem geführt werden kann, der Marcions Sätze und Bibeltexte nicht gründlich genug studiert hat, bedarf keines Nachweises.

(2) Durch willkürliche Einführung des Gegensatzes „Gott" des Lichts und Gott der Finsternis" bei M. Dieser Gegensatz ist

nicht nur nicht für M. bezeugt, sondern bezeugt ist vielmehr (s. o. in der Darstellung), daß Tert. ihn bei M. gesucht, aber nicht gefunden hat. Erst spät taucht er bei Marcioniten auf (s. Hieron.). Nach M. hat der Weltschöpfer gesprochen: „Es werde Licht", und es ward Licht. Wahrscheinlich hat auch der obere Gott sein eigenes Licht nach M. besessen; aber der Weltschöpfer besitzt nach M. nicht nur Finsternis, sondern auch Licht [1].

(3) Durch den Versuch, die schlechte Materie für M. zu streichen, um den Weltschöpfer allein für die Schlechtigkeit der Welt verantwortlich zu machen; doch wird dieser Versuch S. 112 halb zurückgezogen, weil das Zeugnis Tert. I, 15 Bousset doch schwerwiegend scheint. Von den anderen Stellen, die aussagen, daß nach M. die Welt ein Produkt des gerechten Weltschöpfers und der schlechten Materie ist, führt Bousset nur die des Clemens an, glaubt in ihr aber eine Entstellung der ursprünglichen Lehre zu sehen. Also ein Theologumenon M.s, das Clemens und Tert. bezeugen, gilt als entstellt!

(4) Durch die Behauptung, daß nach M. der Weltschöpfer und der Teufel identisch seien. Diese Behauptung ist wiederum ein ungeheurer Gewaltstreich, da Gen. 3 von M. als wirkliche Geschichte anerkannt war, womit die Frage bereits entschieden ist, und da M. in den Paulusbriefen, soweit wir sie zu kontrollieren vermögen, die Stellen stehen gelassen hat, in denen der Diabolus und Satan vorkommt; dazu kommt, daß Tert. zu Eph. 6,11 ganz deutlich zu verstehen gibt, daß nach M. der Teufel nicht mit dem Weltschöpfer identisch ist (V, 18) — Tert. wäre das bequem gewesen —, zu II Thess. 2, 3 ff. ihn nach M. „angelus creatoris" nennt (V, 16) und II, 10 den Weltschöpfer als „auctor diaboli" im Sinne M.s bezeichnet [2].

(5) Positiv sucht B. seine These dadurch zu erhärten, daß er, während Clemens, Tertullian, Origenes usw. den Gegensatz

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1 Auf welche Quellenstellen Bousset sich stützt, um diese seine Hauptthese, der Weltschöpfer sei Ahriman, zu belegen, hat er nicht mitgeteilt. Er operiert, soviel ich sehe, ausschließlich für M. mit dem Material in Hilgenfelds Ketzergeschichte. Eine Quellenstelle für jene Identifizierung gibt es überhaupt nicht, nicht einmal in Schriften des 4. oder 5. Jahrhunderts.

2 Tert. II, 28: „Ipsum auctorem delicti diabolum et omne malum creator passus est esse".

von „gut und gerecht" als den bewegenden bei M. behaupten, die Angabe des einen Hippolyt (im Syntagma und der Refut.) ihnen vorzieht, der den Gegensatz „des guten und schlechten Gottes" zur Grundlage erhebt. Dies aber wird auf das Gleichnis vom guten und schlechten Baume, das Hippolyt anführt, zurückgehen sowie auf Irenäus (III, 12, 12), wo sich dieser Gegensatz auch findet; aber er und Tert. können sich so ausdrücken, weil M. den gerechten Gott auch als „malorum factor" bezeichnet, da er das selbst im AT. von sich sagte. Dadurch aber wird die Tatsache nicht im geringsten erschüttert, daß „Gesetz und Evangelium", „der gerechte Gott" und „der gute Gott" M.s Hauptgegensätze sind [1]. Übrigens nimmt Hippolyt selbst in der Recapitulatio der Refutatio seine Darstellung zurück (X, 19) und weist M. dieselbe Prinzipienlehre wie die anderen klassischen Zeugen zu (*ἀγαθόν*, *δίκαιον* und dazu die *ὕλη*). Bousset irrt sich hier, wenn er meint, Hippolyt gebe hier fälschlich die Lehre des Marcioniten Prepon als die Marcionitische wieder. Allerdings hat er diese Verwechslung begangen, aber nicht im 10. Buch, sondern im 7., unmittelbar nachdem er Prepon erwähnt hatte. Im 10. Buch hat er aus einer besseren Quelle die richtige Prinzipienlehre wiedergegeben [2]. Marcions Auffassung des Weltschöpfers steht unerschütterlich fest; er war ihm *δίκαιος* und

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1 Bousset legt großes Gewicht darauf, daß Iren., wo er zum ersten Mal von M. spricht (I, 27, 2), den Rivalen des guten Gottes nicht als „iustus" (so aber bei Cerdo), sondern als „malorum factor et bellorum concupiscens (et inconstans quoque sententia et contrarius sibi ipsi)" bezeichnet, wie ihn auch Tert. „crudelis, saevus" etc. nenne. Er übersieht aber dabei, daß man von einem prinzipiell schlechten Wesen dergleichen nicht auszusagen pflegt, weil es selbstverständlich ist. Diese Aussagen beweisen also, daß der Weltschöpfer ein Wesen sein muß, von dem man an sich nicht erwartet, daß es jene schlechten Eigenschaften habe. Aber Bousset übersieht überhaupt, daß der Weltschöpfer M.s nicht erspekuliert, sondern einfach der Gott des AT., wie er leibt und lebt (jedoch a mala parte verstanden), ist. So lautet auch bei Irenäus die erste Charakteristik die er von ihm gibt: „is qui a lege et prophetis annunciatus est deus".

2 Schließlich kann auch noch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß M.s beide Götter sich zwar dem Namen nach als zwei gleiche Götter gegenüberstehen, daß der Weltschöpfer aber in Wahrheit ein inferiores Wesen ist, das machtlos gegenüber dem erschienenen Christus ist. An den Gegensatz von Ormuz und Ahriman ist also nicht zu denken.

πονηρός (schlimm-beschwerlich), aber nicht κακός, „conditor malorum" (weil er mit der schlechten Materie zusammenwirkt und weil er die Strafübel verhängt), aber nicht im eigentlichen Sinn „malus".

Somit ist die Behauptung Boussets, Marcion sei in der Religionslehre persischer Dualist, haltlos. Hätte er M.s Evangelium und Apostolos so gründlich studiert, wie den Gnostizismus, so hätte er, trotz seiner Neigung, die Religionen ineinander zu schieben und den alten Synkretismus noch zu übertrumpfen, auf eine solche Annahme niemals verfallen können. Höchst erstaunlich ist es endlich, daß Bousset die große Verbreitung des Marcionitismus von dem Eindruck des persischen Dualismus, den er in sich aufgenommen habe, ableitet. Marcion wirkte, wie wir wissen, vornehmlich auf Christen; so entchristlicht aber waren diese im 2. Jahrhundert doch noch nicht, daß sie unter der Flagge Christi in hellen Haufen zu Ormuz und Ahriman übergegangen sind.

Das hier vorliegende schlimme Mißverständnis der Lehre M.s habe ich sofort in meiner Anzeige des Bousset schen Werkes (Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1908 Nr. 1) gekennzeichnet, aber keinen Eindruck auf den Verfasser gemacht; vielmehr hat er in seinem neuen Werk („Kyrios Christos" 1913) an zahlreichen Stellen das alte Urteil wiederholt und noch verschärft. Er behandelt auch hier M. als den konsequenten vulgären Gnostiker und tut sogar den letzten Schritt, indem er (S. 228 n. 6) die Vermutung ausspricht, Tertullian sei in seiner Polemik zu weit gegangen, wenn er M. die Lehre imputiere, auch die menschliche Seele gehöre ihrem Ursprung nach nicht zum guten Gott: „Es fällt schwer, anzunehmen, daß M. die Spekulation aller Gnostiker von der überweltlichen Herkunft der Menschenseele nicht geteilt haben sollte". Aber nicht nur Tertullian, sondern auch andere gewichtige Zeugen protestieren hier, und der ganze Marcionitsimus, vor allem seine eigentümliche Erlösungslehre, wird vollkommen aufgelöst, wenn man den „fremden" Gott, der das „Fremde" durch Kauf erlöst, streicht, um den „unbekannten" Gott der Gnostiker, der die ihm stammverwandten Seelen aufklärt und rettet, an seine Stelle zu setzen. Gegen Boussets Mißdeutung des Deszensus ad inferos, bzw. des Verhältnisses der Marcionitischen Lehre zur urchristlichen an diesem Punkte, siehe jetzt Carl Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern (1919) S. 452 ff.

Beilage XIII:

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Neuen Testaments.

(1) Zum Marcionitischen Kanon: Hat M. seinem Evangelium und Apostolikon einen Gesamtnamen gegeben? Die Frage ist. m. E. zu verneinen; mindestens läßt sich nichts über sie ermitteln. Wenn er (oder einer seiner Schüler) Gal. 4, 24 ἐπιδείξεις oder ein ähnliches Wort für διαθῆκαι eingesetzt hat, so kann man daraus für den Titel der heiligen Schrift, die er zusammengestellt hat, nichts folgern. Über διαθήκη („testamentum") s. Zahn, Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons I S. 103 f. Melito von Sardes hat als erster von Büchern des alten Bundes gesprochen, wird also auch solche des neuen Bundes mit diesem Namen bezeichnet haben.

(2) War M. der erste, der Herrenworte und Paulusworte zusammengestellt hat? Distinguendum est! Im I. Clemensbrief, in den Ignatiusbriefen und im Polykarpbrief einerseits, bei Basilides, Valentin und Ptolemäus (ad Floram) andrerseits tritt uns bereits eine höchst beachtenswerte, ja fast exklusive Benutzung jener beiden Quellen als maßgebender entgegen; aber weder folgt aus dieser Benutzung ihre Gleichstellung noch die kanonische Autorität der Paulusbriefe. Beides hat vor M. keinen sicheren Zugen; also ist er hier der Autor [1]. Sein Unternehmen wird aber durch die Beobachtung, die man bei den oben genannten Schriftstellern macht, geschichtlich verständlicher — und nicht nur das Unternehmen selbst, sondern auch sein Erfolg innerhalb der großen Kirche, weil sie es schon gewohnt war, Pauluswort neben Herrenwort zu hören.

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1 S. Reuter, Augustinische Studien (1887) S. 492: „Marcion wußte noch nichts von einem kirchlichen (NTlichen) Kanon, stellte vielmehr in eigenmächtiger Ausübung der Kritik einen solchen her".

(3) Läßt sich die Entstehung des folgenschweren Urteils M.s, die Paulusbriefe seien interpoliert, auch aus den Briefen selbst verständlich machen? Es scheint mir, daß diese Frage zu bejahen ist. Untersucht man nämlich diese Briefe näher in bezug auf ihr Verhältnis zum AT, so gewahrt man, daß sich Paulus nur im Gal.-, Röm.-, I. u. II. Kor.- und einmal im Eph.-Brief auf die Autorität des AT direkt bezieht, in den anderen Briefen aber von ihr schweigt, ja das ganze Buch verschweigt. Beginnt jemand — auch heute noch — mit der Lektüre von I. u. II. Thess., Phil., Philem., Kol. und Ephes. (eine Stelle ausgenommen) und begnügt sich zunächst mit ihr, so kann er gar nicht auf den Gedanken kommen, daß Paulus das AT für ein den Christen nötiges und ihnen bekanntes Buch gehalten habe, ja er wird neben anderen Stellen, die geradeswegs vom AT abführen, aus Kol. 2, 14 u. Ephes. 2, 15 herauslesen müssen, daß nach Paulus das Gesetz, d. h. das AT, von Christus am Kreuz ungültig gemacht und abgetan sei, und er wird ferner den Finger darauf legen, daß in Kol. 3,16 und Ephes. 5,19 unter den Erbauungsmitteln die Lektüre des Alten Testaments nicht genannt ist. Nimmt er dann aber Gal., Röm. (und I. u. II. Kor.) in die Hand, so wird er ganz bestürzt werden müssen; denn einerseits verstärken sie durch eine direkte Polemik gegen das Gesetz (das AT) die aus den anderen Briefen gewonnene Überzeugung, daß den Christen das AT nichts angehe, andrerseits aber richten sie die Autorität des AT ausdrücklich auf! Lag es da nicht nahe, die Stellen, in denen dies geschieht, zu streichen? Der in den Paulusbriefen vorliegende merkwürdige Tatbestand in bezug auf das AT kam also dem aus religiösen Motiven stammenden Unternehmen M.s wirklich entgegen, und man darf daher sogar die Frage aufwerfen, ob er das Unternehmen nicht mitveranlaßt hat. Doch läßt sich diese Frage nicht beantworten, da wir nicht wissen, welche Paulusbriefe M. zuerst kennen gelernt hat

(4) Läßt sich der Homologumenen-Kanon, wie er um d. JJ. 180—190 für Kleinasien und Rom gesichert ist, als Ergänzung der Marcion-Bibel begreifen oder haben beide nichts miteinander zu tun? Man erwäge nachstehende Tabelle:

Die 4 Evv.	Das Lukas-Ev.	Die 4 Evv.
	Die 10 Paulusbr.	Die 10 Paulusbr.
		Die 3 Pastoralbr.
		Acta
		I Petr.
		Judas
		Joh.briefe
		Apoc. [1]

M. fand bereits die Sammlung der 4 Evv. vor (Sparte 1); er reduzierte sie auf eines und schuf seine Bibel durch Hinzufügung der 10 Paulusbriefe (Sparte 2); der Homologumenenkanon (Sparte 3) stellt die Vierzahl der Evv. wieder her und fügt jener Bibel 10 (9?) Schriften hinzu. Haben diese 10 neuen Schriften etwas Gemeisames? Die Antwort ist zu bejahen und zwar doppelt; denn (1) sind diese Schriften höchst wahrscheinlich sämtlich kleinasiatischen Ursprungs, bzw. kleinasiatischer Adresse (inkl. Kreta); das ist, weil für zwei der Pastoralbriefe, auch für den dritten (II. Tim.) ebenso gewiß wie für die Johannesbriefe, Apokalypse und I. Petr.; es ist aber auch für die Apostelgeschichte wahrscheinlich und muß dann füglich auch für Judas, der im Muratorischen Fragment in Verbindung mit den Johannesbriefen auftritt, angenommen werden. (2) Sieben von diesen Schriften tragen urapostolische Namen und erscheinen daher als notwendige Ergänzungen zu den Schriften des Paulus; drei aber bezeugen einen katholischen Paulus.

Also liegt m. E. der Schluß sehr nahe, daß der umfangreiche Mehrbestand des Homologumenenkanons im Vergleich zur Marcionitischen Bibel eine Ergänzung ebendieser Bibel darstellt, und zwar eine Ergänzung, die in Kleinasien gemacht (und von Rom akzeptiert) worden ist. Weil sie in Kleinasien zustande gekommen ist, hat Hermas, der am Anfang gefehlt hat, auch später keine feste Stelle in ihr erhalten können. Das so entstandene NT war nicht nur viel umfänglicher, sondern auch viel reicher als die Marcionitische Bibel. Man kann nicht zweifeln, daß es, als es den predigend reisenden Marcionitischen Missionaren, diesen Waldesiern des Altertums, entgegentrat, sie

1 Die Fragen in bezug auf Apoc. Petr. und die Zahl der Joh.briefe lasse ich hier beiseite.

mehr und mehr zurückdrängte. Das katholische NT hat die Marcionitische Bibel, die das AT ersetzen sollte, geschlagen; aber dieses NT ist eine antimarcionitische Schöpfung auf Marcionitischer Grundlage [1]. Daß es antimarcionitisch ist, lehrt ja auch das Muratorische Fragment, welches deutlich genug in Marcion, und nur in ihm, den Gegenspieler in bezug auf die katholische h. Schrift sieht. Nahe liegt sogar die Frage, ob es nicht Beachtung verdient, daß man in Kleinasien den z e h n Paulusbriefen ebenfalls z e h n andere apostolische Schriften zugeordnet hat. Aber man wird die Frage doch wohl verneinen und einen Zufall annehmen müssen, der hier gewaltet hat.

1 Das „Neue Testament" ist ursprünglich d. h. von Marcion als Antithese zum Alten geschaffen worden, um es zu verdrängen; aber für die Kirche war die Synthese zwangsläufig.

Register.

(Die Ziffern mit * beziehen sich auf die Beilagen, die andern auf den Text.)

Abendmahl 144 f. 149. 360* f. 381*.
Abraham Ecchellensis 363*.
Abscheu vor dem Gechlechtlichen 273*, vor dem Ungeziefer 270*.
„Absit peccatum" 135.
Abulfaradsch = Barhebräus 167. 387*.
Abulfaradsch = Muhammed ben Ischak an - Nadim (Fihrist) 168. 384* f.
Adamantius 56* ff. 58* ff. 181* ff. 344* ff.
Adoptianer, römische, von M. beeinflußt (?) 334*.
Adoptianismus, angeblich Marcionitischer 392*.
Aeonenlehre, soll M. nach Gregor von Nazianz vorgetragen haben 353*.
Aera, Marcionitische 29. 162.
Agnostizismus 231.
Agricola 219.
Alexandrinerbrief des Paulus, eine Marcionitische Fälschung 134*.
Allegorische Methode, von M. abgelehnt 66 f. 86. (aber 124). 104*, 259* f.
Altes Testament 8 f. 72 (Ablösung durch die neue Sammlung). 114 (γέγραπται stehen gelassen), 116 (Manches πρὸς νουθεσίαν). 209 ff. 215—223.
AT liche Gottesmänner, die schlimmsten Sünder 272* f.
Ambrosiaster 156. 90*. 389*. 399* f.
Ambrosius v. Mailand 389* f. 413* ff.
Ambrosius, Freund des Orig., urspr. Marcionit 337*.
Amisus 23.
Amphilochius 353* f.
Anastasius Sin. 318*.
Anonymus, Arianischer Prediger, 188*. 392*.
Anonymus Syr. (Brit. Mus. Add. 17 215) 185*. 362*.
Anonymus Syr. (armen. überliefert), Schrift gegen M. 67*. 106*, 120*. 183* ff. 241*. 256*. 278*. 354* ff.
Anthimus 179. 419*.
Antimontanist, anonymer bei Euseb. h. e. V, 16, Antimarcionit 315* f.
„Antiparathesen" 77.
„Antithesen" M.'s 74 ff., 89—92. 3*. 20* f. 35*. 59*. 65*. 131*. 256*—313*. 349* f. 391*. 424*—433*.
Apelles 160. 177—196. (kein eigenes Ev. 190). 219*. 239*. 285*. 296*. 309*. 321* f. 335*. 338*. 340*. 368*. 371*. 390 *f. 404*—420*, s. Nachträge.
Apelleiaci = Apollinariaci? 390*.
Aphraates 354*.
Apokalypse Joh. 172* f.
Apokryphe Herrensprüche 81. 183*. 391*. 411*. 419* f.

Apokryphes fehlt bei M. 81*.
Apollo, Genosse des Paulus 83*. 160*.
Apollonius von Korinth (?), Bestreiter M.s 34*.
Aponius 390*.
Apostel 37 f. 78 ff. 133 f. 141.
Apostelgeschichte 172* f. 174* f.
Aquila, Bibelübersetzer 21 f.
Aquila, Freund des Paulus 21.
Ἀρχαί bei M. 99. 160.
Archelai Acta 157. 72*. 97*. 219*. 280* f. 292* f. 312* f. 349* f.
Aristoteles 401* f.
Arnobius 337*.
Arnobius min. 399*.
Artotyriten 381* f.
Askese 148 f. 162. 175.
Asklepius, Marcionit. Bischof 154. 348*.
Athanasius 166. 350* f.
Auferstehung 136 f.
Augustin 218. 233. 34*. 389* ff. 420*. 424* ff.
Ausgangspunkt M.s 30 ff.

Bar Bahlûl 356*.
Bardesanes 153. 157. 167. 29*. 57* 60*. 325*. 333*. 348*. 356*. 384*. 394*.
Barhebräus s. Abulfaradsch.
Barnabas 70* f. 160*.
Barnabasbrief 17. 203.
Basilides, Gnostiker 29. 155. 14*. 324*. 338*. 340*. 351*. 412*. 417*.
Basilikus, Marcionit 321*.
Basilius d. Große 167. 353*.
Basis Capitolina, Inschrift mit den Namen Cerdos und Marcions 38*.
Bauer, Walter 136.
Baumann 233.
Baur, F. Chr. 207 f.
Bengel 83.
Beschneidung 270*. 309* f.
Bethsaida 186*. 358*.
Beweise (Weissagungen) in Bezug auf Christus, nach M. unnötig 224. 285*.
Bibel M.s 35 ff., Zusammenstellung seiner tendenziösen Korrekturen 45—61. Sein formales Verfahren 61 ff. Zusammenstellung seiner Motive 64 f.
Bibeltext, katholischer, ob von M. beeinflußt 160* ff. 247* f.
Bibelübersetzung, lateinische 47* ff.
Biblische Theologie im exklusiven Sinn will M.s Lehre sein 93 f.
„Bischof" Marcion 162.
Bischöfe und Presbyter bei den Marcioniten 146. 154.
Blastus, irrig für Basilikus 371*.
Bogomilen 383*.
Bousset 436* ff.
Braga, Synode i. J. 563, nennt Cerdo und M. 34*. 393*.
Brief Marcions 27, 74. 78. 21* f.
Buchstaben, eigentümliche der Marcioniten 385*.
Buße bei den Marcioniten 175 f. 379*.

Calvin 230.
Carmen Pseudotertull. adv. Marc. 34*. 123*. 184*. 271*. 312*. 394* ff.
Casinensis Codex (Biblioth. Casin. I, 2 S. 29o) 399*.
Celsus über M. 153. 173. 126*. 254*, 265*. 275*, 281*, 284*, 295*. 312*. 325* ff.
Cerdo 28 f. 19*. 31*—39*. 332* f. 390*. 399*. 15*—30* passim.
Cerinthianer 177.
Chalipharum liber 29*.
Chorasan 385*.
Chrestus = Christus 123.
Christologische Spekulationen bei den Marcioniten 167 f. 170 f.
Chronologie M.s 20*.

Chrysostomus 157. 176. 69*. 126*. 132*. 170*. 253*. 267* f. 276*. 282*. 287*. 291*. 300*. 306*. 312*. 367* ff. 372*.
Clemens Alex. 14* f., 107*, 188*, 192* f. 206*. 214*. 254*. 263*. 267*. 273*. 276* f. 289*. 294*. 300*. 303*. 310*. 315*. 322* ff. 324*.
Clemens Rom., Hom. und Recogn. 206*. 225*. 278* f. 352*. f. 419* f.
Commodian 394*. [s. Nachträge.
Complexio oppositorum im Katholizismus 6 ff.
Consultatio Zacchaei et Apollonii 392*.
Cresconius 390*.
Cyprian 156. 334* f. 418*.
Cyrill v. Jerus. 154, 166. 285*. 351* f.

David 290*. 367*.
Delitzsch, Fr. 223.
Descensus ad inf. 129 f. 294* f.
διαίρεσις 163 f.
Didascalia Apost. 341*.
Didymus 96*. 352*.
Diogenes, Landsmann M.s 21. 24*.
Diognetbrief 203 f. 256*.
Dionysius v. Korinth 315*. 317*.
Dionysius v. Rom 156. 166. 334* ff.
Disputationen mit Marcioniten 153.
Doketismus 124 f.
Dörfer, Marcionitische 158 f.

Edessa, Chronik von 29*.
Ehe 111. 148 f. 194. 277*. 402*.
Eleutherus, röm. Bischof 18* f.
Empedokles 332*.
Enkratiten 323*. 353*.
„Eperchomenos", Marcionit. Bezeichnung f. Christus 283*. 301*.
Ephraem Syrus 157 f. 80*. 101*. 119*. 185* f. 189*. 209*. 211*. 236*. 249*. 260*. 273* f. 276* f. 279* f. 286*. 299*. 301*. 305*. 309*, 354*, 356* ff.
Epikur 270*. 328*.
Epiphanius 170. 175f. 23*ff. 64*ff. 182*. 364* ff. 380*. 401* f. u. sonst.
Erasmus 149*.
Erlösergott 121 ff.
Erlösung, die Sehnsucht i. 2. Jahrh. 18 f., wovon 33, Erlösung durch Erkaufen 131 ff.
Eschatologie 137 ff. s. Nachträge.
Esnik 98. 112. 169 ff. 175 f. 23*. 85* f. 88*. 91* f. 95*. 100* f. 107*. 110*f. 125* f. 196*. 233* 237* 240*. 263*. 265*f. 276*. 283 f. 292* f. 296*. 305*. 307* f. 310 f. 372*—380*.
Eusebius 341*. 348*. 350*. 371* f.
Eusebius v. Emesa 372*.
Eustathius, Theophilus usw., Brief an Liberius 353*.
Evangelien, Kritik an ihnen 78 ff.
Evangelium, es kann nur eines geben 39 f.
Exkommunikation 23 f. 5*. 13*. 18* f. 25* f. 28*.
Ezechias 290*.

Fabricius s. Patricius.
Fasten 149 f.
Feindesliebe 128. 151.
„Feminae sanctiores" 147.
Fihrist 168. 170. 29*. 177*. 184*. 384* f.
Filastrius 13*. 381* f. s. bei Hippolyt.
Firmilian v. Cäsarea 33*. 340*. 419*.
Fischessen bei den Marcioniten 149. 373*. 378*.
Fleisch 103 f. 136.
Frauen, dürfen taufen etc. 147. 365*.

Fremde Gott, der, 4 f. 118 ff.
Fuldensis Codex saec. VI. 129*. 148*.

Geheimlehre, der Marcionitismus angeblich 377* (365*).
Gennadius 387*. 399*.
Gerechtigkeit, Dialektik M.s in bezug auf sie 100. 106 f. 111 ff.
Geschlechtlichkeit und Fortpflanzung 103 f. 273*.
„Gesetz" bei M., Begriff und Dialektik 106 ff. Gesetz = Gesetzgeber 106.
Gesetzgebung, kaiserliche, gegen die Marcioniten 158. 366* f.
„Gigant", Bezeichnung f. M. 322*.
Glaube bei M. 134 ff. 296*. bei Apelles 182 ff. 194 (Symbol).
Glaubensbekenntnis, 143 76*; antimarcionitisches 157. 353* (Laodicea).
Gnostiker 3 f. 13 ff. 196 ff. 213. 215.
Gorki 232.
Gottesdienst, Marcionitischer 145 ff. 154. 175* f.
Gregor der Große 135*.
Gregor v. Nazianz 166. 353*.
Grejdanus 136.
Grundsäulen, Marcionit. Lehre 94 ff.
Gutheit, Dialektik M.s in bezug auf sie 102. 107 ff.
„Guttäter", der Marcionit. Beiname Christi 283*.

Häretiker, häufig vorher rechtgläubig 28*.
Harris, Rendel 74.
Hebräerbrief 203.
Hegemonius s. Archelai Acta.
Hegesipp 9*. 315*.
Heiden, von M. wenig beachtet 166.
Henke erzählt, M.s Vater habe di römische Gemeinde vor ihm ge warnt (??) 28*.
Herakleon 36*.
Heraklit 405*.
Hieronymus (in der Regel hier Pla giator des Origenes) 29*. 67*. 69* f 72* ff. 76* ff. 95*. 106*. 111* 115*. 120*. 127*. 182*. 186*. 198* 263*. 267*. 270*. 274*. 278*. 289* 306* f. 311*. 392* ff. Zeuge f. d. gefälschten Laodic.-Brief 135*.
Hilarius v. Poitiers 52*. 73*.
Hilgenfeld 78. 208.
Hippolyt 168. 170. 23* ff. 182*. 184*. 188*. 194* f. 225*. 240*. 275*. 277* f. 283*. 287*. 295*. 332* ff. 364*. 388* f. 401* f. 409* ff. u. sonst.
Holtzmann 208.
„Hund", Schimpfname f. M. 321*.
Hyginus 19*.
Hypokrisis = praedicatio creatoris 128.

Jamblichus 16.
Jasowa (Jajswa)-Doctrina, rätselhafte Bezeichnung bei den Marcioniten 357*.
Jesus Christus 122 ff.
Jesus-Name bei M. 117. 123. 154*. und sonst.
Ignatius 203.
Immanuel 291*. 367*.
„Innere Mensch", der, Marcionit. Beiname f. Jesus 125. 283*. 395*.
Inschrift: „Den unbekannten Göttern" 1 f.
Johannes der Apostel 11*. 13*. 24*.
Johannes v. Ephesus 363*.
Johannes der Täufer 114. 174.
Johannesbriefe 4*.
Johannes-Evangelium 41 f. 70 f. 81. 173. 204 ff. 249*. 251*. 253*.

Johannestaufe (Jesu) 357*.
Jovinian 392*.
Irenäus 15*f. 31*. 35* f. 149*. 182*. 184*. 257*. 260*. 262*. 264*. 266*. 268*. 271*. 274* ff. 277*. 279*. 283* f. 286* f. 290*. 294* ff. 303*. 308*. 315*. 318* ff. 414*.
Isaak v. Niniveh 364*.
Isidor v. Pelusium 173. 182*. 252*. 369*.
Judaei, partiarii erroris Marcionis u. umgekehrt 22. 67. 86. 30*.
Juden, nach M. das schlimmste Volk 289* f.
Judentum und Judenchristentum 7 f. 14, judenchristliche Pseudoapostel 37 f. 78 ff.
Julian von Eklanum 391*.
Julius Afrikanus 337*.
Jungfrau, angebliche Verführung einer solchen durch M. 23. 24* ff.
Justin 27. 84. 6* ff. 10*. 174*. 274*. 314* u. sonst. (s. auch Nachträge).
Justin (Pseudo-) 414*.
Justin, Gnostiker 334*.

Kaiser, Gesetzgebung, der, gegen die Marcioniten 158. 366* f.
Κατὰ μέρος πίστις 353*.
Katechumenen 146. 149.
Katholisch 5 ff. 209—215.
Kelche, Marcionitische, beim Abendmahl 361*.
Κινεῖσθαι 184 ff.
Kirche 10f. Marcionit. 28. 143ff. 153. 209 ff. 76* (im Symbol).
„Kirchen", dürfen die Marcioniten ihr Kultgebäude nicht nennen 366*.
Kirchengebäude 154. 351*.
Kircheninschrift, Marcionitische, bei Damaskus 341* f.
Kolosserbrief, nach dem Marcionit. Prolog in Ephesus geschrieben 129*. 132*.
Kommunismus 151.
Konstantin, Kaiser, 159. 348* f.
Konstitutionen, Apostol. 341*.
Konzil, fünftes (Erwähnung M.s) 369*.
Konzil, Trullanisches 380*.
Korrekturen M.s, tendenziöse, biblische 45—61.

Laktanz 334*. 337*.
Laodicea Syr., antimarcionit. Symbol 157. 353*.
Laodicenerbrief, der gefälschte, 172f. 64* f. 82*. 96*. 104*. 113*. 129*. 134* ff. 137* ff.
Lateinischer Bibeltext der Marcioniten 151* ff. 242* ff.
Lebaba, Inschrift, 154. 158 f. 162. 341*.
Leo I. über Cerdo u. M. 34*. 393*.
„Liber propositi finis" s. sub Sākā.
Licinius, Kaiser 158.
Liebe Gottes 121 ff. 229 f.
Lucifer v. Calaris 387*.
Lukanus, Schüler M.s 172. 401*.
Lukas-Ev., ob es M. unter diesem Namen gekannt und wie er Lukas beurteilt hat 40 ff. 249* f.
Luther 163. 218. 219 f. 225.

Märtyrer, Marcionitische 150. 316* 340*. 348*.
Makarius Chrysokeph. 207*.
Malalas 380*.
Mammon 101.
Mani (s. auch Archelai Acta), Manichäismus 156 ff., 159 f., 168. 174. 29*. 348*—356*. 367*. 369* f.. 379* f. 380*. 383*—386*. 389* bis 393*. 399* f. 424*. 434* f.
Mannweiblichkeit der Marcionit. Gottheit nach Gregor v. Nazianz 353*.
Marcell v. Ancyra 350*.
Marcellina 29*.

Marcianus, der Wechsler 9*. 382*.
Marcion, Leben und Wirksamkeit 21 ff., vielleicht vorher dem Judentum nahestehend 22, ardens ingenii et doctissimus 24, nauclerus 25. Im J. 144 Bruch mit der Kirche 26. Prädizierung in seiner Kirche 162. 3*—30*. 151* u. 241* (doppelt bezeugte Korrekturen im Apostol. u. Evang.). 150* u. 246* f. (tendenziöse Korrekturen). 67* ff. (Ob sein Verfahren entschuldigt werden kann?). 184* u. 249* f. (Name seines Ev.) 346* (Bischof). 363* („Haupt der Apostel"). Einfluß auf die kathol. Kirche 209*—215*.
Marcion, ein kathol. Christ z. Z. Polykarps und ein Mann auf der Basis Capitolina 9.
Marcioniten, Marcionisten, Marcianisten, Marcianer 9*. 382*.
Marcioniten 72 (ändern fort und fort an ihren h. Schriften). 43. 83 f. 173. 174. 93*. 151*. 165* f. (zu Röm. 16, 25 ff.). 241*. 370* (Bekehrung v. 8 Marcionit. Dörfern u. mehr als 1000 Marcioniten). 371* (ein sich mit seinem Speichel waschender Marcionit). 384* f. (eigene Schrift).
Marcionitische Frau, nach Rom gesandt 25. 29*. 393*.
Mar-Kijon (Herr des Gespei's), Schimpfname f. Marcion 356*.
Marinus, Bardesanit 57*.
Markus-Evang. 243* f. 250*.
Markus-Evang., angeblich das des M. 240*.
Markus, Marcionit 81. 164 ff.
Martyrium bei M. 149 f. 157. 316*. 340*. 348*.
Maruta v. Maipherkat 167. 174* f. 363*.
Materie bei M. 97 ff. 168. 276*. 359*. 367*. 374* ff.
Mathematici Marcionitae 148.
Matth.-Ev. 41. 80. 243* f. 251* f.
Megethius, Marcionit 164 ff. 56* ff. 333*. 345* ff.
Melito v. Sardes 286*. 315*. 318*. 421* ff. (Fragment aus der Schrift über die Taufe).
Menander, der Sektenstifter, 6* f.
Mensch, der, nach M. 100 ff. eine Mißgeburt, seine Schöpfung eine Tragödie 105.
Menschensohn 123 f.
Messalianer 382*.
Messe für die Toten nutzlos 419*.
Messias der Juden 117.
Μεταβολή, durch den Glauben 134 f.
Methodius 340* f.
Metrodorus, Marcionit. Presbyter u. Märtyrer 154. 340*. 348*.
Mill 233.
Miltiades, Anti-Marcionit 315*. 318*.
„Mittlere", der 165 ff. 168 f. 170.
Modalismus s. Sabellius u. 123. 353*, s. auch Nachträge.
Modestus, Anti-Marcionit 315*. 317*.
Montanisten 177.
Morgan 221.
Moses, milder als der Weltschöpfer 107. 270*.
Moses bar Cepha, Comm. de paradiso 414*.
Muratorisches Fragment 129*. 132*. 134* ff. 175* f. 315*.
Mysterien 175.
Mysteriosophie, von M. abgelehnt 93. 146 f. 175.

Narcissus, Arianer 350*.
Neander 198.

„Neu", Stichwort M.s für d. Evangelium 87 f. 126 f.
Neu - Marcionitismus 156. 424* f.
Neues Testament, kathol., kennt M. noch nicht 73. 84. 210 ff. 172* f. 441* ff.
Nicephorus, Antirrhet. 287*. 368*.
Nicetas v. Remesiana 354*.
Novatian 335* f.

Öltaufe, keine bei M. 144.
Optatus 156, bezeichnet den M. als früheren kathol. Bischof 24*. 388*.
Organisatorisches Genie M.s 151 f.
Origenes 83. 42*. 67*—69*. 72* bis 78*. 85* f. 102*—105*. 108* bis 111*. 115*. 120*. 182*. 185*. 195*. 207*. 225*. 252*. 260*—267*. 270*—278*. 281*. 285*. 287* ff. 292*. 298*. 304*—307*. 309* ff. 316*. 337* ff. 353*. 365*. 393* f. 400* f. 412* ff.

Pacian v. Barcelona 389* f. 420*.
Pazifismus M.s 117.
Pamphilus 399*. 418*.
Papias 5. 11 ff.
Parabeln Jesu 126.
Parmenian 390*.
Pascal 228.
Pastoralbriefe 174. 3* f. 129*. 132*. 170* f.
Patricius (Patricianer = Neu-Marcioniten) 156. 174. 313*. 390* f. 399* f. 424* ff.
Paul, Mittelalt. Häreseolog 15*.
Paul v. Samosota 382* f.
Paulicianer 382* f.
Paulinus v. Nola 90*. 390*.
Paulus, Apostel 11 f., Ausgangspunkt M.s 30 ff. 35 ff. 141 f. 198 ff. 207 f. 340*. 377* u. sonst.
Paulus-Akten 315*.
Paulus-Briefe 172 f. 168* ff.
Paulus, häretischer Armenier 383*.
Paulus, Marcionit. Presbyter 154 341* ff.
Paulus v. Taron 419*.
Pelagius 130*.
Persische Religion 436* ff.
Petilian 390*.
„Phaneroseis" s. Philumene.
Philipperbrief 124 *ff. 136* ff.
Philippus, Apostel 204*. 254*. 323*.
Philippus v. Gortyna 315*. 317*.
Philosophie als „leerer Betrug" von M. abgelehnt 51. 93.
Philoxenus 364*.
Philumene 177 f. 321*. 371*. 405* f.
Phokas, angebl. Bischof und Märtyrer in Sinope 24*.
Photius' Lehre mit der M.'s verwechselt 392*.
Photius 368*.
Pilatus 183* f. 241*.
Pilatus-Akten 235*.
Pithon, Marcionit 371*.
Plato, Vergleich mit M. 322* f. 350*.
Polykarp 24. 3* f. 5 *f. 14*.
Pontische Brüder empfehlen M. 11* ff.
Pontus, Heimat M.s 21 f. 13*. 21*.
Porphyrius 83. 174. 201. 69* f. 77*. 101*. 336* f.
Potitus, Marcionit 321* 371*.
Prädestinatus 34*. 399*. 418*. 420*.
Prepon 167. 170 f. 333*. 371*.
Presbyter, der, des Irenäus 16*. 259*. 271* f. 275*. 280*. 283*. 289*. 294*. 315* f.
„Prinzipien" s. ἀρχαί.
Priscillian 135*. 390*. 392* f.
„Pro-Evangelium" 74. 87. 256*. 355*.
Proklus, Montanist und Antimarcionit 315*. 318*.
Prolog zu d. „Antithesen" 256*.

Prologe, Marcionitische, z. d. Paulusbriefen 172. 42*. 48*. 127* bis 134*. 146* ff.
Prologus in Ev. Joh., M. in ihm erwähnt 11* ff.
Prophetie 113. 124 145.
Proselyten, jüdische 289*.
Prosper 390*.
„Πρωτότοκος τοῦ Σατανᾶ" 4* ff.
Prudentius 392* f.
Psalmen, Marcionitische 175* f. 363* f.
Pseudo-Augustin 389*.
Pseudo-Justin, Quaest. et Resp. 414*.
Ptolemäus, Valentinianer 29 f. 112. 14*. 315*.
Pythagoreer 322* f.

Rabbulas 158 f. 362*.
Raschke 240*.
Reich Gottes = Christus ipse 126.
Reich und arm 127. 151.
Ressentiment bei M. 22 f. 104.
Rhodon 163 f. 180 ff. 16*. 315*, 321*. 404* f.
Ritualien bei M. 144 f.
Rom, M.s Aufenhalt dort 24 ff.
Röm. 16, 25—27, von Marcioniten hinzugef. 165* f.
Römische Gemeinde 209 f. 212.
Römisches Symbol, ob antimarcionitisch? 316*.

Sabbatius, gallischer Bischof 387*.
Sabellius, Sabellianer 156. 336* f. 353*. (388*). 389*—391*.
„Sacerdo", unglaubhafter Name neben Cerdo 39*.
„Sākā" 175*. 363*.
Salomo 269*. 290*.
Samuel, Armenischer Chronist 34*.
Satornil (Saturnin) und Cerdo 29. 165. 36* ff.
Saturnin v. Tucca 334* f.
Saul 269*.
Schahrastani 168. 386* f.
Schlangenkult bei den Marcioniten 169. 370*.
Schleiermacher 222.
Schola 155. 161 ff. 179.
Schrift, eigene, der Marcioniten 160. 384* f.
Schulen, Marcionitische 161 ff.
Seelenwanderung 175.
Selbstentmannung 305* f.
Selbstmord 150.
Seligpreisungen, die, 94 f. 127. 151 261*. 291* f. 298*.
Semler 207.
Serubabel 290*.
Simon Magus 6 f. 29. 35*. 352*. 414*.
Sinaiticus Codex 242*.
Sinope 21 ff.
σκύβαλα 157.
Soden, von 136.
Sokrates, seine neue Gottheit 2, der tollgewordene 21.
„Sokratiker", Beinamen für Christen 346*.
Sophistische Exegese M.s 128 f.
Sophronius, Ep. synod. 38*.
Spätjudentum 5 ff.
Stephanus I., Bischof v. Rom 335*.
Stoiker, ob M. zu ihnen gehörte? 18*. 328*.
Successio episc. Marcionit. 154.
Sündenfall, nach M. 2900 Jahre vor Christus (3000 JJ. vor M.) 23*. 375*, s. auch Nachträge.
Syllogismen des Apelles 178 f. 192.
Synagoge, Name f. Kirchengebäude bei Marcioniten 341* ff.
Syncellus 34*.
Synerus, Marcionit 322*. 336*. 371*.
Synkretismus 5 ff. 13 f.

συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενοι 150.
„Synthesen", katholische 317*.
Syrischer, anonymer Schriftsteller (armenisch erhalten) gegen M. 67*. 106*. 120*. 183*. 185*. 241*. 256*. 278*. 354* ff.
Syrischer, unbekannter Schriftsteller (Brit. Mus. Add. 17 215). 185*. 362*.

Tatian 72 f. 195. 175*. 255*. 315*. 394*.
Taufe (und Toten- u. Wiedertaufe) bei M. 144 f. 156. 175 f. 365*. 367* f. 380*.
Taufe, Traktat Melitos über sie 421* ff.
Telesphorus, römischer Bischof 18 f.
Tertullian 16* ff. 43* ff. 47* ff. 178* ff. 328* ff. 357*. 401* f. 405* ff. 407* ff. und passim.
Teufel bei M. 98 f. 165. 169. 271*. 309*. 311*.
Theodor v. Mopsveste 278*. 369*.
Theodoret 158. 168 f. 175. 271*. 276*. 281*. 292*. 294*. 368* ff., s. auch Nachträge.
Theodotion, angeblich erst Marcionit, dann Jude 21. 366*.
Theophilus Antioch. 271*. 315*. 318*.
Theophylakt 368*.
Timotheus v. Konstantinopel 381*.
Tindal 221.
Tolstoi 226. 228. 232.
Transkaukasien, Marcioniten 160.
Tübinger Schule 208.
Turfan 385*. 434* f.

Übermenschentum 150.
Unbekannter Gott, der, 1 ff.
Ungeziefer 270*.
Urapostel, M.s Kritik 35 ff. 78 f. 256* ff.

Valentin 29. 155. 195. 15*. 175* f. 315*. 335*. 338*. 340*. 351*. 367*. 387* f. 389*. 393* f. 401*. 405* f. 412* f. 417*.
Verbot der Marcionit. Schriften durch d. Kaiser 367*.
Verbreitung der Kirche M.s 153 156 f.
Verfassung, kirchliche, der Marcioniten 146 f.
Verfolgungen, wie sie M. beurteilt (s. auch Märtyrer) 296*.
Vergebung 128. 133. 175 f.
Vier Evangelien, die, u. M. 40 ff. 249* f.
Viktorin v. Pettau 334*. 388*.
Vincentius v. Lerinum 389*.

Waldesier 331*.
Wein 149.
Weisheit als Eigenschaft des Marcionit. Gottes 121. 268*.
Welt, die, nach M. 97 ff. 103 (= Weltschöpfer).
Weltschöpfer, der, nach M. 97 ff. 119 f. 140 f. 149. 160.
Widmung der Antithesen 77.
Wiklefiten 331.
„Wolf", Schimpfname f. M. 321*.
Text, der, 44. 73. 151* ff. 242* f.

Zachaei et Apollonii Consultat. 392*.
Zenobius, Schüler Ephraems 362*.
Zephyrin, römischer Bischof 143*. 388*.
Zungenreden 145.
Zwei-, Drei- und Vierprinzipienlehre M.'s 160 ff. 168.
Zyniker 150. 321*. 332*.

Berichtigungen und Nachträge.

S. 60 zu Luc. 17,25: Aus Tertull. adv. Marc. IV, 35 hat Corssen (Mnemos. 1924 p. 241) wohl richtig geschlossen, daß M. statt *ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης* gelesen wissen wollte *πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*. (Das ist nun auch auf S. 224* zu vermerken).

S. 177. Die angedeutete Betrachtung, daß die alexandrinische Spekulation auf Apelles Einfluß gewonnen hat, ist dahin zu erweitern, daß Apelles die ganz unhellenische Glaubenslehre Marcions in die hellenische Denkweise und Spekulation übergeführt hat.

S. 8* ff. und 352*. Waitz hat den Beweis zu führen versucht (Texte und Unters. Bd. 25,4 S. 163 ff.), daß die Pseudoklementinen das Syntagma Justins benutzt haben; aber nur eine geringe Wahrscheinlichkeit läßt sich für diese Hypothese erreichen. Darin aber hat Waitz wahrscheinlich Recht, daß die antimarcionitischen Partien der Pseudoklementinen auf eine besondere Quelle weisen. Die Frage „Pseudoklemens und Marcion" bedarf einer erneuten Untersuchung, aber man kann sie nicht isoliert anstellen.

23* und 375*. Die auf Jesus und Marcion hinauslaufende Marcionitische Zeitberechnung (2900 JJ. vom Sündenfall bis Jesus, also 3000 bis Marcion) zeigt, daß M. an das sofort bevorstehende Weltende geglaubt hat. Daran hat man sich bei der Eschatologie (S. 129 ff.) zu erinnern.

S. 211*. Anmerk. Z. 5 lies IV, 28.

S. 266* Z. 2 lies „dem" statt „den"

S. 294*. Die Zeile 5 v. u. ist zu tilgen.

S. 369* ff. (Theodoret). Hier ist die wichtige Tatsache übersehen, daß dieser Kirchenvater nach seinem Selbstzeugnis noch eine eigene Schrift gegen M. verfaßt hat. Ep. 82 schreibt er: *Πρὸς τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦντας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τὰ Μακεδονίου νοσοῦντας καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου τερθρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος λύτταν συνεγράψαμεν πάλαι.* Ep. 116: *Πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα βίβλους συνέγραψα κατὰ Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου, κατὰ Μαρκίωνος κτλ.* Näher charakterisiert er dieses Werk ep. 145 also: *Πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα συνεγράψαμεν βίβλους . . . . . τὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων διελέγχοντες ψεῦδος . . . . . καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῇ Μαρκίωνος σηπεδόνι κατεχομένους ἀγωνιζόμενοι διατετελέκαμεν . . . . . τοὺς τῆς Μαρκίωνος λύττης*

μετεσχηκότας, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός ἐστι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαιος, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων, κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων μῦθον, ἀλλ' οἰκείων ποιημάτων σωτήρ. Aus ep. 81 interessiert noch die Mitteilung, er selbst sei vertrieben, *τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασι πᾶσα πόλις ἀνέῳκται, οὐ μόνον τοῖς τὰ Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μανιχαίοις καὶ Μαρκιωνισταῖς.* (Dann folgt die Mitteilung über die acht Marcionitischen Dörfer). Ep. 82 heißt es von den Monophysiten, daß sie den Doketismus M.s (Valentins und Manis) repetieren (vgl. ep. 151). Ep. 145: *Κέρδων καὶ Μαρκίων παντάπασιν ἀρνοῦνται τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν μυθολογίαν ἀποκαλοῦσι.* (vgl. ep. 151). Daß ihm die Marcionitische Häresie noch immer für sehr gefährlich gilt, lehrt die Betrachtung, daß er im 5. Buche seines ketzerbestreitenden Werks, welches die positive Darlegung der rechten Lehre bietet, an vielen Hauptstellen auf die Lehre M.s zurückgreift, s. V, 1. 8. 11. 16. 17. 19. 24. Hier sei noch hervorgehoben, daß er V, 16 die präzise Formel in bezug auf M. bringt: *Μαρκίων ὁ βδελυρὸς ἕτερον λέγει τὸν δίκαιον, ὃν καὶ δημιουργὸν ὀνομάζει, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἀγαθόν, ὃν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι φησί* (man beachte den Modalismus). Beachtenswert ist auch, daß er V, 17 von der Sekte der Antitakten sagt, sie seien *συγγενεῖς Μαρκίωνος.*

S. 385*. Anmerk. 1, Z. 2 lies „Turfan".

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ADOLF VON HARNACK

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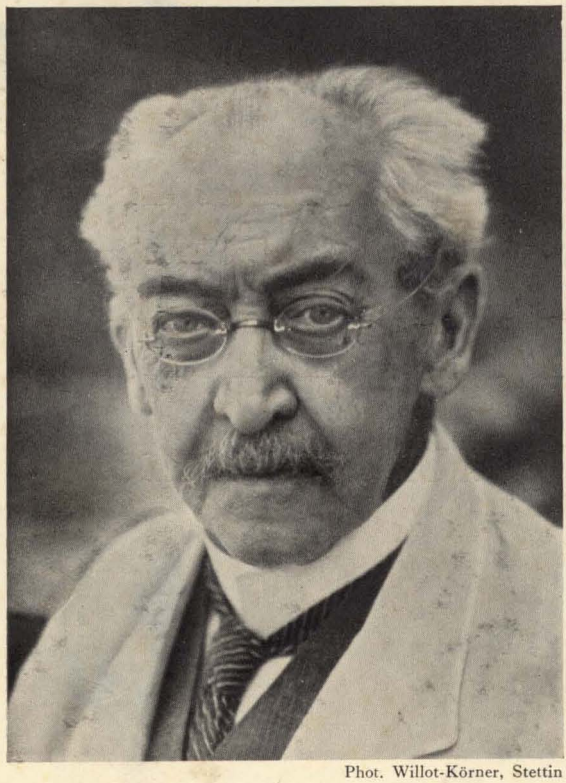

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NEUE STUDIEN ZU MARCION

VON

ADOLF VON HARNACK

LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
1923

TEXTE UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ALTCHRISTLICHEN LITERATUR

ARCHIV FÜR DIE VON DER KIRCHENVÄTER-COMMISSION
DER PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
UNTERNOMMENE
AUSGABE DER ÄLTEREN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFTSTELLER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

ADOLF VON HARNACK UND **CARL SCHMIDT**

3. REIHE 14. BAND HEFT 4

44. BAND HEFT 4

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Eingehende Kritiken meiner Monographie über Marcion[1] sowie Nachträge und Berichtigungen, die ich selbst zu geben vermag, fordern es, zu dem Thema zurückzukehren. Durch

1 Lietzmann i. d. „Ztschr. f. d. N.-Tliche Wissensch." 1921, S. 94f. — Jülicher, Marcion, i. d. „Christl. Welt" 1921 Nr. 18. — Eißfeldt, Christent. u. A. T., i. d. „Kartell-Zeitung des Eisenacher Kartells Akad. Theol. Vereine", 1921 Nr. 7. — K. L. Schmidt, Marcion und wir, ebendort. — v. Soden, in der „Deutschen Lit.-Ztg." 1921 Nr. 49; derselbe, i. d. „Ztschr. f. K.-Gesch." Bd. LX (N. F. III) 1922 S. 193ff. — Krüger im „Lit. Zentr.-Blatt" 1921 Nr. 19. — Koch i. d. „Theol. Lit.-Ztg." 1921 Kol. 313ff. — R. Harris, Marcions Book of Contradict., im „Bull. of the John Rylands Libr.", Manchester, Vol. VI Nr. 3, 1921 p. 289ff. — Windisch, im „Museum" (Leiden) August 1921; van den Bergh van Eysinga, in der Nieuw Theol. Tijdschr." 1921 III p. 218ff. (das zögernde und übelwollende Rückzugsgefecht eines radikalen Kritikers, dem die Felle weggeschwommen sind). — de Bruyne, in der „Rev. Bénéd. 1921 Octob. (p. 13ff.) — Lagrange, in der „Rev. Biblique" 1921 Octob. — Weinel i. d. „Deutsch. Allg. Ztg." 1921, 24. Dez. — Lowther Clarke i. d. Ztschr. „Theology", A monthly „Journ. of Historic Christianity" 1921 Nr. 17 p. 297ff. — Wikenhauser, im „Oberrheinisch. Pastoralblatt 1921, 15. August. — Grützmacher i. der „Theologie der Gegenwart", XV. Jahrg., 1921, Heft 4 S. 124ff. — A. Th. J., i. d. „Theol. Tidsschr." Kopenhagen 1921, 27. Nov., S. 18. — Walter Köhler i. d. „Neuen Züricher Ztg." 1921 Nr. 668 (7. Mai). — Moffat, im Hibbert Journ. 1921, Juli, p. 772ff. — Behm, im „Theol. Lit.-Bl." 1922 Nr. 12, S. 183f. — Stalker, im „Expositor" 1922 Vol. XXIII April, p. 241ff. — d'Alès, Marcion, la Réforme chrét. au II. siècle in den „Recherch. de Science Relig." 1922 Vol. XIII, Mai bis Aug., p. 137ff. — Hein, Moderner Marcionitismus, in den „Theol. Blättern" 1922 Nr. 6 u. 7. — Vogels, in der „Theol. Revue" 1922 Nr. 3/4. — Jordan, im „Theol. Lit.-Bericht" 1922 Nr. 3. — E. Vischer, im Kirchenbl. f. d. Reform. Schweiz 1922 Nr. 28. — Hoh, in der „Lit. Beilage z. Augsb. Postztg." 1922 Nr. 11. — Grejdanus, Marcion Paulinist in zijne Gnaden-

die Kritiken sind folgende Hauptfragen wieder kontrovers geworden:

I. Was ist der Ausgangspunkt und deshalb auch der Grundgedanke im Christentum Marcions? Ist es wirklich der Gegensatz von Gut und Gerecht, Evangelium und Gesetz? Steht er dem Apostel Paulus in Wahrheit nicht viel ferner, als es zunächst den Anschein hat? Ist seine Lehre nicht doch nur eine, wenn auch besonders merkwürdige, Spielart des gnostischen Dualismus mit nachträglicher paulinischer Färbung? Ist er nicht massiver, naiver, minder evangelisch und minder eigentümlich, als er in meiner Darstellung erscheint? Ist er nicht von außerchristlichen Einflüssen sehr stark abhängig?

II. Ist seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Christentums zur katholischen Kirche nicht von mir überschätzt; darf man ihn z. B. wirklich den Schöpfer des Neuen Testaments nennen?

III. Hat er der Gegenwart noch etwas zu sagen oder geht seine Bedeutung ganz in seiner Zeit auf?

IV. Hat sein Bibeltext Einfluß auf die katholischen Texte ausgeübt oder sind diese Texte nicht vielmehr ganz frei von einem solchen?

I

Meine Kritiker haben sämtlich, soweit sie auf die Frage eingegangen sind, es gebilligt, daß ich die Boussetsche These, der Marcionitismus sei eine Spielart des persischen Dualismus, abgelehnt habe; allein v. Soden und Walter Bauer machen starke Vorbehalte (indirekt auch Grejdanus), die besonders bei Bauer dazu führen, daß er zu einer Auffassung der christlichen Lehre Marcions gelangt, die die von mir vorgetragene ablehnt und zur älteren Auffassung (Marcion ein Gnostiker) zurückkehrt.

v. Soden stimmt zunächst in weitem Umfang meiner Auffassung Marcions zu[1]: „M. ist in allen wesentlichen Punkten

leer? i. der „Gereform. Theol. Tijdschr." 1923 Januar, Aflevering 9, p. 337ff. — Amann, M. et Marcionisme, in der Rev. des Sciences Relig. (Univ. de Straßbourg) 1923 Nr. 1, p. 111ff. — Walter Bauer, i. d. Gött. Gel.-Anz. 1923 S. 1—14.

1 Die folgenden Sperrungen sind von mir.

geradezu der polare Gegensatz zum Gnostizismus. Er ist nicht Enthusiast, sondern Biblizist, nicht Prophet, sondern Reformator, nicht metaphysisch, sondern ethisch bestimmt, nicht systematisch, sondern dogmatisch geartet. Daß er keine Äonenspekulation hat, ist für die Beurteilung seines Verhältnisses zum Gnostizismus in der Tat von entscheidender Wichtigkeit. Vor allem ist hier auf die Christologie zu achten: unterscheidet man bei dieser die Neutralisierung der geschichtlichen Erlöserpersönlichkeit durch ihre Zerlegung in Äonen und ihre Einordnung in ein System von solchen als das eine Ende der Typenreihe und die modalistische Verabsolutierung derselben als das andere, so stellen M. und die Gnostiker auch hier die polaren Gegensätze dar, zwischen denen die gemäßigte und eingeschränkte Äonenlehre der kirchlichen Hypostasenchristologie vermittelt. M. E. ist M.s Zweigötterlehre überhaupt nichts anderes als die Potenzierung seiner modalistischen Christologie, und mit dieser ist er im Sinne der die Entwicklung bestimmenden Tendenzen mehr reaktionär als radikal"[1]. Aber dann erhebt v. Soden eine Reihe aufsteigender Bedenken; ich fasse sie also zusammen:

1. Harnack erkennt zwar den synkretistischen und vulgärdualistischen Einschlag und damit gewisse Berührungen mit dem Gnostizismus bei M. an, aber es darf hier eine wurzelhafte Gemeinschaft nicht verkannt werden.

2. Daß M.s gerechter Gott immer wieder zum bösen Gott hinschillert und leicht in ihn umschlägt — wie vor allem auch die spätere Entwicklung der Marcionitischen Kirche beweist —, ist nicht gebührend gewürdigt.

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1 Die Formulierung ist ausgezeichnet. M. vertritt hier dieselbe Reaktion wie die modalistische Hälfte der Montanisten und vor allem wie Papst Zephyrin mit seiner öffentlich zur Nachachtung promulgierten Formel: *Ἐγὼ οἶδα ἕνα θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα, γεννητὸν καὶ παθητόν.* Vgl. auch Orig., Comm. II § 29 in Joh.: *Ἕτεροι οἱ μηδὲν εἰδότες, εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον* (s. Apelles). Und auch er bemerkt dazu: *τοιοῦτον δέ ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεπιστευκέναι νομιζομένων.* M.s Modalismus war nur den Theologen anstößig, nicht der großen Menge der Laien.

3. Harnack zieht zuweilen sehr sublime Consequenzen in bezug auf M.s Lehre, die sich aus der Überlieferung nicht erweisen lassen. „Er argumentiert etwa (bei der Lehre von der doppelten „Gutheit“ oder bei der Reconstruction der Eschatologie M.s) mit Paulusstellen, die M. stehen ließ, von denen wir aber nicht wissen, wie weit er sie besser verstanden und gewertet hat als der Katholizismus, der sie auch las.“

4. Harnack „substituiert, M. betreffend, den Paulinisch-Lutherischen Gegensatz von Gesetz und Gnade, Glauben und Werken und berücksichtigt nicht, daß dieser Gegensatz bei ihm entleert und entgeistigt wird, indem er von ihm zu dem der zwei Götter hypostasiert und mythologisiert und in der Askese ein neues Gesetz aufgerichtet wird . . . Es bedeutet eine Idealisierung, wenn Harnack Marcion meinen läßt, daß die verstorbenen Gerechten des Schöpfergotts nicht erlöst werden können, weil sie den Mangel ihrer Gerechtigkeit nicht erkennen, während die Heiden und Sünder mit der vergebenden Gnade die Erlösung ergreifen . . . Bei der Bilanzziehung wird die von Harnack anerkannte Tatsache, daß M. den Paulus gründlich mißverstanden und unerhört vergewaltigt hat, nicht voll zur Geltung gebracht . . . M. ist dem Schuldgedanken (und damit einem eigentlichen Sündenbewußtsein) völlig verschlossen. Er ist an diesem Punkte nicht mehr, sondern weniger feinfühlig als mancher unter den Gnostikern . . . Die exclusive soteriologische Einstellung, die Harnack immer wieder an M. rühmt, ist doch zum guten Teil (keineswegs ganz) nicht die religiöse Antithese gegen eine religionsphilosophische Kosmologie, sondern die barbarische Verkennung der hier seinerzeit gestellten Probleme und die willkürliche Verleugnung von Consequenzen aus den eigenen Voraussetzungen, also mehr theologischer Dilettantismus als religiöse Vertiefung.“

Grejdanus bestreitet, daß M. in seiner Gnadenlehre Pauliner war im Gegensatz zu meiner Darstellung, in der er als consequenter Pauliner erscheine; M. kenne in Wahrheit die Gnade nicht; diese sei bei Paulus etwas viel Tieferes, nämlich die schuldvergebende Liebe; des Menschen Sünde ist bei M. nicht Sünde gegen Gott; also ist auch bei M.

die Gnade nicht eigentlich Vergebung; seine Auffassung schließt es aus, daß der Mensch sich selbst verdorben und ins Elend gebracht hat. Daß ich diesen Unterschied zwischen Paulus und M. nicht eingesehen habe, liege an meiner mangelhaften christlichen Erkenntnis, wie ich sie im „Wesen des Christentums“ bekundet habe.

Bauer beginnt in seiner Kritik damit, daß ich fremde Einflüsse bei M. unterschätze und den Einfluß des Paulus überschätze. Ein ähnliches Erlebnis wie das des Paulus, bzw. die Erkenntnis des entscheidenden Gegensatzes von Gesetz und Gnade, sei bei dem Heidenchristen M. überhaupt und als Ausgangspunkt undenkbar; sein Widerspruch beziehe sich gar nicht auf das Gesetz als solches (so daß das Mosaische nur ein Typus desselben wäre), sondern ausschließlich auf das A.-Tliche Gesetz (die Askese, welche eine Ertötung des Menschtums fordere, zeige, daß M. doch unter einem fordernden Gott stehe); er verrate auch nichts von einem durch das Gesetz nach vergeblichen Anstrengungen erregten Sünden- und Schuldbewußtsein, sondern kennt nur eine Erlösung von Elend, wobei er mit dem Gott der Liebe nicht Ernst mache, indem er sich mit der Erlösung einer kleineren Anzahl von Menschen begnüge. M. hat das A. T. als Ganzes verabscheut und in und mit ihm auch das Gesetz; umgekehrt hat er nicht aus einem Erlebnis den Glauben an einen Gott, der ausschließlich Liebe und Güte ist, gewonnen, sondern dieser ist ihm lediglich als Antithese zum A.-Tlichen Gott entstanden. Da sich ferner die doketische Christologie, die überasketischen Neigungen u. a. nicht aus dem bewegenden Gegensatz von Gerecht und Gut ableiten lassen, so ist zu fragen, ob diesem Gegensatz die beherrschende Stellung bei M. zukommt und ob er seine Gedanken, die nichts weniger als Paulinisch sind, überhaupt in den Paulusbriefen gefunden, ob er sie nicht vielmehr an diese nur herangebracht hat. Der wahre Sachverhalt stellt sich so dar, daß der Widerwille gegen das Judentum und die zum Ekel gewordene Abneigung gegen die materielle fleischliche Welt bei ihm in der heftigen Feindschaft gegen den Judengott, der zugleich Weltschöpfer ist, zusammengeflossen sind. Von dieser Doppel-Voraussetzung

des Hasses aus waren ihm das Evangelium und Paulus willkommen und bereicherten und bestimmten nun seine Gedankenwelt; von hier aus erklären sich alle Hauptpunkte seiner Lehre — unter gewichtigen Anregungen von außen (s. u.) — befriedigend.

Die Annahme, die Erfahrung Gottes als der Gnade sei der Ausgangspunkt für M., verbiete sich auch durch die Beobachtung, daß das positive Gebot der Liebe keineswegs den Mittelpunkt der Frömmigkeit M.s bilde, ferner auch durch die andere Beobachtung, daß er zwar enthusiastisch den absoluten Wert des Evangeliums verglichen mit dem A. T. preise und umgekehrt ebenso ergriffen den Abscheu vor dem „Fleisch" zum Ausdruck bringe, aber ein Erlebnis der Gnade niemals in heiliger Begeisterung zum Ausdruck gebracht habe. Endlich zeigen auch die beiden von ihm als Devisen bevorzugten evangelischen Sprüche (vom neuen Wein und den alten Schläuchen; vom bösen und guten Baum) nicht den gnädigen Gott, der das Gesetz abtut, sondern den Gegensatz des unbedingt vollkommenen und des schlechthin verdorbenen Gottes.

Von hier aus bedarf die Ansicht Harnacks vom gerechten Gott, wie ihn M. sich vorgestellt, eine gründliche Revision: Er ist in demselben Sinn schlecht, wie der Vater Jesu Christi gut ist, und auch seine Gerechtigkeit ist eben nur schlechte Strafgerechtigkeit. Es bereitete, so darf man vermuten, „M. eine innere Genugtuung, ein Wort, das sonst etwas Gutes bezeichnet, durch Einschließung in Anführungszeichen zu einem Schimpf für den Demiurgen zu machen. Ich verspüre etwas wie ätzenden Hohn in der immer wiederkehrenden Rede vom ‚gerechten' Gott" . . . „Marcion redet vom ‚gerechten' Gott, wie wir von einem ‚sauberen' Herrn und einem ‚netten' Menschen sprechen. Wohl hat man den giftigen Spott M.s schon früh nicht mehr verstanden" . . . „Marcions ‚Gerechtigkeit' gehört in das Register der Sünden des Weltschöpfers hinein und will denselben ebenso zum Schlechten stempeln, wie die anderen Prädikate, die ihm beigelegt werden." Die Kirchenväter haben, so scheint es, richtig empfunden, wenn sie den Demiurgen im Sinne M.s direkt als schlecht ausgeben.

Allerdings geht Bousset zu weit mit seiner Identifizierung des Marcionitischen und Persischen Dualismus — Marcion hat neben dem Weltschöpfer die schlechte Materie, identifiziert ihn nicht mit dem Teufel und kennt den Dualismus von Licht und Finsternis nicht —; aber diese Zugeständnisse geben dem A.-Tlichen Gott keinen Auftrieb, der ihn über das Niveau des Schlechten erheben. Die Materie entlastet ihn nicht und auch der Teufel nicht, weil die ganze schlechte Schöpfung schließlich doch auf ihm sitzen bleibt (die Materie ist eingeführt, um dem Weltschöpfer nicht die Kraft zuzuschreiben, aus dem Nichts schaffen zu können, und der Teufel mußte aus dem N. T. übernommen werden).

Die hier gegebene Betrachtung wird von der späteren Entwicklung des Marcionitismus bestätigt; sie nötigt aber auch, M. in einen größeren religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang zu stellen, woraus sich die erheblichste Einschränkung seiner Originalität ergibt. Trotz unleugbarer Unterschiede tritt eine starke Abhängigkeit M.s vom Gnostizismus hervor: die Vorstellung von den beiden Göttern (der eine als untergeordneter Demiurg) ist übernommen; der „fremde" Gott gehört doch zum „unbekannten" Gott und scheint keine ganz originelle Schöpfung zu sein (Reitzenstein); die antijüdische Orientierung hat in jenem Zeitalter, sowohl in der Großkirche, als auch vor allem bei den Gnostikern, verschiedene Vertreter (besonders bei den Mandäern, Reitzenstein), und zeigt M. weniger im Bann des Paulus als von einer Zeitströmung ergriffen, auf die auch der dualistische Einschlag in seiner Frömmigkeit (der Haß gegen die Welt, Askese usw.), der einen großen Teil seines Einflusses erklärt, zurückzuführen ist. Soweit Bauer.

Wollte ich alle diese Einwürfe erschöpfend erledigen, so müßte ich einen großen Teil meines Werkes noch einmal schreiben, was vielleicht das Beste wäre, aber nicht möglich ist. So muß ich mich begnügen, Hauptbeobachtungen den Erwägungen meiner Kritiker entgegenzustellen, in der Hoffnung, daß sie genügen werden, weil schließlich die zahlreichen erhobenen Bedenken sich durch die Entscheidung über die Hauptpunkte erledigen lassen. Generell be-

merke ich, daß m. E. diese Bedenken nicht erhoben worden wären, wenn die Kritiker sich den ganzen Inhalt der „Antithesen“ und speziell die tiefen Paulusgedanken, die M. in seinem Kanon bewahrt und ausgelegt hat, stets gegenwärtig gehalten hätten. Um das Werk nicht noch ausführlicher werden zu lassen und Wiederholungen zu vermeiden, hatte ich bei der Darstellung der Lehre M.s nur wenige Verweisungen auf die einzelnen „Antithesen“ gegeben, die als ein einheitliches Ganze vorangestellt sind.[1] Ich sehe nun, daß ich den Lesern damit zuviel zugemutet habe und Wiederholungen nicht hätte scheuen sollen. Zur Sache bemerke ich — und meine Kritiker werden mir gewiß Glauben schenken — daß ich seit Jahrzehnten alle die Einwürfe selbst erwogen habe, die sie mir vorhalten; denn sie drängen sich ja geradezu auf; aber sie sind doch unrichtig oder nur in bescheidenem Umfang richtig und werden in diesem von mir nicht abgelehnt. Folgende Hauptpunkte sind festzustellen:

1. Bei Marcion ist alles auf den Glauben gestellt, und zwar auf den Glauben an die Erlösungstat des Gott-Christus, der mit seinem Blute am Kreuz die Sünder losgekauft hat und sie durch den Glauben in „gute“ umwandelt. Adamant. II, 9: „Der Tod des Guten ist das Heil der Menschen geworden“; II, 1 f.: „Der gute (Gott) errettet die, die an ihn glauben“; II, 19 f.: „Der gute (Gott) ist der Vater der Gläubigen;“ I, 3: „Der gute (Gott) hatte Mitleid mit ihm Fremden als Sündern; weder als gute noch als böse begehrte er sie, sondern er erbarmte sich ihrer in herzlicher Rührung“; II, 6: „Der gute (Gott) erlöste die Menschen, die schlecht waren, von dem üblen (Gott) und verwandelte sie durch den Glauben und machte die, die an ihn glauben, zu guten“ (*Κακοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μετέβαλε διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ*); Apelles: „Gerettet werden die, welche ihre Hoffnung auf den Gekreuzigten setzen, wenn sie in guten Werken erfunden werden“; bei Tertull. IV, 18: „Aus

1 Das mußte geschehen; denn eine Zusammenstellung des quellenmäßigen Tatbestandes in bezug auf die „Antithesen“ war hier die erste Forderung.

dem Glauben erwuchs der großen Sünderin der zur Buße treibende Stachel", usw. Ich weiß nicht, wie es noch deutlicher zum Ausdruck gebracht werden kann, daß M. alles auf den Glauben stellt, eine innere Umwandlung durch den Glauben bewirkt sieht (von Sündern zu Guten), zum Inhalt dieses Glaubens den Kreuzestod Christi macht und also in diesem entscheidenden Lehrstück echter Schüler des Paulus ist? Daß er das Lösegeld an den Weltschöpfer gezahlt sein läßt, begründet hier keinen wesentlichen Unterschied in der religiösen Höhenlage, da er zugleich aufs deutlichste zum Ausdruck bringt, daß es sich um die justificatio impii handelt und daß ihm die durch den Glauben bewirkte Umwandlung[1] des Sünders das Entscheidende ist. Liegt in dieser soterologischen Einstellung wirklich „mehr theologischer Dilettantismus als religiöse Vertiefung" vor? Muß man M. „eine barbarische Verkennung der seinerzeit gestellten Probleme" vorwerfen (so v. Soden), oder steht es nicht umgekehrt so, daß M. mit diesem klaren Paulinischen Glaubensbekenntnis die anderen christlichen Lehrer seines Zeitalters hoch überragt?

2. Damit ist auch der Einwurf zurückgewiesen, daß M. von Sünde und Sündenschuld nichts wisse, sondern nur vom menschlichen Elend, und sich dadurch von Paulus toto coelo unterscheide. Gewiß, das jämmerliche Elend des mißratenen Geschöpfs, des Menschen, steht ihm im Vordergrund, aber hat nicht auch Paulus Alles in dem Seufzer zusammengefaßt: „Ich elender (*ταλαίπωρος*; M. redete die Seinigen als *συνταλαίπωροι* an) Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen von dem Leibe dieses Todes"? Sagt man aber, nach M. sei der Mensch für seine Sünde nicht verantwortlich, weil ihn der Schöpfer-

1 *Μεταβολή* kenne ich (aus der vorkatholischen Literatur) aus Justin, Apol. I, 66: dort heißt es, daß durch die h. Speise im Abendmahl *αἷμα καὶ σάρκες ἡμῶν κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται*. Eine mystisch-sakramentale Veränderung unserer leiblichen Natur ist gemeint; M. dagegen denkt an eine innere Umwandlung durch den Glauben. Paulus spricht von der „neuen Kreatur"; M. hat ihn verstanden, aber den Gedanken selbständig ausgedrückt. Apol. II, 2 nennt Justin die (erhoffte) Bekehrung eines in Sünden lebenden Menschen „*μεταβολή*". Das ist derselbe Sprachgebrauch, den M. befolgt.

gott so geschaffen habe wie er ist, so übersieht man, daß auch nach M. die Menschen für die Übertretung der zehn Gebote sowohl dem Schöpfergott als dem guten Gott verantwortlich sind (die Katechismusforderung hat ja M. als selbstverständlich bestehen lassen), und man übersieht ferner, daß M. die Menschen für ihren Unglauben, nachdem Christus erschienen ist, verantwortlich macht. Sofern in bezug auf diese doppelte schwere Verantwortlichkeit Schwierigkeiten und Probleme übrig bleiben, sind sie für M. nicht andere oder größere als für jede Theorie auf diesem Gebiet. Soll ich aber, abgesehen hiervon, die Zahl der Kirchenväter aufzuzählen anfangen, bei denen auch das Sündenelend stärker im Vordergrund steht als die Sündenschuld? Wie steht es bei Athanasius? Ferner, die Dialektik, daß es vor dem Mosaischen Gesetz keine Sünde gab und doch gab, entfernt sich nicht allzuweit von Paulus; ausdrücklich hat M. auch gesagt (bei Orig. zu Röm. 5, 20): „Haec fuit causa datae legis, ut peccatum, quod ante legem non fuerat, abundaret.“ — Wenn v. Soden behauptet, ich zöge zuweilen sehr sublime Consequenzen in bezug auf M.s Lehre, die sich aus der Überlieferung nicht erweisen lassen („Harnack argumentiert bei der Lehre von der doppelten ‚Gutheit‘ oder bei der Reconstruction der Eschatologie M.s mit Paulusstellen, die M. stehen ließ, von denen wir aber nicht wissen, wie weit er sie besser verstanden und gewertet hat als der Katholizismus, der sie auch las“), so bitte ich um Belege; denn indem ich ein großes Material herbeigezogen habe (M.s Texte und M.s Exegesen), welches bisher noch niemals zur Bestimmung der Lehre M.s herangebracht worden ist, habe ich mich sorgsam gehütet, irgend etwas für M. zu behaupten, was sich nicht urkundlich belegen läßt, und vor allem mich von den Urkunden zu der Anerkennung zwingen lassen, daß M. die Begriffe *δίκαιος, νόμος*, ja selbst *ἀγαθός* in einem doppelten Sinn braucht, wie er auch zwischen *κακός* und *πονηρός* scharf unterschieden hat. Er ist hier keineswegs „naiv“, sondern geht in die Tiefe, und wer das nicht gelten läßt, muß zeigen, daß das nur Schein ist oder gar nicht existiert. Natürlich kann ich mich hier oder dort geirrt haben; aber einen Nachweis hat v. Soden nicht versucht. Man darf

aber ferner nicht vergessen, daß die Kirchenväter nur für die groben Antithesen, nicht aber für die hinter ihnen liegenden feinen Glaubensurteile M.s ein Interesse gehabt haben; dennoch sind zum Glück solche erhalten, so daß man die Höhenlage und den Zusammenhang der Gedanken noch zu bestimmen vermag. Das gilt auch von der Eschatologie, die die Dreifaltigkeit der ethisch-theologischen Gedanken M.s (böse, gerecht, gut) und die zuletzt sich ergebende Monarchie des guten Gottes trotz der dualistischen Formel klar dartut[1]. Das gilt auch — damit kehre ich zum Anfang dieses Abschnitts wieder zurück — von seinem Sündenbewußtsein. Wer auf die freche Frage: Warum sündigst Du nicht darauf los, wenn Dein Gott nicht richtet? einfach antwortet: „Das sei ferne, das sei ferne" (bei Tert. I, 27), der bekundet mit solcher aus Röm. 6, 1f. stammenden Antwort nicht Leichtfertigkeit oder Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber der Sünde oder Verlegenheit, sondern tiefsten Ernst und schirmende Gnadenerfahrung: „Wir, die wir der Sünde abgestorben sind, wie können wir noch in ihr leben?" Erst wenn man das zugestanden hat, ist andrerseits festzustellen, daß M.s Beschreibung des im Fleische wurzelnden Sündenelends und seine Ekelempfindung gegenüber demselben, sofern

1 Auf der Hand liegt, daß M. in der Eschatologie seinen Hauptgedanken, daß der Gott der Liebe nicht richtet, nur formell hat festhalten können und eine schwere Inconsequenz in den Kauf nehmen mußte. (Am Ende der Dinge werden die Nicht-Erlösten von dem Angesicht des guten Gottes beseitigt.) Allein die Inconsequenz ist doch wohl nur ein Ausdruck seines religiösen Ernstes, der hier übergreift über die sonst festgehaltene Theorie. — Den Descensus Christi ad inferos erklärt v. Soden nicht richtig, wenn er sagt, M. beurteile ihn naiv: „Die vom gerechten Gott Gepeinigten laufen zu dessen Besieger über, die von ihm Belehrten bleiben auf seiner Seite." Wir besitzen hier bei Irenäus die authentische Interpretation M.s („inquit"); nach dieser liegt das Akumen des Vorgangs darin, daß die Sünder Christus als Erlöser erkennen und ihm zulaufen, die „Gerechten" aber ihn verkennen, indem sie eine neue versucherische Aktion des lästigen Richters argwöhnen („lex fidem impedit"). Diese Interpretation bestätigt also den wichtigen und tiefen Gedanken M.s, daß die „Gerechten" blind, taub und verstockt sind gegenüber dem wahrhaft Guten und aus der Sphäre der Welt und des Gesetzes überhaupt nicht mehr herauskönnen, während auch die gröbsten Sünden die Empfänglichkeit für das Gute nicht ausschließen.

sie nicht auf ganz individuellen Erfahrungen beruhen, aus einer der christlichen ursprünglich fremden Betrachtung stammen können, die in seinem Zeitalter außerhalb des Christentums Vertreter hatte. Aus späterer Zeit übrigens kann man bei christlichen Mönchen und Neuplatonikern Zeugnisse genug über das Fleisch und die Zeugung finden, die an Realistik und Ekelempfindung den Marcionitischen nicht nachstehen[1].

3. Daß der bewegende Gegensatz für Marcion „Gut > Gerecht" (erbarmende Liebe und strafende Gerechtigkeit, lex und evangelium) ist, erkennt v. Soden an, weil die Quellen diese Tatsache aufdrängen; wie gerne hätten die Kirchenväter sämtlich — nur einige haben es getan —, diesen Gegensatz in „Gut und Schlecht" verwandelt, wenn sie es vermocht hätten! Ein einziges rundes Zeugnis wie das des Origenes („. . . nam ut concedamus Marcioni . . . posse differentias deitatis inducere et aliam boni naturam, aliam vero iusti describere") oder das des Clemens Alex. genügt eigentlich schon (*Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος τὸν νόμον κακὸν μὲν οὐ φήσουσι, δίκαιον δέ, διαστέλλοντες τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δικαίου*)[2]. Was aber vom Gesetz gilt, gilt durchweg auch vom Gesetzgeber (lex = deus legis, Tert. V, 13). Dennoch hat Bauer den Versuch Boussets wiederholt, den Weltschöpfer im Sinne M.s als rundweg schlecht

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1 „M. ist dem Schuldgedanken und damit einem eigentlichen Sündenbewußtsein völlig verschlossen" — aber wenn er eine *μεταβολή* aus der Schlechtigkeit zum Gutsein (s. o.) für den Ertrag der Erlösung hält und wenn es höchst wahrscheinlich seine Charakteristik der großen Sünderin ist (Tert. IV, 18): „per paenitentiam ex fide iustificata", so kann ihm das Sündenbewußtsein nicht gefehlt haben. Bei dem unsäglichen Umfang der Erlösung (der gute Gott befreit von dem Fleisch, der Sünde, dem Gesetz, der Welt, dem Weltschöpfer) ist es nicht auffallend, daß bei M. alles in der einen Stimmung zusammenlief: „Mir ist Erbarmung widerfahren, Erbarmung, deren ich nicht wert." Deshalb aber zu behaupten, er habe das Paul Gerhardsche Bekenntnis: „Herz freu' dich, du sollst werden vom Elend dieser Erden und von der Sündenarbeit frei", nur in seiner ersten Hälfte anerkannt, geht viel zu weit.

2 Also hat M. ausdrücklich über die Begriffe *ἀγαθόν* und *δίκαιον* reflektiert (nicht nur über *εὐαγγέλιον* und A. T. [*νόμος*]) und sie zum bewegenden Gegensatz gemacht, indem er in diesem Zusammenhang das *κακόν* zurückgewiesen hat.

zu erweisen, ja er vermutet, daß die Bezeichnung „gerecht“ nur ein ätzender Hohn und Spott sein soll. Diese Hypothese scheitert bereits an zahlreichen Stellen des Römerbriefs, die M. stehen gelassen hat, die er aber hätte ändern müssen, wenn er den *νόμος* (*θεὸς τοῦ νόμου*) als grundschlecht betrachtet hätte[1]. Bauers Hypothese ist mir aber um so unbegreiflicher, als er in klarer Erkenntnis und mit vollem Recht erklärt, M.s zweiter Gott decke sich im Sinne M.s rund und restlos mit dem Gott des A. T.s und sei darin erschöpft. Da M. nicht allegorisierte und nichts eskamotierte, und da er durchweg den Buchstaben des A. T.s als zuverlässige Wirklichkeit respektierte, dieses Buch aber umgekehrt las als die Juden und die Kirchenväter, d. h. das Höhere im Buch zum Niederen herabzog (nicht umgekehrt), so war dem strengen Biblizisten doch schlechterdings kein anderes Urteil möglich als das: dieser Gott ist *δίκαιος* — denn an unzähligen Stellen des A. T.s erscheint er so, verfolgt mit Eifer das Schlechte und die Sünden und ist die Quelle und der Schirmherr moralischer Heiligkeit — und er ist *πονηρός*[2]: *πονηρός* in allen Abstufungen des für seine Menschen Lästigen, vom Bedrücker bis zum Peiniger, vom zornigen bis zum vernichtenden Despoten, vom Kleinlichen bis zum Erbärmlichen, vom Beschränkten bis zum Unwissenden und vom Schöpfer des Ungeziefers bis zum Schöpfer der schlimmsten Übel[3]. Wenn es anders wäre und er die *πονηρία*

1 M. hat u. a. die Stelle stehen gelassen Röm. 7, 12: *ὁ νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή.*

2 Das ist (in absichtlichem Gegensatz zu *κακός*) das Wort, das M. neben *δίκαιος* als term. techn. für den zweiten Gott gebraucht hat; s. als Zeugen sogar noch Theodoret, h. f. I, 24: *δίκαιος καὶ πονηρός.*

3 Man vgl. die Wörterbücher unter „*πονηρός*“ — notmachend, beschwerlich, lästig, schlimm, widrig, ungünstig, häßlich, elend, jämmerlich, boshaft („malignus“, das kann freilich unter Umständen schlimmer sein als „malus“). Da hat man die Eigenschaften des Marcionitischen Weltschöpfers mit und neben „*δίκαιος*“; nur „schlecht“ gehört nicht zu ihnen. Da M. nach Tert. I, 2 einen seiner Ausgangspunkte für die Charakteristik des Weltschöpfers (und die Entstehung der Sünde) bei Jesaj. 45, 7 genommen hat — ich hätte das in meiner Zusammenstellung der Antithesen S. 95 stark hervorheben müssen —, so war es leicht, ihm unterzuschieben, er halte den Weltschöpfer für schlecht; allein in den Worten: *ἐγὼ ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁ κτίζων κακά,* ist sowohl die erste Hälfte zu beachten als auch der artikellose Plural *κακά.*

und „δικαιοσύνη“ nur als Erscheinungsformen der κακία beurteilt hätte, hätte er seine „Antithesen“ überhaupt nicht zu schreiben gebraucht; denn wenn dem guten Gott einfach ein schlechter Gott gegenüberstände, verständen sich alle seine Schlimmheiten von selbst; nun aber erscheinen sie Stück für Stück als Enthüllungen seiner gerechten Natur. Den Ausgleich aber zwischen δίκαιος und πονηρός hat M. so getroffen, daß er die Gerechtigkeit als Grundeigenschaft bestehen ließ, diese aber als ius talionis und pure Strafgerechtigkeit und in ihrer rein diesseitigen Bestimmtheit zur Quelle alles Schlimmen machte. In dieser Auffassung liegt das Entscheidende; sie trennt ihn ebenso von den Kirchenleuten wie von den Gnostikern und gibt seiner religiös-sittlichen Haltung das Originelle. Von hier aus ist es keine sublime Spekulation, sondern einfach geboten anzuerkennen, daß M. einen doppelten Gegensatz zum Guten kannte, das Schlechte und das in dem Weltschöpfer, in seiner Welt und in seinem Gesetz, sich ausprägende „Gerechte“. Jenes ist an sich moralisch schlimmer als das Gerechte; aber dieses ist doch der größere Feind, weil es aggressiv ist und vom Glauben direkt und dezidiert abhält („lex fidem impedit“, sagt M.). In dieser Betrachtung — mag sich M. sonst noch so stark von der Verkündigung Jesu und des Paulus unterscheiden — setzt er den Kampf Jesu gegen den Pharisäismus und den Kampf Pauli gegen judenchristliche Selbstgerechtigkeit fort.

Aber, wendet Bauer ein, der Abscheu M.s gegen das Gesetz ist gar nichts anderes als seine Abscheu gegen das A. T. überhaupt, mit dem er nicht allein steht, und darf daher nicht herausgehoben und isoliert zur Hauptsache gemacht werden, zumal da es nur das Mosaische Gesetz, nicht aber das Gesetzliche an sich ist, das ihn zum Eifern bringt, ferner zeigen die von ihm als programmatisch an die Spitze gestellten Worte vom neuen Wein und den alten Schläuchen und von den beiden Bäumen, daß es sich lediglich um den bekannten gnostischen (kosmologischen) Dualismus handelt, weiter wird alles viel einfacher, ja ganz klar, wenn man den Ausgangspunkt M.s ausschließlich im Negativen sieht, in seiner doppelten Abscheu vor dem A. T. (Judentum) und vor der greulichen Welt, dem gegen-

über sich das Positive (der andere Gott als der gute und als der Erlöser) von selbst ergeben mußte, und endlich besitzen wir überhaupt kein Zeugnis dafür, daß er irgend etwas erlebt und empfunden hat, was der Bekehrung des Paulus im Sinne der Loslösung vom Gesetz analog wäre.

Was den ersten Einwurf betrifft, so ist richtig: M.s Abscheu gilt dem A.-Tlichen Gott und seinem Buche in ihrer Totalität, und wenn er an das Gesetz denkt, denkt er an das Mosaische; aber warum haben denn andere „Irrlehrer" nicht auch das Objekt dieses Abscheus auf den Nenner „Gerecht" gebracht? Das verlangt doch eine Erklärung! Die Beschränkung aber auf das Mosaische Gesetz — doch las auch er, was im Römerbrief über das moralische Naturgesetz steht — ist nur eine Spezialerscheinung innerhalb der merkwürdigen Beobachtung, daß er sich mit seinen Gedanken ausschließlich im A. T. und im Evangelium bewegt. Das ganze Heidentum, die gesamte Mythologie, die gesamte Philosophie, Mystik und Gnosis interessiert ihn nicht, ja existiert für ihn nicht. Er ist in jeder Hinsicht der am wenigsten hellenische, bzw. orientalisch-hellenische Christ, den wir kennen. Das ist vielleicht der durchschlagendste Unterschied zwischen ihm und den Gnostikern. Will man ihn erklären, so bietet sich eine Erklärung dar, die ich seit langem im Stillen gehegt, aber nie ausgesprochen habe, weil ich sie nicht beweisen kann: M. bzw. seine Familie kommt vom Judentum her; jüdischer Proselytismus ging der Bekehrung zum Christentum voran, was ja nicht auffallend, sondern bei den Bekehrungen ältester Zeit die Regel gewesen ist; dafür spricht auch, daß er die messianischen Weissagungen ebenso erklärt wie die Juden[1]; sein Christentum erbaut sich also auf einem Ressentiment in bezug

1 Er kennt ihre zeitgeschichtlichen Deutungen; ist er spontan auf sie gekommen? Und ist nicht auch das ein Beweis für einen früheren Zusammenhang M.s mit dem Judentum, daß er dem A. T., und zwar seinem Buchstaben, so unbedingt traut? Welche Gnostiker, welche Kirchenlehrer haben das sonst getan? Jene machen Unterscheidungen oder nehmen Lug und Trug an, diese allegorisieren; M. aber hält's mit den Juden! Man erinnere sich hier, daß Tert.s Polemik gegen M. (Buch III) und „adversus Judaeos" auf großen Strecken einfach identisch ist.

auf das Judentum und seine Religion; ebendeshalb hat er auch eine ähnliche religiöse Erfahrung machen können, wie Paulus, nur daß sie viel weiter greift wie beim Apostel, der nur mit dem Gesetze bricht, aber sonst ein warmes Herz für sein Volk und dessen Erbgut besitzt, die der geborene Grieche nicht haben konnte. Notwendig ist indessen diese Erklärung nicht; geborene Heiden haben, wie zahlreiche Beispiele bis Porphyrius hin beweisen, dieselbe totale Ablehnung des A. T.s und seines Gottes zum Ausdruck gebracht, aber ohne dieselbe in der Formel „Gerechtigkeit und Gesetz" zusammenzufassen. Für M. aber ist das Mosaische Gesetz das Gesetz überhaupt, weil ja der gesetzgebende Gott des A. T.s der Weltschöpfer ist, und weil ihm alles Heidnische eine quantité negligeable war. „Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis" (Tert. I 19).

Der zweite Einwurf Bauers wird kraftlos, sobald man erkennt, daß die programmatischen Worte vom neuen Wein und von den beiden Bäumen nur einleitende und formale Ausgangspunkte sind, die über die innere Natur des von M. gewollten Gegensatzes gar nichts aussagen. Sie sollen lediglich zum Ausdruck bringen, daß es sich um zwei entgegenstehende Mächte handelt, die unvereinbar sind und ihrer Natur folgen. Übrigens heißt der Baum im Gleichnis Jesu nicht der schlechte, sondern der vermorschte Baum. Eine innere Verwandtschaft mit dem kosmologisch interessierten Gnostizismus kann man also von hier aus nicht begründen.

Der dritte Einwurf ist an sich unwahrscheinlich: wie soll eine religiöse Persönlichkeit, und eine solche war doch Marcion, ihr Bekenntnis zum Gott des liebenden Erbarmens lediglich aus Negationen abgeleitet haben? Wie soll der Jubel über das unsäglich herrliche Evangelium nur aus einer logischen Antithese hervorgebrochen sein? Inwiefern ich aber von diesem Jubelwort einen zu weitgehenden Gebrauch gemacht haben soll, ist mir nicht deutlich, kann man doch diesen Gefühlsausbruch nicht hoch genug einschätzen gegenüber den dürftigen, parteiischen und verdunkelnden Referaten der Kirchenväter! Es steht hier so, wie in bezug auf Valentin mit dem großartigen Fragment Clem., Strom. IV, 13, 89 (Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀθάνατοι κτλ.) oder

in bezug auf Ptolemäus mit seinem Brief an die Flora; ohne diese Stücke würden wir diese Männer leicht verkennen! Nun soll aber der Gott der Gutheit und Liebe („Ex dilectione dei consecuntur vitam aeternam Marcionitae") deshalb bei M. eine bloße Construction sein, weil nur ein kleinerer Teil der Menschen selig wird und weil in der auferlegten Askese der Gott der puren Liebe doch als ein fordernder Gott erscheint. Aber wie oft ist das Glaubenswort „Gott ist die Liebe" bei überzeugten Christen jener Reflexion gegenüber völlig unerschüttert geblieben, und ist ferner die Zahl der Asketen aller Zeiten gering, die in der Askese schlechterdings keine „Forderung" gesehen haben, sondern das engelgleiche Leben, ja den Vorgeschmack der Ewigkeit selbst? Scheinbarer ist der Hinweis, daß M. so wenig von der Nächstenliebe bzw. von Werken der Liebe spricht; aber hatten die Kirchenväter Grund, diese Stellen hervorzuheben? Und hat nicht M. (Tert. IV, 16) geschrieben: „Creator quidem fratribus dari iussit, Christus vero omnibus petentibus; hoc est novum et diversum?" Hat er nicht ebenso die Feindesliebe in einer Antithese ausdrücklich hervorgehoben (Dial. I, 12), und hat nicht Apelles ausdrücklich ἔργα ἀγαθά beim Gerechtfertigten als notwendig bezeichnet? Warum sollen wir also glauben, daß M. die guten Werke der Liebe vernachläßigt hat? Aber selbst wenn hier etwas in der Praxis bei ihm fehlte, so war es ein Zurückbleiben hinter seiner eigenen Theorie, die alles Gute und alles Ewige auf die Liebe gestellt hat.

Durch diese Erwägungen erledigt sich auch m. E. der vierte Einwurf. Bauer vermißt ein dem Paulinischen ähnliches Erlebnis bei M.; aber bezeugen die Worte, die Bauer in diesem Zusammenhang ablehnt, nicht ein solches: „O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, daß man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann?"[1] Wie soll man denn diese Worte verstehen, wenn sie nicht den Sinn haben: „Als Offenbarung Gottes ist mir das Evangelium aufgegangen, als einzige Offenbarung Gottes, die allem, was

1 Ein Reflex dieses Jubelausbruchs scheint mir in der wiederholten Angabe des Irenäus gegeben zu sein (III, 11, 7; III, 14, 3): „Marcion gloriatur se habere evangelium".

sich sonst als göttlich gibt, entgegensteht.“ Das braucht kein momentanes Erlebnis gewesen zu sein wie der Tag von Damaskus, aber nur einer konnte diese Worte niederschreiben, der ihren Inhalt als Durchbruch und als überschwengliches Wunder bei sich selbst erfahren hatte und immer wieder neu erlebte. Mir wenigstens ist hier ein anderes psychologisches Verständnis nicht gegeben. Und ist das Evangelium bei M. etwas anderes als eben der Gott der Liebe selbst bzw. als Christus — jener Christus, von dem M. bezeugt hat: „In evangelio est dei regnum Christus ipse“ (Tert. IV, 33)?

Ich brauche meinerseits nicht zu wiederholen, daß M. Paulus schwer mißverstanden hat und von ihm mit tiefster Entrüstung zurückgewiesen worden wäre, denn das habe ich aufs deutlichste in meiner Darstellung zum Ausdruck gebracht; aber daß er seinen Glaubensbegriff, die separatio legis et evangelii, die verhängnisvolle Natur des *νόμος*, die Bedeutung des Kreuzestodes und die nova creatura in Christo an den Briefen des Apostels gewonnen hat[1], scheint mir unwidersprechlich. Ebendeshalb läßt sich aber die Auffassung Bauers nicht halten, Paulus sei erst sekundär für M. von Bedeutung geworden — jener Paulus, dessen Evangelium ihm das Evangelium war und den seine Anhänger zur Rechten Christi thronend sahen!

Von hier aus muß das Maß der Abhängigkeit M.s von außerchristlichen bzw. gnostischen Denkweisen bestimmt werden, und nicht umgekehrt. Bei dieser Bestimmung ist zunächst zu betonen, daß M. für religionsphilosophische (metaphysische, kosmologische, rational-apologetische usw.) Theorien überhaupt kein Interesse oder nur ein höchst geringes besessen hat. Die durchschlagenden Beweise hierfür neben anderen liegen in den Tatsachen, daß 1. seine Kirche niemals eine gemeinsame Prinzipienlehre gehabt hat, vielmehr den verschiedensten Lehren und Lehrern hier Raum ließ, 2. daß M. sich selbst augenscheinlich in bezug auf die Materie bei einer schweren Unklarheit beruhigte. Er führte sie bei der Schöpfung ein, weil er, wie ich jetzt glaube, den gerechten Gott von der *σάρξ*

1 Auch den Gegensatz von *ἀγαθόν* und *δίκαιον* glaubte er dem Evangelium des Paulus entnommen zu haben, weil er es mißverstand.

und der *κακία* entlasten wollte[1], aber dann ließ er sie fallen und substituierte ihr den vom Weltschöpfer abgefallenen Engel, den Teufel. Immerhin, daß er überhaupt zur Materie als einer wirksamen *Ἀρχή* greifen konnte, zeigt außertestamentarischen Einfluß. Man wird diesen auch in dem Doketismus[2], der Beurteilung der Materie (des Fleisches), der Formierung der Askese, vor allem auch schon in dem Übergang zum Dualismus anzunehmen haben; aber viel besagt das nicht, und von einer wurzelhaften Verwandtschaft mit dem Gnostizismus darf man schwerlich sprechen; denn wo die Lehre von den *αἰῶνες* und göttlichen *προβολαί* fehlt, gibt es keinen Gnostizismus. Auch reichte damals der Doketismus bis ins Herz der Großkirche hinein, und die Materie (das Fleisch) galt in weitesten Kreisen als schlecht und die strengste Askese als die frömmste. Die stärkste Verbindung M.s mit dem Gnostizismus liegt in der Zweigötterei — so nahe auch großkirchliche Lehrer dem theoretischen Dualismus zwischen *ὁ θεός* und *ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* gekommen sind, so haben sie ihn doch immer abgewiesen —, und ihre Aufhebung in der Eschatologie[3] bei Marcion kommt zu spät[4]. Allein tritt nicht

1 Das Motiv, der Weltschöpfer könne aus Schwäche nicht ohne einen Stoff schöpferisch sein, halte ich höchstens für ein sekundäres. Man beachte, daß nach einem der besten Zeugen, Clemens, M. ausdrücklich sagt (Strom. III, 3, 12): Die Schöpfung ist eine *φύσις κακὴ ἐκ τε τῆς ὕλης κακῆς καὶ ἐκ δικαίου γενομένη δημιουργοῦ.*

2 Der Doketismus hinderte M. nicht, die volle Wirklichkeit des Kreuzestodes und die höchste religiöse Wertschätzung desselben zu lehren. Man darf überhaupt in bezug auf den altchristlichen Doketismus nicht die Consequenzen ziehen, die wir heute aus einer modern doketischen Theorie ziehen würden. (Nach modernen Begriffen waren auch Clemens und Origenes Doketen). Allerdings hat der Doketismus bei M. noch eine besondere Note, weil er die Geburt Jesu und seine Entwicklung abgelehnt hat.

3 M. kennt keine stystematische Dogmatik, sondern begnügt sich mit impressionistischen Erklärungen, unbekümmert um die dadurch entstehenden Widersprüche. So erklärt sich die monotheistische Eschatologie und das Fallenlassen der Materie nach der Schöpfung.

4 Daß es dem bedeutendsten Schüler Marcions, Apelles, nicht gelang, die Marcionitische Kirche zum Monotheismus zurückzuführen, ist ein Beweis, daß man den theoretischen Dualismus bei M. nicht unterschätzen darf.

auch hier eine Erwägung ein, die seinen Dualismus von dem gnostischen unterscheidet? Hält er nicht an ihm fest, weil er sonst genötigt gewesen wäre, eine Äonenspekulation zu entwickeln, von der er doch nichts wissen wollte? Wie dem aber auch sein möge und ob man sich den vulgär-gnostischen Einfluß auf ihn stärker oder schwächer denken mag — welcher Theologe ist jemals von den in der Luft liegenden Zeitvorstellungen frei geblieben? Und selbst wenn das Gnostische zu den Ursprüngen M.s gehört hat (was ich durchaus bezweifle) — muß nicht ein Denker nach der Kraft beurteilt werden, mit der er sich von seinen Ursprüngen befreit, und nach dem Eigentümlichen, das er ans Licht gestellt hat? Wir wollen uns doch nicht zu den trüben Historikern gesellen, die niemanden ertragen können, der einen Kopf größer ist als sie selbst, und die nicht ruhen, bis sie das Große klein, das Eigentümliche platt gemacht und alles Ungewöhnliche durch vermeintliche Analogien beseitigt oder trivialisiert haben[1].

II

Bauer und v. Soden stimmen in dem Urteil wesentlich überein, daß ich M.s Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Christentums zum Katholizismus und speziell für die Entstehung des N. T.s überschätzt hätte[2]. In einer solchen Frage ist es

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1 Davor sollte bei M. schon der fremde Gott warnen; ich erwarte den Nachweis, daß er kein anderer ist als der unbekannte oder daß ihn M. von einem Vorgänger übernommen hat. Die Marcioniten selbst waren sich bewußt, eine „fremde" evangelische Erkenntnis zu verkündigen, s. Clem., Strom. III, 3, 12: *Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος τὴν ξένην, ὥς φασι, γνῶσιν εὐαγγελίζονται.*

2 Von einer Seite wird auch moniert, daß ich die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus neben dem Marcionitismus nunmehr unterschätze (anders in der „Dogmengeschichte"). In der Tat habe ich mein Urteil an diesem Punkt etwas geändert. Über die geistige Bedeutung des Gnostizismus denke ich nicht anders als früher; aber die tatsächliche Bedeutung dieser Erscheinung, sofern sie einen Kampf und Reaktionen hervorgerufen hat, war nicht so gewaltig, sobald man den Gnostizismus vom Marcionitismus scharf scheidet. Schon der Hinweis auf vier Tatsachen zeigt dies: 1. Gegenüber der Armee von kirchlichen Bestreitern Marcions von Justin bis Esnik erscheint die

schwer, andere zu überzeugen, zumal alte Vorurteile nachwirken: Man kann — das verkenne ich nicht — zu jedem einzelnen Punkt auf dem kirchenconstructiven und dogmengeschichtlichen Gebiet, der für M.s Schöpfung charakteristisch ist, Parallelen und Vorstufen, sei es in der Großkirche, sei es bei Gnostikern, nachweisen; aber nicht nur in ihrer exclusiven Zusammenfassung liegt die Originalität M.s, sondern man muß auch fragen, ob die „Vorstufen" ohne sein Eingreifen zu den weiteren Entwicklungen geführt hätten, die sich tatsächlich ereignet haben. Die Beantwortung dieser schwierigen Frage hängt von integrierten geschichtlichen Eindrücken ab, über die man anderen schwer Rechenschaft zu geben vermag. Für mich ist die Behauptung, Marcion sei der erste „katholische" Christ gewesen, obgleich er als Reformer die Christenheit aus der Entwicklung zum Katholizismus herausreißen wollte, keine Paradoxie, wenn man bei „katholisch" an die Begründung der Kirche auf dem N. T. und dem umschriebenen Glauben und an die irdische Durchführung ihres Planes denkt[1]. Ich habe diese Einsicht an den größtenteils verschütteten Quellen ganz allmählich gewonnen, bin aber freilich dem naheliegenden Einwurf gegenüber wehrlos, daß ich bei der langjährigen und eifrigen Bemühung um den Gegenstand mich verlaufen habe.

Relativ am leichtesten erscheint es mir, in bezug auf M.s Bedeutung für die Schöpfung des N. T. doch noch ein einstimmiges Urteil herbeizuführen. Kein Streit besteht, daß 1. seit Paulus das geschichtliche Schema von zwei Bünden Gottes in der Christenheit geläufig war, daß 2. Marcion den Vier-

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Zahl der Kämpfer, die gegen die einzelnen gnostischen Sekten geschrieben haben, verschwindend gering. 2. Irenäus will in seinem Hauptwerk vor allem die Valentinianer bestreiten, gleitet aber unwillkürlich in die Bestreitung Marcions. 3. Celsus, wenn man seine Darstellung durchschaut, bezeugt unstreitig, daß die Marcionitische Kirche die wirkliche und einzige Rivalin der großen Kirche in seiner Zeit gewesen ist. 4. Justin stellt seinen heidnischen Adressaten als Begründer des Pseudochristentums Simon Magus, Menander und Marcion vor und bezeichnet alle übrigen Häretiker als „*οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁρμώμενοι*".

1 Ich brauche an die entgegenstehenden schroff antikatholischen Elemente in M.s Christentum nicht ausdrücklich zu erinnern.

Evangelien-Kanon vorgefunden hat[1], daß 3. z. Z. M.s neben den Evangelien Paulusbriefe verbreitet waren und in hohem Ansehen standen[2], und daß 4. in den Gottesdiensten neben dem A. T. bereits Abschnitte aus den Evangelien gelesen wurden und wahrscheinlich Briefe (besonders paulinische) und Apokalypsen von der gottesdienstlichen Lesung nicht ausgeschlossen waren. Aber aus diesen vier Voraussetzungen konnte sich sehr Verschiedenes entwickeln. Ich habe darüber ausführlich in meiner Untersuchung „Über die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments" (Beiträge z. Einl. i. d. N. T., 6. Teil, 1914) gehandelt (S. 4—10). Die Darlegungen dort haben bisher die Aufmerksamkeit der Kritiker nicht gefunden. Das, was wirklich entstanden ist — eine zweite, dem A. T. ebenbürtige (bzw. übergeordnete), zweiteilige kanonische Büchersammlung — ist das, worauf man, wenn man seinen Standort in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts nimmt, am wenigsten gefaßt ist, weil es die denkbar größte Neuerung gegenüber der bisherigen einzigen Geltung des A. T.s als kanonische littera scripta bedeutet, und weil es die Gleichsetzung der Autorität des Paulus[3] mit der Christi vollzieht. Nun kann man natürlich auch das katholische N. T. aus jenen Voraussetzungen

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1 Damit ist nicht behauptet, daß die Spannung zwischen den drei ersten Evangelien und dem Joh.-Ev. überall schon beseitigt war. Aber ich vermag Bauer nicht beizustimmen, wenn er in der Ablehnung dieses Evangeliums seitens M. einen Beweis dafür sieht, daß sich das Evangelium in den Kreisen, in denen er lebte und auf die er zunächst wirken wollte, nicht der gleichen Geltung erfreute wie die andern Evangelien. Nach den Quellen vermögen wir nur zu urteilen, daß ihm apostolische Evangelien (also Matthäus und Johannes; er kannte ja auch die Apokalypse und lehnte sie ab) bekannt gewesen sind und er sie abgewiesen hat. Daß ihm aber Johannes willkommener hätte sein müssen als Lukas, muß ich noch immer (gegen Eichhorn und Bauer) bestreiten. Dieses Urteil ist freilich abhängig von der Beurteilung des Geistes des vierten Evangeliums, der m. E. in seinen generellen Zügen aus dem Judentum emporgeblüht ist und M. deshalb widerlich sein mußte.

2 Sowohl in der Großkirche als auch bei einzelnen Gnostikern (s. vor allem den Brief des Ptolemäus an die Flora).

3 Denn Paulus war zunächst im Kanon „der Apostolos", dem sich dann die anderen beigesellt haben.

ableiten; aber nur mit erst zu construierenden Zwischenstufen, die man nicht nötig hat, wenn man M.s Schöpfung hier einführt. Also ist man verpflichtet, dies zu tun. Weiteres hier auszuführen muß ich mir versagen, bis meine oben angeführte Darlegung über die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Entwicklung nachgeprüft sind und bis bewiesen ist, daß die Einführung einer selbständigen Urkunde für den neuen Bund, sei es eine unbedeutende Neuerung, sei es kein Werk Marcions ist. Ich kann auch nicht finden, daß meine Kritiker meine Berufung auf das negative Zeugnis Justins in seinem Dialog mit Trypho widerlegt haben; vor allem ist mir der Satz v. Sodens erstaunlich: „Der Dialog Justins bezeugt doch wahrlich die Schriften des N. T. in einer gegenüber der des A. T. für ihn nicht geringeren Dignität." Ich finde im Dialog weder Paulusbriefe noch überhaupt christliche Schriften als Teile eines N. T.s.[1].

1 v. Soden schreibt ferner: „Der den N.-Tlichen Kanon tragende Gedanke apostolischer Autorität ist jedenfalls vormarcionitisch, von M. nicht geschaffen, sondern nur beschränkt." Dieser Satz ist gewiß richtig, wenn es sich um die apostolische Autorität im allgemeinen handelt; aber er ist zum mindesten nicht beweisbar, höchstwahrscheinlich unrichtig, wenn der schriftliche Kanon in Betracht kommt. Für diesen ist der ihn beherrschende Gedanke der apostolischen Autorität erst als katholischer und antithetischer Gedanke in der Großkirche nachweisbar. Vorher stand allein die Autorität des „Kyrios", sei es in seinen Sprüchen, sei es in den Evangelien, neben dem A. T. (Dazu gab es inspirierte, also heilige Schriften der verschiedensten Art, Zahl und Dignität, von denen nur ein Teil apostolisch war; vgl. noch das Zeugnis des Clemens Alexandrinus). Es ist aber ein großer Unterschied, ob man sich auf Paulusworte zur Erbauung und Belehrung frühzeitig berufen hat, oder ob man in bezug auf apostolische Briefe den Grundsatz bildete: „Wir lassen Paulus und Petrus als Briefschreiber gelten (nehmen sie so an) wie den Herrn in den Evangelien." Dazwischen liegt die kanonische Identifizierung „Pauluswort = Christuswort", die M. zuerst vollzogen hat. Ich will nicht sicher der Behauptung widersprechen, daß sich diese Gleichung auch ohne den Vorgang M.s in der Großkirche allmählich vollzogen hätte; aber warum soll man M. hier eliminieren, wenn doch bei ihm nachweisbar ist, was sich in der Kirche erst ein Menschenalter später vollzogen hat — die exclusive Geltung des Apostolischen im inspirierten Schrifttum? Sodens Auffassung von der frühen Entstehung des N. T.s rückt ganz nahe an die Zahns heran; aber gegen dessen Hypothese bestehen doch die schwersten Bedenken.

III

Der große Mann in der Geschichte begründet ein Zeitalter. Das hat M. nicht getan; denn er hat sich nicht durchzusetzen vermocht, so vieles er auch negativ und positiv getan hat, um das altkatholische Zeitalter hervorzurufen. Dieses ist ohne M. nicht zu denken, so wenig wie der nachtridentische Katholizismus ohne Luther[1]. Hat er aber noch heute eine Bedeutung? Tatsächlich nicht. Sollte er sie haben? Ich meine wohl, und das habe ich in dem Schlußsatz meiner Darstellung zum Ausdruck gebracht (S. 265): „Man kann nur wünschen, daß in dem Chor der Gottsuchenden sich auch heute wieder Marcioniten finden!“ Das Wort ist mißverstanden und mir mit mehr oder weniger Entrüstung verübelt worden. Obgleich es der Zusammenhang, in welchem es steht, unzweifelhaft macht, daß ich den Grundgedanken des Marcionitischen Christentums ablehne und ihm gegenüber an dem Bekenntnis: *Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα* (aus religiösen und aus geschichtlichen Gründen) festhalte, soll ich doch Marcionit geworden sein[2]! Aber der Wunsch, es möge doch auch unter uns gottsuchende Marcioniten geben, entsprang und entspringt lediglich der Einsicht, wie seltsam und minderwertig zahlreiche Gruppen von Gottsuchern heute unter uns sind und wie hoffnungslos irreführend ihre Wege! Ihnen gegenüber ist der Marcionitismus eine höchst wertvolle Erscheinung — nicht als „Prinzipienlehre“, sondern als religiöse Weltanschauung und -beurteilung, und als Lehre von der Erlösung durch den Glauben; doch auch in der Prinzipienlehre hat der bedeutendste Schüler Marcions, Apelles, den Weg zum Monotheismus zurückgefunden, der ja latent in der Lehre des Meisters selbst liegt. Soll man nicht wünschen, daß die Suchenden, statt durch die Modeirrtümer hindurch zu gehen, vielmehr den Weg Marcions gehen und dann die Wahrheit finden?

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1 Man hat die Parallele Marcion/Luther beanstandet, die doch ich nicht zuerst gezogen habe, sondern Neander. Ich verliere kein Wort über sie, weil ihr Recht und ihre Grenzen gleich offenbar sind.

2 So jüngst wieder F. Curtius im „Sonntagsblatt der Basler Nachrichten“ (29. April 1923); dazu die dankenswerte Berichtigung v. Wernle (a. a. O. 6. Mai).

Ich komme nochmals auf Marcions Weltschöpfer zurück. Es steht fest, daß M. ihn, erschöpfend, als *δίκαιος καὶ πονηρός* bezeichnet hat (s. oben). Setzt man, wie M. es selbst verlangt, Weltschöpfer = Welt und umgekehrt[1] — ist diese Formulierung nicht genial, und entfernt sie sich weit von dem Johanneswort: *Ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται?* Sie ist nur bestimmter und tiefer als dieses Wort; denn M. hat das *δίκαιον* als Grundierung hinzugefügt und damit eine Entdeckung auf dem Gebiet der Moral gemacht. Für *πονηρός* haben wir im Deutschen kein entsprechendes Wort; der Grieche hat sogar einen großen Helden *ἄριστος καὶ πονηρότατος* genannt, d. h. den „geplagtesten". Auch M. wird bei *πονηρός* nicht nur daran gedacht haben, wie bedrückend, lästig und verelendet die Welt und ihr Lauf durch die in ihr herrschende Macht ist, sondern auch daran, daß ihr Gott selbst ein geplagter Gott ist; denn er vermag den Kampf zwischen „gerecht" und „schlecht" nicht abzuschaffen, das Sinnliche nicht zu unterdrücken und den Abfall seiner Geschöpfe zur Materie nicht zu verhindern. Doch, ich will nicht weiter ins einzelne gehen, sondern einfach die Gedanken zusammenstellen, die in Marcions Lehre für alle Zeiten von Bedeutung bleiben; sie brauchen deshalb nicht durchweg als „letzte" Worte zu gelten:

1. Die entschlossene Beurteilung der Welt in der Totalität ihres Seins und in ihrer Lebensbewegung als „Welt", mit der sich der Christ nicht einlassen soll, obgleich er aus ihr stammt und als physisch-moralisches Wesen zu ihr gehört[2].

2. Die Dreiteilung der ethischen Zuständlichkeit und die aus ihr entspringende Teilung der Menschen in schlechte, gerechte und gute (aber ohne die Annahme der Gnostiker, diese Klassen seien durch die Constitution gegeben und der einzelne gehöre von Natur und für immer zu einer dieser Klassen).

3. Die Entdeckung (in Nachfolge des Paulus), daß das „Gerechte" zwar besser ist als das „Schlechte", aber daß es

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1 Ich sehe daher in der Personifikation des Weltschöpfers eines der „Gerüste" Marcions, die man ohne Schwierigkeit abbrechen kann.

2 Die Ausprägung dieser Stellung zur Welt bis zur Aufhebung der Sexualität war durch das Zeitalter gegeben.

dem „Guten“ gegenüber minder empfänglich ist und ihm schwerere Widerstände entgegensetzt als jenes.

4. Die Erfassung des Göttlichen unter dem ausschließlichen Gesichtspunkt der barmherzigen Liebe und die ebenso ausschließliche Gleichung „Gotteswirken = Erlösung“.

5. Die Erkenntnis, daß der Glaube an den gekreuzigten Jesus Christus allein die Erlösung zu empfangen und festzuhalten vermag und daß daher in diesem Glauben allein das Heil besteht.

6. Die Ablehnung aller philosophischen Reflexionen (Metaphysik) soweit sie nicht durch die empirischen und religiösen Betrachtungen sich von selbst darbieten, bzw. die Indifferenz gegenüber den „Prinzipienlehren“.

Wenn man behauptet, daß M. unsrer Zeit nichts mehr zu sagen habe, so muß man entweder zeigen, daß M. nicht so gelehrt hat, wie hier dargelegt, oder daß diese seine Lehren für uns belanglos sind[1].

IV

Die Kritiker haben anerkannt oder nicht widersprochen, daß Tert. ein Marcionitisches lateinisches N. T. vorgelegen hat, und sie haben bezeugt, daß damit eine wichtige neue Erkenntnis für die Geschichte des Kanons und Textes gegeben ist. Aber auch die Beobachtung, daß M.s Text, abgesehen von den tendenziösen Correcturen, einfach ein W-Text ist (auch in seinen harmlosen Sonderlesarten), ist zur Anerkennung gelangt.

Es handelt sich aber noch um die Frage, ob und in welchem Maße Marcions Text auf den katholischen eingewirkt hat. Mein Schlußergebnis, daß er eingewirkt hat, aber in geringem Maße, erscheint durch einen mißverständlichen Ausdruck (S. 245) unsicher bzw. unausgeglichen, was Bauer und v. Soden mit Recht bemerkt haben. Ich hatte geschrieben: „(Die Bedeutung M.s) wird durch die Beobachtungen erwiesen, wie stark die Marcionitische Bibel als solche und auch durch ihren Text auf die katholische eingewirkt hat.“ Gemeint

1 Sehr treffend Harris (a. a. O. p. 299): „... if we must call Marcion a heretic, who was really only a great spiritual leader.“

habe ich, daß die Bibel M.s als solche stark eingewirkt hat[1] und außerdem noch, aber schwach[2], durch ihren Text[3]. An dieser Formulierung haben mehrere Kritiker Anstoß genommen, aber aus entgegengesetzten Anschauungen. Bauer und Lagrange nehmen einen stärkeren Einfluß auf den Kirchentext an, v. Soden stellt einen solchen (mit Zahn) überhaupt in Abrede. Er meint, daß auch bei den von mir als Marcionitische Eindringlinge im W-Text beurteilten Lesungen keine Notwendigkeit bestehe, sie für Marcionitische Tendenzcorrecturen zu halten; M. könnte auch hier ein Zeuge des W-Textes sein, ja das sei das Wahrscheinliche[4]. Ich habe das Problem noch einmal durchgeprüft (vgl. auch die nachstehenden „Nachträge und Berichtigungen" zu S. 229*) und bin zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, daß diese Annahme zwar nicht unmöglich, aber in hohem Grade unwahrscheinlich ist, ja ich muß noch einen Schritt gehen und Bauer (bzw. auch Lietzmann) Recht geben, daß ich den Einfluß des Marcionitischen Textes auf den Kirchentext noch etwas stärker hätte betonen, bzw. begründen können. Nicht nur erstreckt sich dieser Einfluß (wenn auch nicht sehr häufig) noch über den W-Text hinaus[5], sondern im W-Text selbst (Bauer verweist auf Luk. 22, 15—20; ich kann noch einige Stellen hinzufügen[6]) ist der Einfluß stärker nachweisbar[7].

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1 Nämlich vorbildlich und auch durch ihre Prologe.

2 Das habe ich an mehreren Stellen bemerkt.

3 Damit ist die Annahme ausgeschlossen, die sich sonst nahelegt (Lietzmann u. A.), der katholisch-lateinische Text der Paulusbriefe sei nur eine katholische Revision des Marcionitischen. Diese Annahme läßt sich strikt widerlegen, und v. Soden kündigt eine Widerlegung an.

4 v. Soden hat diese Ansicht einstweilen noch nicht begründet.

5 Besonders interessant ist der Einfluß auf ℵ.

6 z. B. Luk. 4, 16 f.; 24, 6 („Er ist nicht hier"); I. Kor. 15, 3 („was ich auch überliefert erhalten habe"). Vgl. die Nachträge.

7 Im altlateinischen Lukasev. steht — bessere Belehrung vorbehalten — der Palat. Vind. (e) dem Marciontext am nächsten, dann folgen Veron. (b), Colb. Par. (c), Vercell. (a), hierauf die andern und Dd. — Die wenigen Fälle, in denen man sich nahezu gezwungen sieht, Marcionitische Zusätze anzunehmen (9, 54. 55. 56; 23, 2 [bis]; 23, 34), werden doch immer wieder zu Nachprüfungen auffordern, ob sie nicht schon vormarcionitisch sind, weil die Annahme, M. habe freie Zu-

Dazu kommt, daß es einige Stellen im W-Text gibt, für die leider der Marcionitische Text nicht erhalten ist, bei deren Formulierung man aber fragen muß, ob sie nicht Marcionitischen Ursprungs sind[1]. Das ganze Problem kann erst dann gründlich erörtert werden, wenn der W-Text mit seinen Varianten für Lukas und Paulus, quoad fieri potest, hergestellt ist, eine Aufgabe, die noch dringlicher ist als die Herstellung des Diatessaron, am besten aber mit ihr zusammen unternommen wird. M. E. ist dabei als Grundlage die altlateinische Überlieferung (mit Ausschluß des afrikanischen Textes) und M.s Text zu wählen. Man wird hier zu überraschenden und sicheren Resultaten gelangen und endlich der Bevorzugung von B ℵ Origenes ein Ende machen.

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sätze zum Evangelium gemacht, an sich von Schwierigkeiten gedrückt ist. Er war, so paradox das klingt, ein konservativer Biblizist. Das geht aus seiner Haltung gegenüber dem A. T. hervor, die schon sein Schüler Apelles für rückständig gehalten hat, und aus der auf alle Fälle ganz geringen Zahl von Zusätzen. Aber darf man dann überhaupt solche annehmen? Jedenfalls wird er auch sie nicht einfach erfunden haben. Für seine streng biblische Haltung spricht aber auch noch die Beobachtung, die ich in meinem Werk über M. nicht genügend betont habe, daß er augenscheinlich auf eigene Lehrformulierungen fast ganz verzichtet hat und auch in den „Antithesen" wesentlich das Bibelwort hat sprechen lassen. Wie selten haben sich die Schüler (Megethius und Markus) auf frei formulierte dogmatische Aussprüche M.s berufen, wie wenige hat Tertullian anführen können! Wo gibt es einen großen kirchlichen Lehrer, der es in dieser Weise vermocht hat, statt einer Dogmatik einfach die Schrift selbst sprechen zu lassen.

1 Bei anderen, für welche Marcionitischer Ursprung behauptet worden ist, ist er mir nicht wahrscheinlich.

Nachträge und Berichtigungen.

Register S. XII Z. 10 füge hinzu: S. 35* Basis Capitolina.

S. 21 Z. 10: Der Brief des Plinius über die Christen ist in oder bei Amisus geschrieben; s. Wilcken im „Hermes" Bd. 49 (1914) S. 120ff.

Zu S. 27ff.: Hier ist hervorzuheben, daß u. W. zuerst Marcion ein Buch „das Evangelium" genannt hat.

Zu S. 36 Z. 4: Marcion hat nach II Kor. 2, 17 (er las *οἱ λοιποί*) den Uraposteln auch *τὸ καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* vorgeworfen; s. zu S. 130 u. 94*.

Zu S. 42 Anm. 1 füge hinzu: und die Voranstellung des Petrus vor Jakobus (Gal. 2, 9).

Zu S. 48 Text Z. 2 v. u. vgl. unten die Note zu S. 167*.

Zu S. 51 nach Z. 12: Luk. 12, 4f. absichtlich verändert.

Zu S. 71 Z. 19: Hier ist der Ausdruck Justins (Apol., Adresse) zu vergleichen; Justin sagt, daß er eintrete für die *ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισούμενοι καὶ ἐπηρεαζόμενοι.*

Zu S. 81ff.: Marcion hat sich in den Antithesen auch gegen Acta u. Apoc. Joh. ausgesprochen; s. S. 152*ff.

Zu S. 81: Harris hält es für undenkbar, daß das Jubelwort über das Evangelium am Anfang der „Antithesen" gestanden hat. Dagegen hält er es für sehr wahrscheinlich (nach Tertull. I, 2), daß dort Erwägungen über den Ursprung des Bösen gestanden haben.

Zu S. 82: Nach Tertull., de bapt. 12 hat M. den Zwölfen das Heil abgesprochen, weil sie nicht getauft seien (Walter Bauer).

Zu S. 89 Z. 2 v. u.: Lies *γενέσεως*.

Zu S. 90 Z. 9 v. u.: Lies inenarrabilis.

Zu S. 109 Nr. 23: Christus ein Phantasma bei Marcion auch nach dem Zeugnis eines Arianischen Predigers; s. zu S. 120 und 170*.

S. 112 sind die Zeilen 23 u. 24 zu tilgen, da sie nicht M., sondern Tertullian angehören (v. Soden).

S. 115 Z. 2 v. u. u. S. 271* Z. 15 v. u.: Das „in sabbato" stammt vielleicht aus Joh. 5, 8ff. (v. Soden), gehört also nicht Marcion an.

S. 120 zu Luk. 5, 13: Zahn hat „Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr." 1910 S. 512f. in den lateinischen Predigten eines Arianers zum Luk.-Ev.

(Palimpsest von Bobbio, jetzt Ambros. C 73 inf., bei Mai, Script. Vet. Nova Coll. III, 2 p. 204) folgende Stelle entdeckt: „Erubescat Marcio, qui de hoc loco fantasmatis et putativi corporis adsumit defensionem: Quia fantasmatis habuit corpus, ideo inquinari non potuit. sed felix qui nos mundat et ipse non inquinatur."

S. 130 zu II Kor. 2, 17 bemerkte M. nach Didymus (bei Mai, Nova Patr. Bibl. IV, 2, 122): *οἱ λοιποὶ (ἀποστόλοι) διδάσκουσι κατέναντι (=κατενώπιον) τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἑτέρου παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τουτέστιν φθέγγονται ἐναντία αὐτῷ* (scil. *τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος*).

S. 131 Z. 21—23 zu tilgen, da diese Worte eine Consequenzmacherei Esniks sind.

S. 134 Z. 4: Schalte vor „des Weltschöpfers" ein „die Mächte".

S. 161 Anmerk. 2 Z. 2 v. u. lies „an" statt „von".

S. 243 Anmerk. 1 Z. 4 lies „AT" statt „NT".

S. 264 Z. 8: Die Fragezeichen sind zu tilgen.

S. 264: Verglichen werden kann mit einem Marcionitischen Hauptzuge auch die Lehre der beiden Mill, vgl. Jodl, Gesch. d. Ethik² II, 1912, S. 474f., 713f. (K. Thieme).

S. 7* Anmerk. 2 Z. 6 v. u. füge hinzu: Ein christkatholischer Bruder „Marcion" in Smyrna, s. Mart. Polyc. 20, ein Marcion auch auf der Basis Capitolina, s. S. 35*.

S. 7* Anmerk. 2 Z. 5 v. u. lies *ἄθεοι*.

S. 9*: Es ist mir jetzt sehr wahrscheinlich, daß im Prolog zum Joh. Ev. (s. über ihn de Bruyne, Rev. Bénéd. 1921 Oct. p. 14f.; der Prolog stammt von demselben sehr alten Autor, der die Prologe zu Mark.: „Marcus adseruit qui colobodactylus", und Luk.: „Est quidem Lucas Antiochensis", verfaßt hat) das „a Johanne" am Schluß als Interpolation (vgl. Hieron., de vir. ill. 7 mit Tert., de bapt. 17) zu streichen ist. Dann ist es Papias, der den Marcion als häretisch zurückgewiesen hat, nachdem dieser ihm (Empfehlungs)briefe pontischer Brüder gebracht hatte. Diese Nachricht ist nicht unglaubwürdig.

S. 60* Z. 10 v. u.: *Ἄλλως* ist auch von Cyprian (zweimal) bezeugt (v. Soden). Einfluß des Texts Marcions?

S. 66* Anmerk. zu Gal. 1, 7, Z. 9: v. Soden meint, „omnino" könne Tert. von sich aus hinzugefügt haben (?).

S. 68* Anmerk. zu Gal. 2, 4f., Z. 6f.: v. Soden beurteilt, wohl mit Recht, „superinducticius" anders (Eine LA „superinducticus" gibt es natürlich nicht; ich weiß nicht, wie ich zu der falschen Angabe gekommen bin).

S. 71* Anmerk. zu Gal. 3, 26, Z. 5: Hilarius, Hom. in Psalm. 91 p. 345 der Wiener Ausgabe v. J. 1891.

S. 74* Z. 11: Vielleicht ist *ἀνεπηγγειλάμεθα* zu lesen.

S. 89* Anmerk. zu I Kor. 15, 1—4, Z. 2: An erster Stelle bietet Rufin *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*.

S. 89* Anmerk. zu I Kor. 15, 3, Z. 3: Ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον fehlt auch bei Iren., Tertull., Hilar., Ambros., Ambrosiast., Vigil.; wohl Einfluß des Texts M.s.

S. 89* Anmerk. zu I Kor. 15, 11 Z. 2: Also können die Verse 5—8 mindestens nicht ganz gefehlt haben.

S. 94* Z. 17 und Anmerk. zu II Kor. 2, 17: Marcion hat, wie das Zitat bei Didymus indirekt ergibt, ὡς οἱ λοιποί mit DEFGL al plur[35] g syr utr arm Chrysost., Theodoret > οἱ πολλοί gelesen u. bezog es auf die Urapostel (s. zu S. 36 Z. 4 u. S. 130).

S. 95* Z. 4 füge (II Kor. 3, 13) in den Text ein: Μωσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ . . . τοῦ καταργουμένου (nach Tert. V, 11, wo sich auch noch einige Worte aus II Kor. 3, 11 finden).

S. 103* Röm. 6, 1. 2 muß bei M. gestanden haben; denn das „absit, absit" (Tert. I, 27) ist von hier aus zu erklären.

S. 108* zum Schluß des Römerbriefs: Übersehen habe ich zu meinem Bedauern die wertvolle Abhandlung de Bruyne's in der Rev. Bénédict. 1911 p. 133—142. Hier ist nachgewiesen, daß der Schlußvers bei Marcion wahrscheinlich lautete: Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ἁγίων („Gratia cum omnibus sanctis", reconstruirt nach dem Ms. von Monza, in welchem die Buchstaben „bus" erhalten sind). Da dieser Gruß an alle Christen geht, so kann man mit Recht mit de Bruyne fragen, ob die Unterdrückung der Bezugnahme auf Rom in 1, 7. 15 in einigen Mss. nicht letztlich auf Marcion (oder schon auf eine vormarcionitische Recension?) zurückgeht.

S. 108* Z. 12 v. u.: Füge zu „C. 16, 25—27" hinzu: „s. S. 145*."

S. 112* Z. 9: Setze eine Schlußkammer nach θέλει.

S. 117* Anmerk., Z. 5 v. u.: Schreibe 29[b].

S. 136* Z. 16: Setze nach „veram" das Wort „(et)".

S. 136* Z. 17: „Per Timotheum" ist unsicher, da 6 Mss. es nicht bieten.

S. 136* Anm. 1: Füge zur Literatur über die Marcionitischen Prologe: Burkitt, Gospel Hist. and its transmission, Edit. 2 p. 353. Souter, Text and Canon of the N. T. p. 205ff. Souter, Charakter and Hist. of Pelagius' Comment. on the epp. of St. Paul (Proced. of the Brit. Acad., Vol. VII, 1916, p. 24). Zu Z. 1 dieser Anmerkung füge nach „1—16" die Zahl „p. 257ff.".

S. 137* Txt, Z. 7 v. u.: Zum Ausdruck „de ordinatione . . . . ecclesiasticae disciplinae" ist das Muratorische Fragment zu vergleichen. Unser Prolog ist wohl die Vorlage. — Zu den Prologen zu den Pastoralbriefen s. de Bruyne, Rev. Bénéd. 1921 Oct. p. 13f. Er bestreitet ihren Marcionitischen Ursprung; aber seine Argumente beweisen nur, daß sie nicht vom Verfasser der Prologe zu den 10 Paulusbriefen stammen; aber der Ausdruck, daß die Häretiker an die „scripturae Iudaicae" glauben, beweist die Feder eines Marcioniten; es steht ja fest (s. S. 150*), daß

spätere Marcioniten die Pastoralbriefe recipiert haben. — Auch der Marcionitische Ursprung des Prologs zu Ephes. ist wahrscheinlich, wenn man ihn geraume Zeit später setzt als den Prolog zu Laod. und eine Akkomodation späterer Marcioniten an den katholischen Brieftitel annimmt; jedenfalls ist der Prolog den Marcionitischen nachgebildet. — Daß die Prologe nicht aus Rom oder Italien stammen, geht aus dem Satz: „Romani sunt in partibus Italiae" hervor.

S. 165*: Harris meint, daß das Jubelwort über das Evangelium nicht zu den Antithesen gehört, sondern hierher als Prolog.

S. 167* Zu c. 4, 16ff.: In D ist ein Teil des Marcionitischen Textes dieser Perikope erhalten, die durch Auslassung von *τεθραμμένος* und *αὐτῷ* in v. 16 im Eingang einen ganz anderen Sinn enthält: *Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ναζαρὲδ ὅπου ἦν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ⟨εἰσῆλθεν⟩* (*αὐτῷ* fehlt auch in e a c d, u. e läßt auch *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός* aus und liest wie D *ἐλθὼν δέ* für *καὶ ἦλθεν*) *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν*. Ein Kabinetsstück der Textkritik Marcions; s. R. Harris, Study of Codex Bezae i. d. Texts and Studies II, 1 p. 232; Plummer, Comment. on the Gospel acc. to S. Luke, 1896, p. 119. Nach M. durfte ja Jesus nicht in Nazareth erzogen sein und durfte auch nicht nach seiner Gewohnheit die Synagoge besuchen.

S. 170* Z. 3: Hier ist zu vgl. was zu S. 120 bemerkt ist.

S. 177* Z. 2f.: Vielleicht lautete der Text M.s: *Τί καλεῖς· κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖς ἃ λέγω;*

S. 185* Anm. Z. 14 v. u.: In der Zeugenreihe ist „e" zu streichen.

S. 189* Z. 2: *Ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου* ist wohl auf den Einfluß des Matth.-Textes zurückzuführen (vormarcionitisch).

S. 215* (Abendmal): S. hierzu W. Bauer i. Gött. Gel.-Anz. 1923, S. 13.

S. 216* Anm. Z. 1 v u.: Die Mss. „c" u. „e" bieten die Worte in erweiterter Gestalt und bei c. 23, 5.

S. 219* Anm. Z. 5 v. u.: Die Worte *οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε* sind für M. nicht bezeugt und fehlen in D a b e; sie können von M. getilgt sein: Christus ist überall. Diese Streichung sowie die in I Kor. 15, 3 (s. oben zu S. 89*) gehören zu den Textänderungen M.s, die in katholische Mss. gedrungen sind.

S. 220* Z. 12: Luk. 24, 12 ist wahrscheinlich von M. gestrichen, s. die nächste Anmerkung.

S. 229* Die Stellen Luk. 5, 39; 9, 54ff.; 22, 43f., 23, 2[a b]; 23, 34; 24, 12; 24, 40 gehören zusammen, und man darf mit Wahrscheinlichkeit, bei einigen von ihnen mit Gewißheit, urteilen, daß die LL AA, die hier D und die alten Lateiner mit Marcion vertreten (bez. die Auslassungen) nicht ursprünglich, vielmehr die Marcionitischen sind:

1. C. 5, 39 (*Οὐδεὶς πιὼν παλαιὸν θέλει νέον· λέγει γάρ· Ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστός ἐστιν*) Dieser Satz fehlt bei M. und er fehlt in

D a b c ff[2]. l Euseb > alle übrigen Zeugen. Er ist also echt und von M. aus sehr verständlichen Gründen gestrichen.

2. C. 24, 12 (*Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον· καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός*). Dieser gut lukanisch stilisierte Satz ist bei M. nicht nachzuweisen; er fehlt sonst nur in D a b e l fu, einem Syrer, Euseb[can]. Also ist er echt und von M. gestrichen, der den Petrus hier nicht wünschte.

3. C. 24, 40 (*καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξε αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας*). Bei M. nicht nachzuweisen; er fehlt sonst nur in D a b e ff[2] l syr[cu]. Also ist er echt und von M. aus dogmatischen Gründen gestrichen.

4. C. 22, 43 f. (der Engel und die Agonie in Gethsemane). Fehlt bei M., aber ist so stark bezeugt, daß die Erzählung außer in der alexandrinischen Überlieferung (ℵBA etc.) nur sehr selten fehlte und auch so gut wie das ganze Abendland sie bestätigt. Sie ist sicher echt und M. hat sie aus dogmatischen Gründen getilgt. Ob der alexandrinische Text durch ihn beeinflußt worden ist oder die Alexandriner spontan Anstoß genommen haben, läßt sich nicht entscheiden; ersteres ist mir wahrscheinlich.

5. C. 9, 54 (*ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν*) u. 9, 55 (*καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἴδατε* [vgl. das *οὐκ οἴδασιν* c. 23, 34] *οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς*) finden sich und zwar — 54 in D a b c f g AC und den meisten Majuskeln cop syr (aber nicht syr[cu]) aeth. go Basil. Chrys.; 55 in D, zahlreichen Majuskeln, a b c e f g[2] q vulg go cop syr arm aeth. und vielen KKVV. Da die Stücke höchstwahrscheinlich bei M. standen und ausgezeichnet zu seiner Lehre passen, sind sie von ihm hinzugefügt und nun in die katholischen Mss. gedrungen. Wahrscheinlich gilt dies auch von dem Satz 9, 56 (*ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι*), den mehrere Majuskeln und a b c e f q vulg cop etc. bieten; leider fehlt uns hier der Marcion-Text; aber angesichts der überwältigenden Zahl von Zeugen gegen den Vers, kann er nicht ursprünglich sein. Wer aber sollte ihn hinzugefügt haben, wenn nicht M.?

6. C. 23, 2 (*καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας* und *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα*) Zwei Zusätze M.s, von dem es b c e ff[2] i l q gat mm, bez. (den zweiten) c und e übernommen haben.

7. C. 23, 34 (*ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν* [dies gewinnt nun einen prägnanten Sinn: Die Schergen des Weltschöpfers können vom guten Gott nichts wissen] *τί ποιοῦσιν*. Von M. hinzugesetzt und eingedrungen in ℵ*[u. c] ACD[gr 2] viele Majuskel, c e f ff[2] l vulg cop[1] syr arm aeth Iren. > ℵ[a] (uncis includit) BD* a b d sah cop[2]. Daß es,

obgleich ursprünglich, getilgt worden, ist ganz undenkbar. Zu diesen Stellen gehört auch Luk. 4, 16 (s. o.).

Zu S. 235* Z. 16: Vielleicht stand der apokryphe Spruch von den guten Geldwechslern im Ev. M.s, da ihn Apelles zitiert.

Zu S. 241* Text Z. 2 v. u.: Das Fragment Melitos aus der Schrift *περὶ λουτροῦ* polemisiert verdeckt ohne Nennung des Namens gegen Marcion.

Zu S. 259*: Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß Arnobius M. gekannt und von ihm die Äußerungen über das Ungeziefer (Gott könne es nicht geschaffen haben) und über den widerlichen Leib und die Zeugung übernommen hat, s. Arnob. II, 47. 55 (der höchste Gott schafft nur quod omnibus sit salutare) IV, 19. 23; vgl. Koch i. d. ThLZ. 1922 Col. 102 (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis p. XIII nachzutragen).

Zu S. 259* Anmerk. 1: Zu den Worten des Dionysius über die Lehre der Marcioniten füge noch: *Εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένας διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα.*

Zu S. 273* Z. 16 v. u.: Vgl. dazu die Angabe des Dionysius Rom. in der vorigen Anmerkung.

Zu S. 274* Z. 3: Hier ist Didymus als Bestreiter M.s einzuschalten; s. S. 94* (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis p. XIV nachzutragen).

Zu S. 275* Z. 7 v. u. einzuschieben: Marcioniten neben Manichäern an einer Stelle bei Amphilochius (Gegen die Enkratiten; s. Ficker, Amphilochiana S. 62. 218); aber die Stelle ist ohne Belang. — Manichäer, Kataphryger und Marcioniten bei Nicetas von Remesiana, De symb. 10, gleichfalls belanglos (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis nachzutragen).

Zu S. 277* Z. 10: P. 31 wird M. ausdrücklich genannt, p. 35 wird unzweifelhaft, p. 10 wahrscheinlich auf ihn angespielt (v. Soden).

Zu S. 278*: S. Ephrems Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan, transscribed from the Palimpsest B. M. ADD. 14623 by the late C. W. Mitchell and A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt, Vol. II The discourse called „of Domnus" and six other writings, 1921 (P. XXIII—LXV Übersetzung der drei Bücher gegen Marcion).

Zu S. 283* Z. 7 v. u.: S. Zahn, Neue Kirchl. Ztschr. 1910 S. 371 ff. Man darf hieraus vielleicht schließen, daß M. die Parabel vom barmherzigen Samariter hatte, was ja auch an sich so gut wie gewiß ist (Windisch).

Zu S. 284* Z. 2: Zenobius ist im Inhaltsverzeichnis p. XIV nachzutragen.

Zu S. 284* Anmerk.: Falsch und irreführend hat hier Ahrens (Ahrens und Krüger, Die sog. Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor, 1899, S. 245) übersetzt: „Sie sind keine Beschnittenen

wie die Marcioniten" statt: „Sie halten sich nicht von uns getrennt wie die Marcioniten."

Zu S. 285* Z. 9: Ein später Syrer, Isaak von Ninive (7. Jahrh.) erwähnt noch Marcion. Hier die bekannte Trias Bardesanes, Marcion, Mani; s. Duval, Littér. Syr. p. 233 f. — Budge, The discourses of Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug 1894, Vol. II p. XLV u. CXXXVI, teilt mit, daß Philoxenus (um d. J. 500) einen Traktat gegen Mani, Marcion und Eutyches verfaßt hat (ungedruckt). (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis nachzutragen).

Zu S. 290* Z. 1: Photius (Biblioth. 96; p. 80[a]), der aus den Mitteilungen des Georgius über Chrysostomus exzerpiert, erzählt, dieser habe eine marcionitische Frau in Antiochien bekehrt und andere Marcioniten: *Γυνή τις τῶν Μαρκιωνιστῶν (ἀρχὰς δέ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ ταύτης ἐχείρισεν ἀνήρ) δυσεντερικῇ περιπεσοῦσα νόσῳ ἀπέγνωστο, τυχοῦσα δὲ τῆς ἰάσεως αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ πρὸς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐπέστρεψε* (also hatte dieser Marcionit eine Frau und bekleidete eine hohe Stelle in der Stadt) *καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Μαρκιανιστῶν.* Dazu p. 80[b]: *Χρυσόστομος τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν φυομένην ἐξέτεμε.*

Zu S. 310*: Augustin nennt die „Marcionisten" öfters, aber nur Bekanntes bringend, s. z. B. De perfect. iust. 14; De gestis Pelag. 15; De bapt. c. Donat. III, 20; VII, 31 („In Marcione agnoscenda est baptismi integritas"). Ep. 237, 2 (neben Priszillianisten). Auch die Donatisten Parmenian, Petilian und Cresconius haben sie zitiert, s. z. B. c. Crescon. II, 4; IV, 75, ferner Prosper, Chron. ad ann. 636, s. Chron. min. I p. 426 (im Inhaltsverzeichnis nachzutragen).

Zu S. 311* Text unten: Hier ist der unbekannte arianische Prediger einzuschalten, der noch einen Satz aus den Antithesen zitiert hat; s. oben zu S. 120; ferner Jovinian, s. bei Hieron. adv. Jovin. I, 3: „Neque vero nos Marcionis et Manichaei dogma sectantes nuptiis detrahimus" (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis nachzutragen). Ob in Priszillian ein Marcionitisches Element steckt (s. Lezius in der Prot. REncykl.[3] Bd. XVI S. 60) ist mindestens fraglich.

Zu S. 318* nach Z. 10: Auch Arnobius minor (Conflictus Arnobii et Serapionis p. 309 C) zitiert Marcion und im Praedest. 21 schreibt er: „Marcionitae, cum universalem orientis ecclesiam macularent, ab Origene superati, confutati et per singulas sunt civitates damnati." (Stammt wohl aus Pamphilus, Apol. pro Orig., die c. 22 zitiert wird). Woher die Schlußmitteilung stammt (l. c.): „Quos Tertullianus modis omnibus ita obtinuit, ut ipsos faceret contra sectam suam publice praedicare", weiß ich nicht; zu vgl. ist Tertullians Nachricht, M. habe auf dem Totenbett in die Kirche zurückkehren wollen (Im Inhaltsverzeichnis nachzutragen).

Zu S. 318* Z. 14: Nicht Marcion, sondern der Gnostiker Marcus ist hier von Gennadius gemeint (de Bruyne); s. ferner Gennadius, de eccl. dogm. nr. 21: „Duo principia sibi ignota introducunt ut Cerdo et Marcion."

Zur früheren Literatur über Marcion s. R. B. Tollinton, The two elements in M.s Dualism. im Journal of Theol. Stud. 1916 April p. 263—269 (Richtig, aber nichts Neues) — Vacher Burch, A commentary on the Syriac Hymn of the soul, ebendort 1918 Jan. and April p. 145—161 (der Verf. sucht mit ganz unzureichenden Gründen zu beweisen, daß Cerdo der Dichter des Hymnus sei; ebendort Juli 1920 p. 315 zitiert er den Hymnus einfach unter Cerdos Namen). — E. Boßhardt, Essai sur l'originalité et la probité de Tertullien dans son traité contre Marcion [Freiburger These], Florence, 1921 (121 SS., fleißig, aber nicht in die Tiefe dringend).

Es ist möglich, daß die Erzählung von dem am Sabbat arbeitenden Mann (zwischen Luk. 6, 4 u. 5 bzw. 6), welche nur in D enthalten ist, ursprünglich lukanisch ist, daß M. sie getilgt hat und daß diese Tilgung einen fast vollständigen Erfolg auch in den kirchlichen Bibeln gehabt hat: denn (1) die Erzählung ist nach ihrem Stil synoptisch und zwar dem Lukas-Stil am verwandtesten; sieht man sich durch den Schluß an Paulus erinnert, so ist diese Erinnerung unsicher, wäre übrigens bei Lukas nicht auffallend, (2) die Erzählung war für M. ganz unerträglich, da sie die fortdauernde Geltung des Gesetzes in seinen Grenzen scharf zum Ausdruck bringt, (3) der große, ja beispiellose Erfolg der Streichung ist paradox, aber dieses Wort Jesu mußte sehr bald auch den katholischen Christen anstößig sein, da es den Sabbat und damit das Zeremonialgesetz (im wörtlichen Sinn) relativ gelten läßt.

PAULUS VON SAMOSATA

EINE UNTERSUCHUNG ZUR
ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR- UND DOGMENGESCHICHTE

VON

FRIEDRICH LOOFS
PROFESSOR IN HALLE

LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
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TEXTE UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN
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ADOLF VON HARNACK UND CARL SCHMIDT

3. REIHE 14. BAND HEFT 5

44. BAND HEFT 5

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The Antithesis
Introduction to the Genesis Creation Story
A case for Universalism
The Holy Trinity: A search for Scriptural Proof
The Virgin Birth
A Reason for the Hope I have in Christ: Questions and scriptures

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Introduction

When reading the Bible it becomes obvious to the serious Bible student, the Old and New Testaments each present God in a vastly different way. The god of the Old Testament is a god of war and a murderer who boasted of *being jealous and the creator of evil. (Isaiah 45:6&7, Exodus 34:14)* The God in the New Testament is entirely different, He is the God of love and peace. *(2nd Cor. 13:11)*

It will be shown in this essay how the modern translators of the Old Testament have taken steps to conceal the **antithesis** between the Gods of the Old and New Testaments. Many Christian ministers are aware of this matter but remain publicly silent, hoping it will not be noticed. Most Churchgoers do not study their Bibles well enough to notice this ***antithesis*** *(opposites)* between the Gods of the Old and New Testaments. When the ministry is asked why the god of the Old Testament had so many people killed, they are embarrassed and generally give unreasonable and even stupid answers. In my early Christian life I asked my assistant pastor, "*Why did God in the Old Testament have so many people killed?"* His answer will never be forgotten. *"He said those people God had killed were pagans and deserved to die!"* This answer was spontaneous without really realizing what he said. This goes to show how unprepared he and most ministers are to defend or deal with the evil actions of the Old Testament god.

There is a vast difference between the Old and New Testaments, they are not about the same God or the same people and do not contain the same theology. When the unbiased student of the Bible understands this it will be seen the Hebrew god Jehovah is *selfish, vindictive, a racist, ethnic cleanser, child murderer, genocidal war god* ***who boastfully claimed to be jealous*** *and the* ***creator of evil.*** These accusations will doubtlessly appear to be **absurd and blasphemous to the Christian who is unfamiliar with the Old Testament.** The reader is asked to bear with us as we search the Old Testament believing it to be an accurate record penned by Jehovah's prophets, we will let ***it speak for itself.*** This essay will explain in both scriptural and in historical terms how and why this **antithesis** of the Gods became a major issue that divided the church during the second century. This

became known as the Marcion Controversy and eventually led to bloodshed. More details on this will be shown in this writing.

The Antithesis

Many observant Christians who have seriously studied their Bibles have likely noticed the God represented in the Old Testament has an entirely different personality and motive than the God Jesus introduced in the New Testament. Many leaders in modern Christianity are well aware of this problem but their theology does not allow them to deal with it. Some theologians in an effort to make this *antithesis* harmonize with their theology have come up with various sorts of *'spin'* such as '*progressive revelation' i.e.* the Old Testament revealed Jehovah in a much better way as time progressed. This answer is without Bible support; the last book in the Old Testament has the following to say about Jehovah, ***"I, Jehovah, change not."*** In the same book we read, ***"If ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory to my name, saith Jehovah of hosts, then will I send the curse upon you, - I will spread dung upon your faces."*** *(Malachi 3:6 & 2:2&3 ASV)* This doesn't sound very much like Jehovah ever had a change of heart! Various excuses are given for Jehovah's evil acts. However it is rather difficult to make an excuse for the Old Testament record when Jehovah says this about himself; ***"I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am Jehovah, that doeth all these things."*** *(Isaiah 45:7 ASV)*

Jesus**,** in His sermon on the mount *(Matt. Ch. 5)* made it clear**, an antithesis existed** between His teaching and that of the Mosaic Law, and "***The people were astonished at His doctrine."*** *(Matt. 7:28)* The Apostle Paul also strongly emphasizes this **antithesis** between the Mosaic Law and the teaching of Jesus. (Matt. 7:28, *John 1:17, Luke 16:16 & 2 Cor. 3:15)*

During the 1st century, there was no New Testament canon, so the Jesus Movement relied upon the Hebrew Scriptures along with the teachings of Jesus that had been passed down to them by oral tradition; some had the letters of Paul and a few other writings. Christianity at its beginning was a Jesus Movement engulfed in Judaism. About 38 A.D. Saul of Tarsus, a devout Pharisee, was converted to Jesus and began to preach his version of the Gospel

that he called *"My Gospel*" and *"The Gospel which I preach"*. *(Rom. 2:16 & Gal. 2:2)* He said he received this gospel by revelation from the Risen Jesus. *(Rom. 2:16 & 16:25, Gal. 1:12)* To him Christianity **was not** an extinction of or any part of Judaism. James, Peter and John with other Jews were not as willing to give up some of their Judaic beliefs and practices. Some historians have said had it not been for the Apostle Paul, Christianity would have been absorbed into Judaism before the end of the first century. There would have never been a New Testament or the ***antithesis*** between the Hebrew god and the Heavenly Father. Judaic Christianity would have had Jehovah as the only god and the Heavenly Father would have been forgotten. It would have been unknown that Jesus introduced the Heavenly Father as the ***"Only true God".*** *(John 17:3)* The purpose of this essay is to show how the Bible makes a vast difference between the Hebrew god Jehovah and the Heavenly Father, the God of Jesus.

Introducing YHWH the god in the Old Testament

A good place to begin this discussion is to use the Old Testament introduction of the Hebrew god Jehovah. Jehovah revealed himself to Moses as follows: ***"I am Jehovah: I appeared to Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob by the name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them".*** *(Exodus 6:3 ASV)* Later translators avoid rendering the proper translation of the Hebrew YHWH; they use LORD instead of Jehovah. The American Standard translates YHWH to Jehovah 5760 times, Young's Literal translation 5733 times, the Darby translation 5720 times, the King James Version only 4 times. The New American Standard, the New International Version and the New King James Version **do not mention Jehovah at all**. They use LORD instead of the proper name Jehovah, even though LORD is **not a name** but a ***title.*** This ***title*** is used for Jesus, i.e. the Lord Jesus but Lord was not His name! Why did the translators fail to properly translate YHWH? The answer is simple; they wanted the Bible to show no difference between the Lord in the Old Testament and the Lord in the New Testament. This ***intentional improper translation*** has been very successful in accomplishing their purpose, as it has steered most Christians into believing the Hebrew god Jehovah to be the Heavenly Father, the God of Jesus. As we continue this

study it will be clearly seen form the Bible record, Jehovah and the Heavenly Father **ARE NOT** one and the same God.

The Controversy begins

The seeds were sown for this controversy very early in the Jesus Movement. When Paul was converted to Jesus he completely gave up Judaism. He believed he was motivated by the indwelling Spirit of Christ and had received his gospel by revelation from the Risen Jesus, Who was the Savior of mankind, whether they were Jews or Gentiles. James, Peter and John not agreeing with Paul's version of the Gospel, told him to take his Gospel to the Gentiles and they would preach their Gospel to the Jews. (*Gal. 2:9)* This decision resulted in a division within the apostolic church; this resulted in two different Gospels, Judaic and non-Judaic. This eventually caused a dispute between the Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch. Peter and Paul had serious words about this question. Paul even called Peter a hypocrite. ***(Acts 15:2, Gal. 2:7-13)*** The apostles held a council in Jerusalem in an effort to bring this controversy to closure. As far as the book of Acts is concerned this controversy was only settled in that the Gentiles were not to be burdened with Jewish religious customs. The pro-Jewish apostles as well as Paul continued evangelizing with their different gospels.

After Paul's death the seeds of the earlier controversy begin to germinate. The Gentile faction of the Jesus Movement was centered at Rome and they held much of the Judaic view in their brand of Christianity. Especially having the view that Jehovah and the Heavenly Father is one and the same God. Early in the second century a young Christian bishop from Sinope, by the name of Marcion, an avid disciple of Paul, appeared on the seen determined to rescue the Church from its Judaic beliefs. He understood how Paul had reprimanded the church at Galatia for much the same thing. *(See Gal. chapters 1 & 2)* The main point of contention between Marcion and the Roman Church was the *antithesis* between Jehovah and the Heavenly Father. He believed Paul had shown this *antithesis (the opposites)* of Jehovah's law and the grace of God the Father. He understood Paul to have rejected the Old Testament and its god by saying the reading of the Old Testament and Moses would veil the heart from Jesus. *(2nd Cor. 3:16)*

The Marcion Controversy

It has been estimated that Marcion was born about 70 A.D. and began his ministry shortly after 100 A.D. His ministry lasted until after 150 A.D. and he lived to be about 85 years old. He was a devoted follower of the Apostle Paul whom he believed was the only apostle who really understood Jesus. In his mind he saw himself as a reformer to bring the Church back to the true gospel of Christ as preached by Paul, who used such statements as "***Christ is the end of the Law",*** and **'*The law was a curse,' Paul even went so far as to refer to Judaism as rubbish.*** *(Phl.3:8)* He understood the God of Paul to be the Heavenly Father, as he told the Corinthians; ***"There are gods many, but us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we in Him."*** *(1 Cor.8:6)*

"Even before Marcion and the great Gnostic theologians appeared upon the scene, there were apparently many Christians who declined to accept the God of the Jews." (The God of The Early Christians, page 67, by Arthur C. McGiffert 1924) This could account for the widely acceptance of Marcion's non-Judaic Gospel by the Gentiles, as they resisted accepting the vindictive jealous Hebrew god to be the God of Jesus. "*As Marcion saw it, the God of the Old Covenant was merciless, stern and cruel, full of passion, fanaticism, wrath, partisanship, pettiness. His justice was purely formalistic: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. His self-contradictions and weaknesses, his vacillations and his morality questionable commandments had to be rejected. Marcion's criticism culminated in his demonstration that the Old Testament God had been an instigator of wars, a breaker of promises, and a master of malice. Marcion regarded him as an enemy."* (Heretics by Walter Nigg, p. 63)

"*Already around the Year 150, Justin says that the Marcion teaching has spread to the whole human race and they placed great value in being called Chrestians*[1]*. Tertullian states: Marcion's heretical tradition has filled the whole world."* (Apol. 26.5-6) (Orthodoxy & Heresy in earliest Christianity by Walter Bauer.)

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[1] *Jesus was first called the Chrestos, the Greek for the benevolent one. This was later changed to the Greek Christos, the anointed one, to make Jesus the Messiah.*

These quotes from the early church fathers strongly indicate Marcion's ministry extended over a period of several years and was very successful. The number of Marcion's converts, who called themselves *Chrestians*[2], had become so great it caused the politically powerful bishops in the Roman Church to become very angry. They vigorously defended their pro-Jewish brand of Christianity, maintaining Jehovah was the Heavenly Father and called Marcion a heretic. This conflict grew into one of the greatest divisions among Christians in recorded history, proportionately as great as the Reformation. This historical event is unknown to most Christians.

Meanwhile the *'orthodox'* bishops in Rome had no New Testament canon to support their views, the evangelist Marcion compiled the very first New Testament canon about 142-144 A.D. It contained but one Gospel, called '**The Gospel of the Lord**' and the then known writings of Paul. These were Romans, 1st & 2nd Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians *(called Laodiceans)* Philippians, Colossians, 1st Thessalonians and Philemon. The Marcion canon did not contain *1st & 2nd Timothy, Titus or Hebrews.* These writings never appeared until about mid-second century, about seventy or more years after Paul's death. *(More on this later)*

The Marcion Gospel vs. the Gospel of Luke

The Judaic-Christian historians make the unfounded and false claim that Marcion used the Gospel of Luke and removed from it what he did not like to make his gospel. History does not support that claim but strongly indicates this in reverse. There are independent historians who are convinced, the author of Luke was of the 'orthodox' persuasion and that he edited and expanded the then existing **Marcion** Gospel for his gospel. He doubled its size by adding the birth story and the genealogy of Jesus, the story of John the Baptist along with some oral legendary stories about Jesus that were circulating at that time. This unknown author then dedicated his Gospel to Theophilus, who was the Bishop of Antioch, 150-180 A.D. This bit of internal evidence gives the approximate date in which this unnamed Gospel appeared that was later called the Gospel of Luke. The author of this gospel claims his information was taken from many ***previous writings*** along with

[2] See previous footnote.

oral information from unnamed sources. (*Luke 1:1-4)* He said many had written before him but he claimed to have perfect understanding of the events he recorded. He makes **no claim** for his gospel to be divinely inspired. It is interesting to note: "*The Marcion Gospel, the Protevangelion and The Gospel of the Infancy were all written before Luke". "*Jerome *(400 A.D.)* had a good reason to say, *the gospel of Luke could not have been written before 160 A.D." (*History of the Christian Religion by Charles Waite) *"There is little to indicate the existence of Luke – until the time of Justin, just before the middle of the century" Marcion and the New Testament by John Knox. P 130*

By searching history we learn the Marcion Gospel was in existence at least 12 or more years before there was the unnamed gospel that later became the gospel of Luke. *Luke contains the entire Marcion Gospel* along with many added inserts. History points to the Marcion Gospel being the basic source from which the editor of Luke said he obtained his information. *(Luke 1:1&2)*

To counter **Marcion's** work; the 'orthodox fathers' launched their attack on him by organizing into what they called the '***Universal'*** *(Catholic)* ***Church.*** To further their cause against Marcion they came up with 1st Timothy, and credited it to Paul. With a stroke of the pen they had ***the Apostle Paul refuting Marcion's teaching.*** It is interesting to note, this epistle uses the word **'antithesis'** that is found in no Christian writings prior to those by Marcion. We find in 1st Timothy, *"O Timothy, keep that which is committed to your trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and contradictions* ***(antitheses)*** *of what is falsely called knowledge* (*Gnosis*)." *(1st Tim. 6:20)* This statement and nearly all of the doctorial statements mentioned in *1st Timothy* identifies this epistle to the Marcion controversy of the second century.

Many Bible scholars believe 1st and 2nd Timothy and Titus have the 'footprint' of the editor of Luke & Acts. (*Luke 1:3 & Acts 1:1)* If this is true, these writings can be dated no earlier than 150 A.D. and during the time of the Marcion controversy.

The evangelist **Marcion** was not a Gnostic as claimed by his enemies, but he was a well-educated evangelist engaged in evangelizing the Gentiles in the Roman controlled countries, especially those bordering the Mediterranean. He brought more converts to Christianity than any other preacher during the second

century. He was well educated in the Scriptures. Even some of those who so drastically opposed him said he was a ***"man of letters***". We feel it was necessary for this essay to have given this brief history of the formation of the Marcion Gospel and the Gospel of Luke before we deal with

The Basis of Marcion's Teaching

Marcion's Antitheses began by quoting the words of Jesus as recorded in his ***'Gospel of the Lord'*** 4:17, that later found their way into *Luke 6:43 & 44*, "***For a good tree does not bear bad fruit, nor does a bad tree bear good fruit. For every tree is known by its own fruit."*** He then quoted *Isaiah 45:6&7*, "***I am Jehovah, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I Jehovah do all these things."*** Based upon this and other passages in the Hebrew Scripture, Marcion understood Jehovah to be the ***creator of darkness and evil,*** and represented the tree that bore bad fruit. He saw the tree that produced good fruit to represent the Heavenly Father, the God of Jesus. He based his view upon comparing the Hebrew Scriptures with the teachings of Jesus and the Apostle Paul.

We now present Marcion's case for the ***antithesis*** as he compared the Old Testament with the New Testament. It is not the purpose of this writing to deal with all the beliefs and teachings of Marcion**.** It is unfortunate that Marcion's New Testament and his commentary called the **Antitheses** did not survive the destructive forces by the 'orthodox fathers'. However enough was written about him, using quotes from his writings to show his **'Antitheses'** made a very strong scriptural presentation for his case.

Thirty Seven Articles of the Antitheses:

The Old Testament Speaks for Itself!

1. Jehovah was untruthful to Adam. He told Adam, "*The day you eat of the tree you will surely die" (Gen.3:4)* Jehovah lied; Adam ate of the tree and he did not die or even '*fall'*. He was created a natural human being by a god who himself was evil. *(Isaiah 45:7*) It can hardly be called a '*fall'* when his intelligence was elevated to that of the gods! *(Gen. 3:22*) Jehovah said to His council of gods, ***"Behold man has become as one of Us, knowing good and evil".*** The serpent (*The most crafty creature on earth)* told the truth when he told Eve Jehovah would not carry out his threat. There has been a lot of ***'spin'*** on Adam not dying, and about his *so-called* fall; but

we let the Bible speak for itself. Adam lived to be 930 years old and begot many sons and daughters. No mention is made of a '*fall'*. Jehovah lied to Adam but the God of the New Testament cannot lie**.** *(Hebrew 6:18) Note: Adam never fell until Augustine 420 A.D.*

2. Jehovah told Moses to get permission from Pharaoh to take the Israelites a three days journey into the wilderness to offer a sacrifice to their god. *(Exodus 5:3).* This was really a **lie** because it was Jehovah's plan for his people to leave Egypt for good and go to the Promised Land. So Jehovah **lied** again, the Bible says, 'It is impossible for the God of the New Testament to lie.' *(Heb. 6:18)*

3. We read something very interesting from 1st Kings. "***I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on His right and on his is left. And Jehovah said, 'who will persuade Ahab to go up, that he might fall in Gilead? So one spoke in this manner, and another spoke in that manner. Then a spirit came forward and stood before Jehovah and said, 'I will persuade him: Jehovah said in what way? So he said, 'I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets', and He said, 'You shall persuade him and prevail, go and do so."*** This passage goes on to say, ***"Jehovah hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these prophets"*** to accomplish the murder of King Ahab. *(1st Kings 22:22,23 & 40 ASV)* This is a very detailed account of how Jehovah and his council, the 'Principalities and Powers', got together and plotted the death of King Ahab. This passage resembles a mafia gang as they devise some evil plan to murder a victim. The antithesis here is; Jehovah is a murderer but Jesus came to save lives not to destroy them. *(Luke 9:56)*

4. Jehovah also stirred up the Pharisees, who in a like manner plotted the death of Jesus; He "***blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts***," *(John 12:40)* as a result, the Pharisees under Jehovah's influence and by using his law *(Lev. 24:16)* devised a plan whereby they could have Jesus murdered. However Jesus said, of the Father, ***"Thy word is truth".*** Paul said, ***"All the promises of God in Him are yea and in Him Amen".*** *(2nd Cor. 1:20)* The **God** that deceives and murders **cannot be** the God whose **word is truth.**

5, "***I Jehovah your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers on the children to the 3rd and 4th generation of those who hate me: And showing mercy to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments."*** *(Exodus 20:5 ASV)* If

we take this passage at face value, Jehovah said he would punish the children for the sins of their fathers for 3 or 4 generations, while his love was extended only to the generation that loved him. This shows Jehovah's hatred to be as much as four times greater than his love! Jehovah was the god of Israel only, *(Deut.7:7)* ***"O Children of Israel, You only have I known of all the families of the earth".*** Jehovah loved only Israel *(Deut. 7:6-7, Amos 3:2)* but the Heavenly Father loves the world. *(John 3:16)*

6. Jehovah sent his death angel out among the Egyptians and killed all of their firstborn including infants and children. *(Exodus 11:5&6, 12:29&30)* Jesus said, ***"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for such is the Kingdom of Heaven"*** *(Matthew 19:14)* Jehovah killed children but Jesus loved children. Every year the Jews celebrate with great joy Jehovah's murder of these children. This is called "**The Passover".**

7. Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart so he would not let the Israelites go. This was so he could inflict great suffering upon the Egyptian people. *(Exodus 4:21 & 9:12*) Jehovah loved to see the people he hated suffer. ***"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, Jehovah shall have them in derision.*** *(Ps. 2:4 ASV)* But when Jesus saw the sicknesses and sufferings of people, *"**He was moved with compassion for them,*** (*Matthew 9:36*) While Jehovah laughs at them.

8. While Jeremiah was praying to Jehovah, he called him a deceiver, because he '***deceived the people and Jerusalem.***' *(Jer.4:10)* ***"I am Jehovah. And if the prophet be deceived - - I Jehovah have deceived that prophet."*** *(Ezek.14:9 ASV)* Jehovah deceived his prophets; in contrast Jesus said of the Father, "***Thy word is truth".***

9. Jehovah put an **evil** spirit into King Saul so he would hate David and try to kill him. *(1st Samuel 18:10)* But the God of Jesus gives us His Spirit without measure. The fruit of His Spirit is *"**love, joy, peace, and self control". (**Gal. 5:22)*

10. Jehovah hated his enemies and upon many occasions had them murdered. In contrast Jesus said, ***'Love your enemies, and do good unto them. That you might be children of your Father who is in heaven.'*** *(Matt. 5:44)* Jesus said we should be like the Heavenly Father. He did **not** suggest being like Jehovah!

11. When forty two children mocked and insulted Elisha, calling him **"*you bald head*,"** he ***cursed them in the name of Jehovah,*** who then sent two female bears out of the woods and mauled all of them. Their only crime was using the truth to insult Elisha who was baldheaded. (*2 Kings 2:23&24)* In ***contrast*** Jesus said, *"**Bless those who curse you".*** *(Matthew 5:44)*

12. There was an Israelite man who gathered sticks on Jehovah's Sabbath so his wife could cook a meal for their family. For this he was killed. This murder illustrates the harshness of Jehovah's law, which shows **no mercy,** *(Numbers 15:32-35)* but 'Grace and **Mercy** are from God the Father'. *(Titus 3:4, 2nd John 1:3)*

13. ***"Anyone who rejected Moses' law died without mercy".*** *(Hebrews 10:28)* Jehovah had no mercy of those who violated his law. *(Exodus 33:19)* In contrast the Scripture says the God of Jesus ***"Is rich in mercy**." (Eph. 2:4)* The mercy of the Hebrew god is limited to the obedient, while the mercy of the God of Jesus is to all. *(Romans 11:32)*

14. Jehovah was NOT all knowing, as he had to call out to Adam "*Where art thou*?" (*Gen. 3:9)* He had to ask Cain where Able was, and asked Abraham where Sarah his wife was when she was nearby in the tent. (*Gen.18:1&9)* He said this concerning Sodom, ***"I will go down and see whether they have done altogether according to the outcry – that has come to me, then will I know**'. (Gen. 18:21)* Jehovah didn't know what was presently happening in Sodom without personally checking it out; his foresight as to current or future events was quite dim. ***God the Father knew future events even some things Jesus did not know.*** *(Matt. 24:36)* God the Father is all knowing while Jehovah is not.

15. Jehovah taught the Israelites to love their neighbor and to **hate** their enemies, but Jesus said, *"**Love your enemies**". (Matthew 5:45 & 46)* Jesus said the **Father in Heaven** loves and does good to His enemies. The Old Testament gives an entirely different message about **Jehovah** who **hated** his enemies and often had them killed.

16. *"**Jacob have I loved, but Esau I have hated**" (Romans 9:11&13, Mal. 1:2&3).* Jehovah hated Esau before he was born, "*before he had done any good or evil"***.** No reason is given for this hatred. The Heavenly Father hates no one. He is said to be, *"**the God of Love, grace, mercy and peace**". (1st John 4:16, Titus 1:4)*

17. When the Israelites complained about having to eat manna**,** and wanted some meat to eat, **"*The wrath of Jehovah was kindled against the people and he smote the people with a very great plague.*"** He sent them contaminated quail that was so contaminated some of the Israelites died while they were still eating and the "***flesh was still in their teeth***." *(Numbers 11:33&34ASV)* Out of spite and revenge Jehovah killed many Israelites. Jesus said, "***What man is there among you who, if his son asks for a fish, will he give him a serpent?"*** *(Matt.7:10)* According to Jesus, Jehovah's evil action far exceeded that of a normal human being.

18. The Israelites spoke against Jehovah and Moses, "***and Jehovah sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people: many of the people died."*** (*Numbers 21:6 ASV)* Jehovah was a murderer! ***"The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them".*** *(Luke (9:56)*

19. "*Ye shall not eat any thing that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it or thou mayest sell it unto an alien; for thou art an holy people unto Jehovah thy God." (**Deut.14:21****)*** According to Jehovah the Israelites should **not** eat contaminated food, but they were told to give or sell it to strangers or an alien. Jesus said, **"*And just as you want men to do unto you, you do to them likewise".*** *(Luke 6:31)*

20. There were two different times when Jehovah became very angry at the Israelites and threatened to kill them all. Both times Moses used Jehovah's pride and ego and talked him out of this wholesale murder. Jehovah was very high tempered and it took very little for it to be aroused. If he ever thought his authority or respect was challenged he became very angry and his anger often led to him committing murder, not only of a single person, but also sometimes many were murdered. *(Exodus 32:9-12, Num. 14:11-12-20)*

21. Jehovah's commandment was, **"*Thou shalt not steal,"*** Yet He had the Israelites steal gold, silver and clothing from the Egyptians. *(Exodus 11:2&3)* The same god who said, "**Thou shalt not bear false witness,"** lied to his prophets and deceived his people. *(Jer.4:10)* **Jehovah** told Moses to take vengeance on the Midianites. The Israeli army then massacred them by killing all of the men and the women that had known a man. The soldiers were rewarded with, ***"Keep the virgins for your own use".*** *(Num.31:16)*

This same god who said, "***Thou shall not commit adultery",*** *(Exodus 20:14)* rewarded the Israeli soldiers by giving them all of their captive virgins for their own use! (*Numbers 31:7, 17&18)* Both of these commands came from the same god, *Jehovah.*

22. Jehovah boasted of being the creator of darkness, *(Isaiah 45:7).* He spread darkness over the land of Egypt, but of the God of the New Testament it is said, ***"God is light and in Him is no darkness at all". (****1 John 1:5)* This again shows that Jehovah the **creator of darkness** is not and cannot be the Heavenly Father in whom "***there is no darkness at all."*** (***1 John 1:5)***

23. Jehovah afflicted people with leprosy (*Numbers 12:10)* but Jesus cured ten lepers. *(Luke 17:12&15)*

24. Jehovah called Isaiah to be his prophet and gave him a message that would confuse the Israelites causing them to sin. Jehovah then punished them for that sin. *(Isaiah 6:9&11)* He also told Ezekiel, *"**If the prophet be deceived, I Jehovah have deceived that prophet, and will destroy him from the midst of the people" (****Ezek. 14:9 ASV)* but Jesus called the apostle Paul to, ***"Open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light --- that they may receive forgiveness of sins".*** *(Acts 26:1)* ***"You shall call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins."*** *(Matthew 1:21)* Jehovah **caused** people to sin while Jesus **saves** people from their sins.

25. ***"Jehovah is mighty in battle."*** *(Ps. 24:8)* Jehovah was Israel's war god who led them into many battles and ordered the slaughter of thousands of people, only because they were not Israelites. *(Ethnic cleansing)* Jehovah was a god of war, but God the Father is the God of peace. *(Rom.15:33, 2nd Cor. 13:11)*

26. At Elijah's command, an angel of Jehovah brought fire down from heaven and consumed two captains and a hundred men while they pled for mercy. *(2nd Kings 1:13&14)* When the Samarians offended James and John, they asked Jesus about calling fire to come down and consume them as Elijah did. Jesus rebuked them saying, "***You do not know what manner of spirit you are of***. -- I ***did not come to destroy men's lives but to save them".*** Jehovah's fire burned to death 102 men without mercy. Jesus told them ***"You know not what manner of spirit you are of."*** *(Luke 9:54)* Jehovah's spirit was to kill, but the spirit of Jesus is "***to save men's lives."***

Jehovah's spirit was to kill and destroy all of whom he disliked.

*(***1st Samuel 15:3** ASV**) "**Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, - - Now go and smite the Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, - - slay both men, and women, infant and suckling."

***(Deuteronomy 20:16** ASV**)* **"**The cities and the peoples that Jehovah of hosts hath given thee, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth."

(Ps. 137:9) O daughter of Babylon, Happy is the one who takes and dashes your little ones against the rock."

(Hosea 13:16) "Samaria is held guilty, For she has rebelled against her God. They shall fall by the sword, Their infants shall be dashed in pieces And their women with child ripped open". **A most gruesome crime!** This happened before by the Israeli army in Samaria. (2nd Kings 15:16)

27. These crimes and atrocities described in the Old Testament were not committed by Hitler, Stalin, Mao of China or Saddam Hussein, **but were instigated and approved by Jehovah the god of Israel,** who seemed to be amused by seeing people suffer. *(Ps. 2:4)* Many have taken great pains in trying to defend Jehovah for all of the crimes the Bible claims for him. Their efforts are in vain as long as they accept the Old Testament to be the *inerrant Word of God.* Much has been said and written in an effort to justify Jehovah's evil actions, yet their t*heology* forbids them to recognize Jehovah's evil nature. Some say Jehovah changed as the Old Testament progressed. However the last book in the Old Testament shows he never changed. "***I am Jehovah and I change not." (****Mal. 3:6 ASV****)*** For further proof of the **evil mind** of Jehovah, he said to the priests, ***"If you will not take it to heart, to give glory to my name, I will send a curse upon you, I will rebuke your decedents and spread dung in your faces".*** *(Malachi 2:2&3)* Jehovah's threat to these priests displays his evil vulgar mind has no resemblance to mind of the Heavenly Father or Jesus. We are told to have ***"The mind of Christ,"*** *(1stCor. 2:16)* The Bible does not suggest or recommend we have the mind of Jehovah!

28. ***"I am Jehovah, that is my name; and my glory I will not give to another"****. (Isaiah 42:8 ASV)* Jesus praying to God the Father said, ***"And now O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory I had with Thee before the world was".*** *(John 17:5)* "***And the glory which you gave me."*** *(John 17:22)* Jealous Jehovah *(Exodus 34:14)* will not give his glory to another, but the Heavenly Father **gave** His glory to Jesus. *(John 17:5)*

29. In His sermon on the mount, in *Matthew chapter five,* Jesus teaches in contrast to the Law of Moses at least six times. One of which was ***"Eye for eye and tooth for tooth."*** *(Lev .24:20 & Matt. 5:38&39)* He continued; ***"But I tell you not to resist an evil person."*** Jesus taught against taking revenge**.** ***"Repay no one evil for evil'.*** *(Romans 12:17)* Jehovah always sought revenge! While the Heavenly Father loves and is not revengeful!

30. Concerning the Heavenly Father, Jesus told the Pharisees, "***You have never heard His voice nor seen His form."*** *(John 5:37)* John said, *"**No one has seen God at anytime".*** *(John 1:18, 1st John 4:12)* According to the Old Testament Jehovah had been both visually **seen** and **audibility heard** several times. "***So Jehovah spoke to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend."*** (*Exodus.33:11)* Moses also saw him. ***Jehovah was visible but God the Father is Spirit and invisible.*** Paul used the expression, "**the** i**nvisible God".** *(Col.1:1`5)*

31. The Old Testament records several occasions when Jehovah made decisions he later **repented** of. A few of these are: *"**It repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth,"*** *(Gen. 6:6). It **repenteth** me that I have set up Saul to be king, (1 Sam.15: 11)*

*"Jehovah **repented** of the evil that he said he would do to the Ninevites, (Jonah 3:10)* "*And Jehovah **repented** of the evil that he thought to* do to his people", *(Exodus 33:14)* The Heavenly Father is ***"the only true God",*** *(John 17:3)* and does nothing to repent of.

32. Jesus had the following to say, ***"No one knows the Son but the Father. Nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him."*** *(Matthew 11:27)* According to Jesus, the Heavenly Father was not known in the world until He revealed Him. He told the Jews, ***"It is my Father who honors Me, of whom you say He is your God. Yet you have not known Him".*** *(John 8:54)* Jesus once and for all confirms to the Pharisees, the Heavenly Father was not the God of their religion neither was He known in the Old Testament. He was not known until Jesus revealed Him. *(Matthew 11:27)*

33. The twelve apostles were devout Jews and had been taught to pray to Jehovah. Jesus changed this by telling them**,** ***"In this manner, therefore pray: Our Father who art in Heaven",*** *(Matthew 6:9)*. This change Jesus made unto whom their prayers are to be addressed generally goes unnoticed. His disciples were no

longer to pray to Jehovah but to the Heavenly Father. *(Matthew 6:9 & Luke 11:2*) It is very obvious why Jesus made this change; Jehovah was not His god! Jesus always prayed to the Father *(John 17:1, 5 & 25, Luke 22:42)* Jesus would not have made this change if Jehovah were Heavenly Father. His final prayer was to the Father, asking Him to receive His Spirit. *(Luke 23:46, Matt. 26:39)*

34. The conversation Jesus had with the woman at Jacob's well brings out an interesting point. '*She said the Jews worshipped in Jerusalem and her fathers said this mountain was the place to worship'.* The answer Jesus gave her should not be overlooked, He said, ***"Woman believe Me, the hour is coming when you will neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem worship the Father".*** *(John 4:21)* Her fathers worshipped the golden calf on mount Gerizim in Samaria the Jews worshipped Jehovah in the Temple in Jerusalem. Jesus **actually** told her the **Heavenly Father was not worshipped in either place.** *(John 4:23&24)*

35. The Scripture tells us why the Jews rejected Jesus. ***"He (Jehovah) blinded their eyes and hardened their heart".*** *(John 12:37-40)* The god of the Pharisees blinded their minds and hardened their hearts so they could not believe in Jesus. Paul said, "***None of the rulers of this age knew; for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."*** *(1 Cor.2:8)* Jehovah was the god of the Jewish world (*age)* of which Paul said, ***'The god of this world blinded the minds of them which believe not.'*** *(1st Cor. 4:4*) Jesus was to **"*recover the sight of the blind."*** *(Lk. 4:18)* Jehovah blinds but the Heavenly Father opens blind eyes.

36. Jesus had more to say about the ruler of the world: "***Now is the judgment of this world; now the ruler of this world*** *(age)* ***is cast out***." *(John 12:31)* And again, **"*for the ruler of this world (age) is coming, and he has nothing in Me."*** *(John 14:30)* ***Please note*:** I am very much aware of the common **spin** on the "**ruler of this world** (age)" and **"the god of this world**". Most Bible scholars jump to the conclusion these passages have reverence to the devil as being the god of this world, this has **a real problem.** How can Christians have two gods and be Monotheists? The Bible never says the devil is a **god** or that he is **ruler of this world**. The world to which Jesus and Paul were addressing was the Jewish world of which Jehovah was the **Prince and Ruler**. The devil could not have offered the kingdoms of Jehovah's

world to Jesus unless Jehovah gave him the authority. See Job 1:7 – 12 ASV.

37. Last but not the least, Under Jehovah's law they were to take oaths, *(Deut. 6:13)* but Jesus said***, "I say unto you, swear not at all, - -But let your 'Yes' be Yes' and your 'No' be 'No'. For whatever is more than these is from the <u>evil one</u>".*** *(Matt. 5:33&37)* Is Jesus really saying Jehovah who required the taking of oaths is **'<u>the evil one'?</u>** It certainly appears so; the Old Testament confirms Jehovah to be the creator of evil! *(Isaiah 45:6&7)*

Over and over again, The Bible confirms
The Antithesis between Jehovah and the Heavenly Father

Jehovah has proven to be of the same nature and character throughout the Old Testament. *He is selfish, vindictive, a racist, ethnic cleanser, child murderer, genocidal war god who boasts of being "**Jealous**" **(Exodus 34:14)*** and *"**The creator of evil**".* ***(Isaiah 45:6&7)*** The Old Testament presents overwhelming evidence this to be the very character of Jehovah who boasted saying, ***"I am Jehovah, I change not". (Mal. 3:6 ASV)*** If one believes the Old Testament to give *an inerrant* truthful record, then there is no way in which its truth about Jehovah can be avoided. Therefore, neither the Old Testament nor its god are Christian and have no place in the Christian Faith.

The Apostle Paul had the following to say about the Old Testament**, *"We use great plainness of speech; - For until this day the same veil*** *(blindfold)* ***remains unlifted in the reading of the Old Testament, the veil is taken away in Christ. --- But even to this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart." (2nd Cor.3:12&14&15)*** This is passage of scripture is self-explanatory.

Conclusion

Christians, who **do not** accept the Jewish god Jehovah to be their God, **are not alone.** "*Even before Marcion and the great Gnostic theologians appeared upon the scene, there were apparently many Christians who declined to accept the God of the Jews, when converted to Christianity. To be a Christian did not necessarily carry with it the acceptance of the Jewish god".* The God of the early Christians, by Arthur C. McGiffert 1924.

Paul told the Christians at Galatia who had backslid into Judaism, they were ***deceived, foolish, bewitched, and had become "estranged from Christ and had fallen from grace".*** *(Gal .3:1-*

3&5:4) He also referred to Judaism as rubbish. *(Phil.3:8)* He told the Corinthians, ***reading the Old Testament and the writings of Moses would veil (blindfold) the heart to Christ.*** *(2nd Cor. 3:12–15)* From all indications Paul was the only Apostle who rejected any part of Judaism to be incorporated into the Jesus Movement.

Barnabas A.D.130, Basilides A.D 125, Cerdon 140 A.D. and Marcion A.D.120-150 along with the Gnostic Christians all followed Paul's view of the Old Testament, that it is not Christian! "***The early Christian movement did not require the acceptance of the Jewish god as the God of Jesus."*** (The God of the early Christians McGiffert) The Gentile Christians thought it not logical to accept the jealous and warlike Hebrew tribal god to be their God.

The *'orthodox'* historians have so well concealed the second century controversy over the ***antithesis*** of the Gods in the Old and New Testaments, known as the Marcion Controversy, that it is scarcely known by today's Christians. Present day Bible scholars continue to ignore the facts of this event. This has resulted in today's gross ignorance of the beliefs, sufferings and conflicts of the second century Christians. Christians have been taught to follow the early Roman Church in claiming Jehovah to be the Christian God. Today's Christianity is therefore known as 'Judaic and seeing no inconsistency in having a god that is both **evil** and **good.**

If Jehovah were a man in our society committing the evil crimes the Bible records of him, he would either be in a mental institution or locked up in prison. Yet, in sincere ignorance, Christians worship him as the God of love and peace, singing "**Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah,"** really believing they are worshipping the Heavenly Father!

"The Christian concept of God must therefore be stated exclusively and without remainder in terms of the redemption wrought by Christ. Thus God may not and cannot be anything other than the God in the sense of merciful and redeeming love".
The Gospel of the Alien God, page 13 by Adolf von Harnack. Berlin, June 1920 crb Revised 3/5/2011

In Appreciation

I'm greatly indebted to Ray Embry, a dear brother in Christ, who in 1980 introduced me to the contrasts (antithesis) that exist between Jehovah of the Old Testament and the Heavenly Father of the New Testament. At first I was shocked and in unbelief, but as I searched the scriptures with this in mind, this truth came alive and completely rearranged my understanding of the Old and New Testaments. crb .

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Introduction to the Genesis Creation Story

The Greek word *Genesis (the beginning)* was given to this Hebrew book when it was translated from Hebrew into Greek. It was written for the Hebrew people to give them an account the beginning of the world of their environment, giving them roots for their ancestry and to establish ***Yahweh (Jehovah)*** to be their god.

"*The book of Genesis is thought to have been written around the turn of the first millennium B.C, drawing on much older written materials and legends. It is not likely that much of this material originated with Moses. What we read today has devolved to the point that it may be only remotely similar to the original record". (The Genesis Story" by James Quatro)*

"It is clear that through the millennia the ancient peoples, including the authors of the Book of Genesis, based their work on Sumerian cosmogony." (Earth Chronicles by Zacharia Sitchin)

Books in the Old Testament, including Genesis, in most Bibles were taken from the ben Asher text of the twelfth century A.D. and differs from the older Hebrew manuscripts. Some quotes in this writing are from the Septuagint that contains the Hebrew text of about 200 B.C.

The first chapter of Genesis reflects the creation story from the ancient Sumerian tablets, Mesopotamian and Babylonian records. Apparently while the Hebrews were in Babylonian captivity they became aware of their creation story. This story shows the plurality of gods *(Elohim)* known as the Nephilim to be the creators. In Genesis 1:26 *Elohim* is translated as singular, but in the same verse the gods identified themselves as *Our* and *Us,* this cannot be telling us of a single god. It can also be noticed the Hebrew god Jehovah is not mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis. The Hebrews were monotheists so the author or editors of Genesis edited the plural gods out the first creation story and generated the second creation story making their god Jehovah to be the creator. This was a story more suitable for the Hebrews as they believed their god Jehovah was the only god. This second chapter made Jehovah to be the only god, the creator of Adam and Eve, the Garden of Eden and thus giving roots the Hebrews people.

The author's intent of this writing is to present a concise and yet an informative account of the creation story based upon the Bible, historical and scientific evidence, to erase many common myths about the Bible story of creation.

The author believes the Christian should be sufficiently informed in the Scriptures to not allow myths and unfounded legends override Biblical and historical facts. crb

The Bible Creation Story

How did the universe come into existence? *If the universe came by the 'big bang', where did the material come from that exploded to make all of the planets?* What was the beginning of planet earth? What was the beginning of all plant and animal life and where did we come from? These questions are dealt with in Genesis, the first book in the Bible and in the ancient Sumerian tablets. Many have believed the Bible teaches *the whole universe including the earth was just spoken into existence? Were all things created in only six 24-hour days? Did we evolve from some animal or were we created?*

Concerning the Bible record; some frequently asked questions are; where did Cain get his wife? Who were the people that would kill Cain? Where did the people living in Nod come from? Then to the more observing reader the question is why are there two different creation stories in Genesis? Why do the Bible creation stories seem to differ so much from the scientific view of evolution? Or do they? Can both of these views be harmonized? Were humans created (genetically engineered) to be free, happy and independent loving creatures or were they created for another purpose? In what way were they created in the ***"Image and likeness****" of their creators? Did they all come from the same first human parents, if so, then why are there different races of humans? Are these differences due to evolution or were the different races created that way?* These are questions Pastors and Bible teachers like to avoid. Most have not devoted enough time in searching the Bible and ancient history to obtain sufficient information to give intelligent answers. This has allowed traditional myths to prevail.

Many Christians believe the Old Testament is a world history book even though it was never intended to be. Its purpose was to identify Jehovah to be the Hebrew tribal god and give ***roots*** to the Hebrew people**.** It is a collection of writings by Hebrew prophets and scribes that accumulated over a very long period of time. These Hebrew writers wrote down the stories and tales that had been handed down to them by preceding generations. Whether these sources were accurate or not can be debated. However in this writing the Bible record will be treated more than less as authentic.

The creation stories in our Bible have roots in the ancient Babylonian and Sumerian records. To make these stories applicable for the Israelites, the editor or editors changed the names of people and places along with other details**.** The ancient country Babylon has been known by several names, the oldest name on record is **Edin** then **Sumer**, ***"Babel - - in the land of Shinar," (****Genesis 10:10*) this area is now the country of **Iraq.** This is where the Tablets of the ancient Sumerian culture were discovered 1842 – 1854. These tablets contain the most ancient creation stories presently available.

The Genesis creation stories and the laws Moses imposed upon the Israelites are based upon the Babylonian "*Code of Hammurabi*", who was the 6th king of the 1st dynasty of ancient Babylon. He claimed to have received the knowledge to write this code from his god Marduk.** *(Cf. Schaff-Herzog Ency. of Religious Knowledge and Earth Chronicles by Zecharia Sitchin).* If Moses was the author of the Pentateuch* he likely received this information when he was educated in Egypt as the son of Pharaoh's daughter. However many Bible scholars question Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch. **The first five books of the Bible. **One of the Nephilim gods. (Genesis 6:4)*

We will now turn to the creation stories as they are recorded in the Bible. The more ancient manuscripts of Genesis take for granted the planet earth had been in existence but had become a wasteland eons before the Genesis story begins. ***"In the beginning - the earth was a wasteland, and darkness covered the abyss".*** *(Genesis 1:1&2 New American Bible)* This story goes on and describes how the gods oversaw the evolutionary process by which the planet earth begins to recover from its darkness and abyss and became an inhabitable planet. As we progress with this study it will be seen that by the evolutionary process, plant life was first to develop, then all living creatures after his kind and how mankind came into existence. More on this later.

The Gods of creation

When reading the book of Genesis we learn there are two completely different creation stories that differ greatly, and neither is telling of the initial creation of the universe. These stories start with the earth already in existence and more than one god or gods were involved. The first story was based upon the Sumerian Tablets and Mesopotamian records. The second creation story was edited to be acceptable to the Hebrew people. To understand this, it is **essential**

that we know the difference between the '**God**' *(Elohim)* in the 1st chapter and the **LORD God** *(Yahweh Elohim)* in the 2nd chapter. **God** in the 1st chapter is translated from the Hebrew ***Elohim*** and is used in the plural and should have been translated **Gods.** *(The Hebrew Publishing Society in their English translation translates elohim, which had previously been translated "god"* ***singular*** *into "****divine beings"*** *plural)* ***"And God*** *(the Gods or divine beings)* ***said 'Let US make man in OUR image, according to OUR likeness."*** *(Genesis 1:26)* In the 2nd chapter the god was **YHWH Elohim,** this was translated into English as **Jehovah God,** but in the KJV and some others, it is translated **LORD God.** When we read "LORD God in the Old Testament it always has reference **Jehovah God,** who was the god of the creation in the 2nd chapter of Genesis and the god of Israel. To ignore this distinction the Bible makes in identifying the Gods will contribute to misunderstanding the creation stories and the entire Old Testament. The Old Testament can be understood only when one recognizes this distinction it makes between ***God*** and ***LORD God.*** Christians are so overwhelmingly schooled in ***monotheism;*** they cannot comprehend more than one God. More than thirty times the Old Testament identifies Jehovah to be "*the God of Israel."* Other tribes mentioned in the Old Testament had their own tribal gods.

The first creation story

After giving this foundation, we will now consider the first creation story as it is recorded in the first chapter of Genesis. The word ***create*** is often misunderstood when it is used in the Bible. In everyday usage it is never used to mean, '*to make something out of nothing',* so why does it take on this meaning when we read it in the Bible? When an artist takes paint, a brush, a canvas and ***creates*** a painting. This painting is created from existing material. The creation story recorded in the Bible is very much the same way, as we will see.

*"****In the beginning God*** *(Elohim, meaning gods but not Jehovah God)* ***created the heavens and the earth."*** *"****The earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep".*** *(Genesis 1:1&2 KJV)* In the emphasized Bible by Rotherham we read, ***"Now the earth had become waste and wild and darkness was on the face of the roaring deep".*** Young's literal translation reads, "***In the beginning of God's preparing the heaven and the earth. The earth had existed waste and void".*** We can see the earth was already in

existence but had become waste and void as the Genesis story begins. The earth could have been in this condition for millions of years. *(This is in harmony with the Sumerian Tablets)* Something that is often missed is the author of the Genesis creation story strongly implies this planet had been in existence long before the Spirit of the Elohim *(Gods)* started *"**brooding or hovering"*** over it. (*Genesis 1:2)*

There has been a lot of speculation as to what actually happened to the earth to cause it to be in this *"waste and abyss"* condition. Many Bible and scientific scholars believe, and it is very likely true, that in eons past the earth had been in a collision with a giant asteroid or another planet. What ever happened to the earth did great damage throwing it off its axis by 17 degrees and into a state of chaos. According to the creation record the waters and soil had been all churned together and this caused a very heavy vapor or fog that shielded the earth from the sun. Had plant, animal or human life previously existed, all was destroyed and buried in the mixture of water and soil. Many pre-historic creatures were also caught up in this disaster and their species were lost forever.

The earth having existed in this **void and waste** condition for eons of time, ***"Then God (****the elohim-gods****) said. Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear."*** (Gen. 1:9) To take this literally, the gods said, "***Just let it happen"***. The natural process of gravitation eventually caused the water to drain from the land and flow to the low areas of the earth forming lakes and oceans. As the water was separated from the land the heavy mist subsided allowing the light and heat from the sun to dry out the soil. Then we read, ***"and God*** *(the Gods)* ***said, let the earth bring forth grass, and the herb that yields seed and the fruit tree_ _".*** *(Gen. 1:11)* Again take note; "**let the earth bring forth,"** The earth brought forth these things by the process of evolution that took eons of time.

Originally the earth's atmosphere was mostly nitrogen, but in the process of time, plant life put oxygen into the atmosphere making it able to support the life of living creatures. We then read: "***Let the waters bring forth abundantly, of living creatures, and let the fowl fly above."*** *(Gen.1:20)* It is interesting to note scientists tell us that birds originally developed from fish. Fish and birds were the first to show up. Next we read, ***"Then Go****d (the gods)* ***said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping***

things and beast of the earth according to its kind'. *(Gen.1:24)* Again, please notice; the Bible makes it clear ***"the earth brought forth"*** animal life. **It does not say** God spoke them all into existence. The Genesis account makes it very clear, all plant and animal life developed by the evolutionary process while the gods were ***"hovering or brooding over"*** the earth.

The Bible record specifically states the creation took place in the "*evening and morning"* of each specific day*,* it has been commonly believed this is speaking of a 24-hour day. The word **day** is translated from the Hebrew ***"yowm"*** *meaning a* ***period of time***. Strong's Hebrew dictionary gives the meaning as *"A space of time, or an age*". Therefore the six days of the creation were **not** 24-hour days, but the evening and morning of the six ages or eons of time it took the earth to develop plant and animal life by the evolutionary process.

The first humans created

In the process of time the earth flourished with vegetation and animal life and could now support human life. ***"The Gods said, Let <u>Us</u> make man in <u>our</u> image after <u>our</u> likeness;"*** *(Gen.1:26)* **"The *Gods (****the elohim but not Jehovah****) created man in his*** (their) ***own image, male and female created he*** *(they)* ***them. And said unto them, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth."*** *(Gen. 1:27&28).* This sentence used the Hebrew word ***elohim*** in the ***plural*** and should have been translated **gods,** *as previously indicated.* The plural words **'Us** and **Our'** in the same sentence confirm a plurality of gods were involved in this creation. Some Bible scholars also believe the word '***replenish'*** could indicate a replacing of humans that had been destroyed when the earth became a planet of '*abyss and waste.*

According to both the Bible record and the Sumerian records humans were **not a product of evolution,** but were ***created*** *(genetically engineered)* by the Nephilim gods who used some of their own genes in the process. Human genes and blood came from the creators. *'All humans that dwell on the earth were made of one blood.' (Acts 17:26)* Human blood does not match the blood from any animal. Even though the human physical body is animalistic their intellect is from the gods. In *John 12:34* Jesus quoted *Palms 82:6* ***"You are gods",*** This could have reference to Humans receiving godlike knowledge as recorded in Genesis 3:22.

The Septuagint, is a translation of the Hebrew into Greek about 200 B.C., it shows the difference between the words translated ***man*** in the first two chapters of Genesis. The Greek word for man in chapter one is ***anthopi,*** which is the plural for man ***meaning mankind.*** These humans were told to "*be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth." (Gen. 1:22)* According to the information contained in the Sumerian tablets the gods mentioned in the 1st chapter of Genesis who created humans were masters at cloning and were able to create humans just as the Bible says. Also notice, in this first creation of humans, the male and the female were created at the same time and there was no Adam and Eve or a Garden of Eden. *(Gen.1: 27)*

The second creation story

In the 2nd creation story Adam was first created and placed in the Garden of Eden, then Eve was created some time later*. (Gen. 2:22)* This second creation story is not about a universal creation like the first one, but is edited into a creation centered in a local area, giving names of people, rivers and countries. "*The rivers Pison, and the land of Haviah where there was much gold and precious stones, the country Assyria* and *the River Euphrates*, *The river Gihon near Ethiopia, the river Hiddekel east of Assyria. (Gen. 2:11-13)*

In the 2nd chapter we find the second creation story also opens with the understanding the heavens and the earth already existed. This was accomplished without **Jehovah** who was Biblically **absent** until verse four of this 2nd Chapter. Here Jehovah shows up and takes credit for all that had been previously accomplished, even though he had nothing to do with it. The ***brooding over*** or directing the process of evolution that brought the earth out of its void and waste condition was by the elohim (gods) of chapter one.

This second story very soon has Jehovah creating Adam ***"And the*** **LORD** ***God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul"*** *(Gen. 2:7)* The word ***man*** here in the Septuagint is ***anthropos*** which is man in the singular**,** and in the Hebrew it reads ***aw-dawm*** and is limited to Adam. Then we read, "***And the*** **LORD** ***God (****Yahweh Elohim)* ***planted a garden eastward in Eden and there put the man whom He had formed". (****Verse 8). "****The tree of life was also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil."*** *(Verse 9)* ***"And Jehovah God took the man and put him in the garden to tend and***

keep it." (*Verse 15)* Jehovah created Adam to be his slave, to work and keep the garden. Adam was told, ***" Of the tree of knowledge good and evil, you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die".*** *(Gen. 2:16&17)* Realizing, "*It was not good for man to be alone", "****Jehovah God caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam, and took one of his ribs - - then the rib Jehovah God had taken from man He made into a woman".*** *(Verses 21&22)* He used some sort of anesthetic causing Adam to go into *'deep sleep'* before performing surgery to remove a body part to make Eve. The creation of Eve was Jehovah's afterthought to give Adam a helper and solve the problem of Adam's loneliness. It is interesting to note; Eve was not created until after Adam named all of the animals. *(Gen. 2:19-23)*

When this account was written absolutely nothing was known about the make up of the human body, so the author told the story the only way he knew. Had this been written in our time different terms would have been used; Adam would have been created by genetic engineering and **not from dirt.** Eve would also have been genetically engineered using a part taken from Adam's body.

The Serpent in the Garden

This story being reduced to a story about a snake and an apple resembles a child's bedtime fantasy story or the myth of Santa Claus. By using common sense we know a snake is a dumb reptile and at most can only hiss and has no ability to talk. We also know that eating fruit from a tree cannot cause one to obtain godlike knowledge. This story was pieced together from ancient records written on the Sumerian clay tablets before *(3000 BC*) and later renditions from the Babylonian records. The author of Genesis chose not to use the names of any other god than Jehovah, who wanted to be known to the Hebrews as the only god. ***"I am Jehovah, and there is none other, there is no God besides me."*** *(Isaiah 45:5)* So the editor used the word ***'serpent'*** rather than the proper name ***Enki*** as the one who seduced Eve. Enki, the Nephilim god of knowledge, was an expert in the medical field. He used the ***serpent twined around a tree for the insignia*** of his group of physicians (*The medical profession uses this insignia even to this day).* This is why the author or editor of Genesis called *Enk*i the *serpent* rather than by his proper name.

Apparently Adam told Eve of Jehovah's threat that partaking of the forbidden fruit would result in sudden death, as she was very much

aware of this when the *serpent god* encountered her in the garden. ***"Now the serpent was the most crafty (****intelligent)* ***of all the brutes on the earth. -*** *(Septuagint)* ***So he said to the woman, Has God indeed said, You shall not eat of every tree of the garden?"*** *(Gen.3:1)* Eve then repeated to the *serpent* exactly what Jehovah had said to Adam, but she added, *"the tree should not even be touched".* ***"And the serpent said to the woman, You will not surely die. For God knows that in the day you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be as gods, knowing good and evil."*** *(Gen.3:5)* The Serpent assured Eve she would **not die** by partaking of the forbidden fruit, but she would obtain godlike knowledge knowing good and evil. "***So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree desirable to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate. She also gave it to her husband and he did eat. Then the eyes of both of them were opened."*** *(Gen. 3:6&7)* Jehovah, upon seeing this, said to His council of gods, **"*Behold, the man has become as one of Us to know good and evil, And now lest he put out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever*."** *(Verse 22)* We can plainly see it was the **serpent that told the truth** but **Jehovah lied** to them. Adam and Eve did not die the day they partook of the forbidden fruit, but they received godlike knowledge just as the Serpent said. Adam did not '***fall'***, as is commonly taught, but his intelligence was **elevated** to that of the gods.

What really happened in the garden

There is much more to this story than a snake and an apple!

The humans created in the first creation recorded in chapter one were told, to ***"Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth".*** Jehovah never said this to Adam and Eve, but kept them ignorant concerning procreation and their sexual differences. **"*They were naked and were not ashamed."*** *(Genesis 2:25)* It was the serpent god *(Enki)* who broke the news to Eve concerning sex. She observed the *'tree'* to be "*pleasant to the eyes* and *to be desired to make one wise," so* she partook of the *forbidden fruit* from the '***tree of knowledge'.*** The word knowledge here is translated from the same Hebrew word used when it says, *"Adam* ***knew*** *his wife Eve and she conceived.*" Partaking of the "***forbidden fruit"*** from the serpent god was Eve's first sexual experience. The Serpent god Enki seduced Eve and physically taught her about sex. She was so pleased with this experience she **also gave**

to her husband Adam. After learning of their sexuality they realized they were naked, so they made aprons of fig leaves to cover their nakedness. *(Gen. 3:7)* They had now learned what Jehovah did not want them to know. Jehovah's anger was kindled against the Serpent god for seducing Eve, and also against both Adam and Eve for their participation in the *'forbidden fruit'*. Jehovah became very angry and put curses on Adam and Eve and drove them out of the garden.

Please note; sexual relations between the gods and humans **did occur;** this is confirmed in the Bible record; ***"The sons of the gods saw the daughters of men, that they were beautiful: and they took wives for themselves. The sons of the gods came in to the daughters of men and they bore children to them." (****Genesis 6:2&4)*

The "***sons of the gods"*** are referred to as *Nephilim* in the following translations: Contemporary English, Young's Literal, Holman Std. Bible, New International, Moffatt and others. *(The Hebrew word Nephilim has the meaning of those who came from above.)**

Adam and Eve expelled from the Garden

Jehovah's threat of immediate death was not carried out. The Serpent god *(Enki)* knew Jehovah would not kill his prized genetically engineered humans, and told Eve that participating in the '*forbidden fruit'* would not result in immediate death as Jehovah had promised. (*Gen. 3:3)* Adam continued to live and when he was 130 years old he begot Seth and then fathered many sons and daughters. He lived to be 930 years old. *(Gen. 5:4)* It might be added here that some Bible scholars try to cover for Jehovah's lie by saying his day really meant a thousand years or that Adam and Eve died spiritually. **There is no biblical record of Adam possessing any form of spiritually to fall from**. The Genesis account clearly states their disobedience gave them godlike knowledge and says nothing about a fall! The teaching that Adam fell is an invention by theologians, but not biblical.

After Jehovah drove Adam and Eve out of the garden, Eve gave birth to Cain and Abel, **fraternal twins**, who were conceived while she was in the garden. When Cain was born Eve said, ***"I have gained a man through god*** *(elohim)* ***and she again bare his brother Able" (****Gen. 4:1 Septuagint*) She claimed Cain was from the *elohim* (gods). This gives a clue as to why Jehovah had no respect for Cain and refused to accept his offering. *(Genesis 4:5)* This clue is confirmed in the New Testament. In *1st John 3:12,* we read, "***Cain was of the wicked***

one". Could this be saying Cain's father was the '*wicked one'* meaning the Serpent rather than Adam? But you ask why is it that Cain is not Adam's son? Do we not read in Genesis 4:1, "***Now Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain and said I have gotten a man from god,"*** *(elohim)* ***and again she bare, his brother Abel"***. When we examine this verse we learn Eve claimed Cain was from the gods, but this was not said of Able.

This can be explained by observing what happened when Eve was seduced by Enki the serpent god and became pregnant by him, then she **also gave** to Adam her husband and she also conceived from him. You say, "**Impossible**"! Not so fast! This is called ***dizygous twins*** when each has a different biological father**. "*The frequency of a woman carrying fraternal twins with two different fathers is underestimated."*** *(Taken from Fertility and Sterility by Dr. Rodrigo."* Eve knew what she was saying when she said Cain was from god *(elohim).* **Jehovah even confirmed Eve's story that Cain was the seed of the serpent by saying to the serpent, "*I will put hostility between you and the woman and between <u>your seed</u>*** *(or child) and* ***<u>her seed</u>*** *(or child)". (Gen. 3:15)*

Cain became so angered because of Jehovah's rejection and *hostility* against him, and how Able was favored, he murdered his half brother Abel. Cain's punishment for this was being banished from his family to be a *'fugitive and a vagabond'. (Genesis 4:12)* He complained to Jehovah saying, "***Anyone who finds me shall kill me. And Jehovah put a mark on Cain, lest anyone finding him would kill him".*** *(Gen. 4&15)* No explanation is given as to what that mark was. It is more interesting to know just who were the people Cain feared. These people could not have been from any of Adam's family, as Cain had no siblings as of yet. The people Cain feared could be none other than decedents of the humans who were created by the unnamed Nephilim gods mentioned in the first creation story of mankind recorded in Genesis chapter one. They were created long before Jehovah created Adam and Eve. The creators of these people commanded them to "***be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth"***. They multiplied rapidly and the Nodites were a tribe of these people and Cain took up residence with them. *(Gen 4:16)* Then we read, ***"And Cain knew his wife and she conceived and bore Enoch."*** *(Gen. 4:17).* Many Christians are led to believe Cain married his sister;

but this was **impossible**. The Bible puts this fable to rest, as Cain already had a wife and family before Seth or any daughters were born to Adam and Eve. *(See Gen. 5:3&4)*

The Genesis record continues; ***"Adam lived one hundred and thirty years and he begot a son in his own likeness, after his image and named him Seth."*** *(Gen.5:3&4)* This is the **first and only mention** of Adam fathering a son in his ***"own likeness and image."*** It appears Able did not have this likeness of Adam but he had the ***likeness and image*** of Eve, seeing Jehovah referred to Able as being the seed of Eve. It often happens that a child takes on the appearance of the mother rather than the father. *(Gen. 3:15)* More proof that Cain was not Adam's seed, is he is not mentioned in the "***Book of the genealogy of Adam."*** (*Gen. 5:1 - 8*)

About Cain and his decedents

The Genesis account gives some astounding facts concerning Cain and his decedents. They were very intelligent people; being from the bloodline of Enki the serpent god, "***the most intelligent being on earth".*** *(Gen 3:1)* When Cain took up residence with the Nodites he organized them into a society and taught them to build a city. His descendents domesticated animals, they were also musicians, they handled the harp and organ they were also craftsmen in bronze and iron. (*Gen. 4:17, 22&23)* There is no such record showing Seth or his descendents having such intelligence. All that is said of him is he just fathered a bunch of children. *(Genesis 5:7)*

About the flood

We now come to the 6th chapter of Genesis and read "***As men*** *(the Adamites)* ***began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born to them, that the sons of the gods*** *(Elohim)* ***saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful: and they took wives for themselves of all whom they chose."*** *(Gen 6:1&2).* These beautiful women were from the Adamic tribe. ***"There were Nephilim on the earth in those days, when the sons of god*** (elohim) ***came into the daughters of men and they bore them children***. ***Those were the mighty men who were of old, men of renown".*** *(Genesis 6:4).* When Jehovah saw how these inter-racial marriages corrupted his special Adamic race, the text says; ***"Jehovah was sorry He had made man*** *(Heb. aw-dawm)* ***on the earth and He was grieved in His heart". (****Genesis 6:6).* Jehovah became very angry and decided to kill off all of

these half-breeds who were ***"mighty men of renown".*** He chose to save Noah who was, ***"A just man, perfect in his generations". (****Gen.6:9)* Noah's genealogy was free from the interracial breeding between *'**sons of the gods'*** with daughters of the Adamic tribe.

According to the Sumerian clay tablets, the god ***Enlil***, who the Hebrew writer identified as **Jehovah,** saw the flood coming but could do nothing about it. So he used the flood to serve his purpose in killing off the half-breeds. In spite of popular belief, this flood was somewhat local and did not cover our entire planet. It was primarily in the land of the Euphrates River. *(Gen. 2:10-14)*

When in Egypt, I learned there is no record of that country ever having been destroyed by a flood. In fact, the Egyptians have a record of unbroken history that flows through and beyond the period of the Noah flood.

"And the waters prevailed exceedingly on the earth, and all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered. The waters prevailed fifteen cubits upward, and the mountains were covered". *(Gen.7: 19&20)* The author saw only the small world he was familiar with; the flood covered his whole world. There is not enough water on this planet to cover all of our high mountains.

There are many other problems with the theory of the flood covering the whole earth, some of these are; when the Israelites spied out the land of Canaan they found ***giants in the land who were the sons of Anakim.*** *(Deut.1:28 KJV)* The Old Testament contains several references concerning the ***Anakites*** saying they were giants. These were the descendents of the **Nephilim** *(Numbers 13:33 NIV)* and are said to "***be the sons of Anak"****, (Deut. 1:28 NKJV*) ***"The people are strong and tall - Anakites! "Who can stand up against the Anakites?"*** *(Deut. 9:2 NIV*) According to the Sumerian tablets the Nephilim (those who came from above) were from the planet NIBIRU, * and the Bible calls them the ***Anunnaki***. It is evident the Nephilim and their descendents survived the flood. **(Earth Chronicles by Sitchin)*

Many other writings mention the Nephilim, including the books of Maccabees, the Book of Enoch refers to the Nephilim as the Watchers, the Nephilim are also mentioned in Hebrew Book of Jubilees.

Among the descendants of the Nephilim were; Og the king of Bashan who had a bed made of iron that was nine cubits long and four cubits wide. In our measurements this would be at least 14 ft. long and

6 ft wide. *(See Deut.3:11)* Then there was David's encounter with the Philistine Goliath who was a giant. Goliath's brother Gath was born with twenty four fingers and toes. *(1 Chron. 20:6)*

Abraham was born about 352 years after the flood, and as an adult went to Egypt, and there he found a nation with an advanced and well organized society and culture. (*Gen. 12:10)* None of the citizens of Egypt were decedents of Noah, nor were they related to Abraham in any way. Had the flood destroyed all of the people on the whole planet, where did all of these Egyptians come from in such a relatively short time of about four hundred years? Then we have the problem of all the various races of people that were not related to Noah, they were not in the ark, and were not destroyed by the flood. Many different races of mankind including the Chinese, the Egyptians, the people of India as well as the Nephilim and their descendents, the Anunnaki, all had existence both before and after the flood.

Conclusion of the Genesis account of the creation

Most points brought out in this writing are foreign to the traditional view among Christianity. However in our present educated world it is ludicrous to believe the entire universe including the earth and all living creatures were created in only six 24-hour days and that the universe is only six thousand years old. Modern scientific evidence has proven otherwise and to say God could have created things already aged by millions of years is only a weak effort to ignore the facts.

The Genesis Creation stories and the Sumerian tablets clearly make room for the colonization of the earth by the Nephilim *gods* who came from the planet ***Nibiru.*** The Bible calls their descendants the ***Anakim*** saying they are great and tall. *(Deut. 9:2 NIV)*

There are many landmarks on earth which show evidence that these *gods* were once on our planet. There are drawings in caves of beings wearing what looks like space suits with antennas on their helmets, and even drawings of what looks like space ships. We have this and other evidence showing that very highly advanced beings at one time graced our planet. Also the Bible tells of "***a chariot of fire***" that came to earth to snatch Elijah away and carried him to heaven; Elisha the prophet witnessed this event. *(2 Kings 2:11)* Ezekiel witnessed a fire driven machine that came near him and "***four living creatures***" came out of it and appeared to him. *(Ezek. 1:4 thru 28, 10:7-22)* The

experience of these prophets recorded in the Bible confirms earth to have been visited by alien gods.

The authors of the creation stories in the Bible had a very limited knowledge and vocabulary, but did their best to explain the creation, as they understood it. It is evident the Bible account tells of two separate creations. Unnamed Nephilim gods were involved in the first creation and the second is attributed to the Hebrew god Jehovah.

There is sufficient information in the Bible and other ancient sources to convince any serious seeker for truth, the traditional views believed by most Christians are not in harmony with the Genesis account or the Sumerian Tablets.

We do not live in the dark ages and therefore it is time to read the Bible with our minds in the 21st century and discard popular traditional views based upon myth and folklore rather than the Scripture.

Who is the God of Creation?

The New Testament makes it very clear God the Father and the pre-incarnate Christ were the active agents in the initial creation. So the question is, does this contradict the Genesis stories of creation? By no means! *The creation referred to in the New Testament has reference to the very beginning of how the universe came into existence, while the Genesis creation stories begin with the earth already in existence.* Some time after its creation ***"the earth had become waste and wild, and darkness was on the roaring deep."*** *(The Emphasized Bible, Rotherham)* ***"In the beginning of God's preparing the heaven and earth, the earth had existed waste and void."*** *(Young's Literal translation)* The Genesis creation stories show how the *elohim (gods) hovered over* the earth while it was being restored to a useful planet, by the natural process of evolution. From the Bible and other ancient records it appears something had happened to planet earth that destroyed all living things that had previously existed on it. The Genesis creation stories tell how it took eons of time for the earth to make a recovery. Its final recovery produced all kinds of vegetation, fish, birds and all manner of beasts of the field. Then the record tells how the gods by brought humans into being.

The New Testament makes it clear that God the Father is **Spirit** as was the pre-incarnate Christ who was with Him "***before the world was***." The gods of the Genesis creation were physical beings and dealt with a physical world. They genetically engineered physical human

beings and both the gods Enki and YHWH (*Jehovah)* spoke to them. The Bible gives several references where Jehovah is said to be an angel. This angelic god spoke to Moses "***face to face."*** He told Moses he was the *god of his fathers, the god of Abraham, the god of Isaac and the god of Jacob. (Exodus 3:2-4 & Acts 7:30&32)* Others had also seen Jehovah at different times. In other words Jehovah was a materialistic god that could be seen and heard. Now in contrast to this, God the Heavenly Father is ***Spirit and invisible. Jesus said, "You have never heard His voice or seen His shape." (****See John 4:24, 5:37, Col. 1:15, 1st John 4:12)* Jesus also called the Heavenly Father ***"the only true God".*** *(John 17:3)* All of this evidence points to the Heavenly Father being the one and only true God, the creator of the whole universe. Jehovah was an angelic tribal god of the Hebrews and that was the extent of his godhood. He is said many times in the Old Testament to be, ***"Jehovah the God of Israel."*** Other tribes had their own gods. It is interesting to note; The Heavenly Father was unknown until Jesus introduced Him. *(See Matt. 11:27)*

Paul writing to the Colossians had the following to say concerning Jesus Christ, ***"He is the image of the invisible God, the first born over all creation. For by Him all things were created, that are in heaven, and on the earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities, or powers: All things were created through Him and for Him: And He was before all things, and by Him all things consist."*** *(Col. 1:15-17)* From this passage of Scripture we learn ***God the Father is invisible and directed all creation through the pre-incarnate Christ.***

The New Testament clearly reveals the **pre-incarnate Christ** was with **God the Father,** ***before the world was***. *(John 17:3)* He was the active agent in all creation. God the Father ***"created all things through Jesus Christ",*** *(Eph.3:9) this includes* the angelic gods called ***principalities and powers, the Nephilim, the serpent god Enki, the Hebrew god Jehovah as well as the angels that sinned. These were all a part of this creation.*** *(Acts 7:30&32, Jude 6)* The pre-incarnate Christ created the angelic hosts as free agents; therefore He is not responsible for their later activities.

God the Heavenly Father was unknown until Jesus revealed Him. *(Matt.11:27)* Therefore the Hebrew god Jehovah, the ***"creator of darkness and evil",*** *(Isaiah 45:7)* is not the Heavenly Father who is

said to be "***Light, and in Him there is no darkness at all."*** *(1 John 1:5)* These two Gods are as **opposite as Light** is to **darkness!**

Conclusion:

The Genesis account of creation tells how the Nephilim *(Elohim)* directed the evolutionary process that developed planet earth into a planet filled with all sorts of vegetation and animal life, and made it a pleasant home for human beings that were later created.

Understanding this expanded view of the Creation can give a sufficient background for the reader to reconsider the traditional view in light of what the Bible really says or strongly implies. Not until present day Christianity graduates from Dark Age thinking, will they replace myth, folklore and tradition with the Bible teaching concerning the creation. "***As long as the Christian Church is unwilling to rethink and reformulate the very basic understandings of faith, they will increasingly not have much to say to a world that will not understand the language of our teaching. Those who insist on Dark Age understanding of the Bible become unwitting accomplices in bringing about the death of the Christianity they love.*" *****

All do not have the same understanding as to what the Bible teaches on many subjects. Christianity from its very beginning has always been a community with different views, even the apostles did not agree on some of the doctrinal points of the Christian faith.

"***For we know in part and prophesy in part,*** *(Gal. 3:28)* as long as this condition exists, ***let brotherly love rule.*** crb 10/3/2009

Various translations of Genesis 6:1-4 concerning the Nephilim:

"It was in those days that the Nephilim arose on the earth, and the sons of God *(elohim or gods)* ***had intercourse with the daughters of men, and had children born to them; those were the mighty men who were of old, men of renown."*** Moffatt and KJV *translations (Gen.6:4)*

"At that time the Nephilim appeared on earth, (as well as later), after the sons of heaven had intercourse with the daughters of man, who bore them sons. They were heroes of old, the men of renown". *The New American Bible, Published by World Catholic Press.*

"The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, __the sons of God came in into the daughters of men, and they bore children to them." ASV) **"The Sumerian tablets show, the Nephilim gods Enki (the**

Serpent) and Enlil (Jehovah) were archenemies and the gods of play in the Garden of Eden". **

Zecharia Sitchin, on the Nephilim

"I was a schoolboy, privileged to study the Bible in its original language, Hebrew. We reached the story of the Great Flood in the book of Genesis, where it is stated that it was at that time the NEFILIM were upon the earth, who went on to marry the daughters of Man. The teacher explained that the story speaks of giants who were on the earth. I raised my hand and

Pointed out that the word literally meant those who have descended, who have come down (in the context) from heavens to earth. For that, instead of being complimented, I was reprimanded. "You don't question the Bible!" The teacher roared. I can still feel the hurting. It caused me to become persistent in looking for the answer to the enigma of the Nefilim. To whom was the Bible referring? And why does the next verse in Genesis refer to them as (plural) - an aberration in a Bible devoted to monotheism?"

The symbol of the intertwined serpent

was used by Enki the serpent in the garden and is still used by the medical profession today and remains unchanged since the days when the Nephilim colonized the earth thousands of years ago.

The Serpent in the wilderness; a symbol of healing, *(Num.21:8)*

The Israelites were told to look upon the Serpent for healing. Jesus used this example to express His healing power to the soul by believing in Him. *(John 3:14)*

Jesus also used the Serpent as a symbol of wisdom. *(Matt.10:16)*

About human nature

All will admit the Bible makes it clear that humans were created in the image and likeness of their creators. *(Genesis 1.26) The creator gods, including Jehovah, were all* ***warlike, Jealous, vindictive, hatful*** and ***untruthful****. (Exodus 20:5 & Deut. 34:14)* The Bible also makes it clear the Hebrew god Jehovah was "***the creator of darkness and evil***," *(Isaiah 45:7)* He ***hated,*** *(Deut. 9:28 & Mal. 1:3)* He ***lied*** to Adam, and to his prophets***.*** *(Jer. 4:10)* He commanded the mass murder of thousands of people. ***The Bible also makes it clear, the human race was created*** *in the* ***"image and likeness"*** of their creators**,** *Jehovah created Adam in his own likeness. Adam never* ***'fell'*** *into the state of depravity****; he was created that way. Humans nature was inherited from their creators*****,** and are chips off of the block! ***They too are jealous, vindictive, untruthful, hatful and warlike.***

Sources

Many sources were used, including the Bible in various translations including, KJV, NKJV, NEB, NAS, Moffatt, Young and Rotherham.

New American Bible
The Septuagint.
Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge – Schaff-Herzog
Apocrypha Book of the Maccabees
Book of Enoch
Hebrew Book of Jubilees
**Earth Chronicles - Zacharia Sitchin
The Genesis Story by James Quatro
*J.S. Spong, The Library of Halexandria, and many other sources

A case for Universalism

In this writing we will examine many statements from Scripture as they relate to the destiny of mankind. We will see there are many Scriptures that teach the love, grace and goodness of God the Father is extended to the whole human race unconditionally and without exception. Most Christians largely misunderstand the teaching of Universalists. We make no claim that all mankind in the present world system will finally be converted and redeemed while in their physical bodies. Many are led to believe only those who accept Christ, "*as their personal Savior",* will finally be saved in the next world. This is something Jesus never taught or mentioned!

Christian Universalists believe the Bible teaches all souls will finally be reconciled to God the Father. That God the Father in His Love and by His Grace and Power will raise the dead into an incorruptible spiritual body suitable for the new sphere of existence in the Spirit world that is generally called heaven. The Apostle Paul has the following to say to the Corinthians concerning the resurrection, "***As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*".** *(1st Cor. 15:22)* It is obvious the ***all*** who die in Adam are the ***same all*** that shall be made alive in Christ! No pre-requirement is mentioned for the all that are made alive in Christ

Jesus is introduced as Savior of The World.

John the Baptist introduced Jesus by saying, "***Behold! The Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world"!*** *(John 1:29)* Then Paul said, ***"God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh."*** *(Rom. 8:3ASV)* We also read, ***"He (Christ) appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself."*** (Heb.9:26) These verses make the redemption of Christ universal. This is strongly confirmed in 1st John, ***"He paid for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the whole world".*** *(1st John 2:2)* (William Beck trans. 1966) Jesus said, *"The bread of God is He who comes down from heaven and gives life to the world,"* Jesus placed no limit upon the world he gives life to. When Jesus on the cross He prayed to the Father saying, ***"I***

have finished the work you have given me to do". *(John 17:4)* This is strong evidence that Jesus accomplished His mission and therefore He is *"the Savior of the world,"* just as the Scripture so clearly states.

Jesus introduces the Heavenly Father

"All things have been delivered to Me by My Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father. Nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him." *(Matthew 11:27 & Luke 10:22)* The scripture here makes it very clear; the Heavenly Father was not known until Jesus revealed Him. This establishes the fact; the Heavenly Father was unknown in the Old Testament, nor was He known by did mankind until Jesus revealed Him. Therefore all we know about God the Father is revealed in the New Testament.

Jesus had the following to say in His introductory sermon; ***"The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, Because He has anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor. He has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, To preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty those who are oppressed."*** *(Luke 4:18)* According to Luke Jesus used Isaiah 61:1&2 for His text in this sermon. He said nothing about going to heaven or how to get there; nor did He say anything about His God being judgmental or wrathful. Please take note; Jesus completely ignored the last few words of Isaiah's verse 2, which reads, ***"To proclaim the day of vengeance of our God***." He ignored this because it did not describe the nature of the **Heavenly Father** who is very much **unlike** Israel's god of vengeance. *(Exodus 20:5, 34:14)* The Jewish leadership was outraged in anger at this sermon, and the people ***"were astonished at His doctrine."*** *(Lk. 4:32)* Jesus had a message of love, hope and healing for the brokenhearted and deliverance to those who were captives of religion, especially of Jehovah's law and the religion of the Jews. He made it clear His message was from the Heavenly Father and not from Jehovah.

In the "Sermon on the Mount" recorded in Matthew, Jesus nullified Jehovah's laws including Eye ***for eye and tooth for tooth, of taking oaths, and seeking revenge. He also criticized the***

Hebrew law of loving your neighbor and hating your enemy. Jesus replaced this law with, "***But I say unto you love your enemies - - - that you may be sons of your Father in heaven; for He makes His sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust".*** *(Matt.5:33-45)* again ***"The people were astonished at His doctrine".*** *(Matt. 7:28*) The people were astonished because Jesus taught things which were opposite to their Jewish religion. His message was about the God who loves His enemies and equally supplies human needs to both the evil and the good and is no respecter of persons; The God Jesus was introducing to them was very much **unlike** the god of their religion. Even "***the apostles were astonished at His words".*** (*Mark 10:26)* According to their religion, their god Jehovah loved **only** Israel. *(Amos 3:2, Deut. 7:6&7)* was jealous, *(Exodus 20:5 & 34:14)* sought revenge, *(Exodus 20:5)* and demanded to be **feared.** *(Deut. 6:13-15)*

The Heavenly Father loved all people and was to be worshipped out of love ***"in Spirit and in truth***", and **not out of fear**. Jesus claimed God the Father to be ***"The only true God,"*** *(John. 17:3)* The Apostle Paul agreed with Jesus in saying, ***"There are gods many, --but to us there is but one God the Father".*** *(1st Cor. 8:5&6)* Jesus pointed out many differences between Israel's god and His God The Father, one of which was Jehovah loved only Israel, but the Heavenly Father loved the world. So it is easy to understand why so many of the Jews were astonished at what Jesus preached.

Jesus taught the salvation of all

"***God sent His Son, "that the world through him might be saved".***
"***For the bread of God is He who comes down from heaven and gives life to the world."*** Jesus said, "***If I am lifted up from the earth, I will draw all people to myself."*** and ***"I did not come to judge the world, but to save the world.***" *(John 3:17, John 6:51, John 12:32, John 12:47)* These statements coming from the mouth Jesus can only be understood to mean**, Jesus is the Savior of the world.**

The Apostles taught Universalism

"***God has consigned all men to disobedience, that He may have mercy upon all."*** *(Romans 11:32 Moffatt translation)*

*"**God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses to them".*** *(2 Cor. 5:19)*

"That in the dispensation of the fullness of times, He might gather together in one <u>all</u> things in Christ." *(Eph. 1:10)*

"As through one man's offence judgment came to all men, resulting in condemnation, even so through one Man's righteous act the free gift came to <u>all</u> men." (*Romans 5:18)*

"He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." *(1st John 2:2)*

"And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent His Son to be the Savior of the world." (*1 John 4:14)*

"Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for <u>all,</u> to be testified in due time". *(1st Timothy 2:6)*

"The grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to <u>all men</u>".
*(*Titus 2:11 *American Standard Version)*

"The creation itself also will be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." (*Rom. 8:21)*

The above Scriptures give overwhelming evidence that Jesus is indeed the *Savior of the world, by bringing salvation to all men!*

The final salvation of all is not a new teaching

Universalism was a well-established doctrine in the early Church. The Salvation of all was taught by Jesus, the apostles John and Paul, then later by the evangelist Marcion, 120 - 140 AD, Theopholus Bishop of Antioch 160 AD, Clement of Alexandria 180 AD, Origen 220 - 250 AD, and Gregory Bishop of Nyssa 380 AD, and many others during that period of time.

Theophilus *(140 A.D.)* had the following to say, ***"Just as a vessel, which, after it has been made, has some flaw, is remade or remodeled, that it may become new and right, so it comes to man at death. For in some way or other he is broken up, that he may come forth in the resurrection whole, I mean spotless, and righteous, and immortal".*** "Gregory of Nyssa offered three reasons why he believed in Universalism. The first school in Christendom was in Alexandria, and taught Universalism from AD 170 to 430. Later there were six Christian schools, four of these six strictly

taught Universalism and only one of the six taught endless punishment". *('Plain Guide to Universalism' (1840) Chapter 1.)*

"Universalism was the orthodoxy of the church of that period". *(Whittemore's History, p.200, dealing of church history to the year400)*

"*Augustine, the fourth century bishop of Hippo, was the most influential Christian teacher of his time. - - - He is almost universally recognized as the father of Western Christianity".* *(Heretics by David Bercot)* He was the enemy of universalism and brought the pagan hell into Christianity. He taught all without baptism would suffer in the burning hell for an eternity, he said, war can be holy and there is no forgiveness outside of the Catholic Church. He said practices and teachings of the Apostles no longer apply to Christians and it is proper for Christians to persecute heretics. Augustine's great apostasy within the Catholic Church continues and has found its way into Evangelical Christianity.

Universalism under siege!

The Augustinian views were well accepted by the Church as its leadership saw this to be a tool that could be used to control people. One of the Church Fathers said, ***"The literal terrors of hell are false, but they ought to be publicized in order to scare the simple believers".*** The teaching of everlasting punishment in a burning hell was canonized as an official Church doctrine at the fifth Ecumenical council held by the Catholic Church May 4, 553 A.D. It took the Church five hundred years to incorporate the Greek mythological ***Tartarus*** *(Hell)* into Church theology, and make it a part of Christian orthodoxy. It only stands to reason that their **hell** could not successfully coexist with **Universalism,** so they **also** declared Universalism to be heretical. The Eastern Church held a stronger view in favor of Universalism than did the church at Rome.

During the second and third centuries the Roman Church made drastic changes in 'orthodox' theology. The Roman Empire under Constantine decreed the Catholic brand of Christianity to be the law of the land. This gave the Catholic Church complete support in all religious matters, and they had absolute power in forcing their religion upon the populace. The Roman Church continued to make changes in their theology. The reformation came as a severe blow

to their power and control on Christianity. Protestant Christianity as a whole continued to follow most of the doctrines of their mother church including, the virgin birth myth, Trinitarianism, condemning Universalism, and the Pagan **myth** of hell.

The teaching that hell is a place of unending torture and punishment is foreign to the Scriptures. In the New Testament, the word **hell** is translated from three different Greek words**.** They are, ***Tartarus,*** which is used only once, *(2nd Peter 2:4)* it has reference to the angels that sinned, and has no reference whatsoever to mankind. All other occurrences of the word hell in the New Testament are translated from either the Greek words ***Hades*** meaning the **grave**, or ***Gahanna*** the place of Jerusalem's city dump. None of these have reference to religion's hell where the unbelieving are said to suffer its flames for an eternity**.** ***Any thinking person should be able to understand the resurrected body is a spirit body and would not be subject to the elements, so if there were a hell burning with fire and brimstone; it would have no effect on the resurrected body.*** This fact is overlooked and hell is still being preached, deceiving the unlearned, causing them to fear God rather than to love Him.

The reappearance of Universalism

Universalism had been suppressed from the sixth century until the Reformation; this resulted in the Catholic Church losing control over what people were allowed to believe. With this measure of religious freedom the doctrine of Universalism once again begin to surface both in Germany and in England, mostly among the Anabaptists who defended this belief with great zeal. In the United States, 'The Massachusetts Association of Universalists' *(1700's)* was Calvinistic and believed in the final redemption of all, because all were the elect.' ***(****Schaff-Herzog Ency. of Religious Knowledge vol. XII.*

William Barclay, from 1907-1978 was among the more recent Universalist theologians. This popular Scottish Theologian once said, ***"I am a convinced Universalist, I believe that in the end all men will be gathered into the love of God."*** Also, The Concordant Fellowship, a group of Calvinistic Universalists, has a following both in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Many preachers today are secretly Universalists but are afraid to go public with their convictions. Evangelical Christianity is still driven by the influence of Augustine and not Apostolic Church.

The Question of Divine Judgment

Most evangelical and fundamentalists still reject Universalism with the argument that sin must be punished and they believe God is unjust if He does not eternally punish those who commit gross sins in this life. This attitude toward God is strictly human reasoning. Jesus dealing with the religious fundamentalists in His time told them, "***You judge according to the flesh; I judge no one".*** *(John 8:15)* And, ***"Do not judge according to appearance, but judge with righteous judgment."*** *(John 7:24)* Religion has always been hasty to judge their fellow man and assuming their God does the same. However Scripture does not support this view of God. Jesus said, "***The Father judges no one", but has committed all judgment to the Son".*** *(John 5:22)* He also said, "***If anyone hears My words and does not believe, I do not judge him; for I did not come to judge the world but to save the world."*** *(John 12:47)*

Sin Dies with the Sinner

Are we to say sin goes un-judged and un-punished? By no means, ***sowing and reaping is still alive and well.*** *(See Gal. 6:7)*

"—and sin, when it is finished brings forth death." (James 1:15) and ***"The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life."*** *(Rom. 6:23)* Justification is ***"freely by His Grace."*** *(Rom. 3:24)*

Please note: ***"For he who has died has been freed*** *(cleared)* ***from sin". (****Rom 6:7)* Sins committed while in the flesh dies with the physical body and neither will ever be resurrected. The Spiritual body that Christ redeemed is what is raised. ***"And as we have born the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly Man."*** *(1st Cor. 15:49)*

The common Pagan teaching that has crept into Christianity that some of mankind will be eternally lost and will burn in a hell has no Scriptural support, and was not taught in the Church until many after Christ and the Apostolic Church.

Those who believe the physical body will be raised and be judged for the sins it committed in the material world are not being consistent with the teaching of Scripture. This false teaching only serves to control people out of fear.

"The wages of sin is death". *(Rom. 6:23)* In death the physical body pays for its sins. If it were true that the resurrected body will again be charged with the same sinful deeds done in the flesh, this injustice is called ***double jeopardy.*** **Our** ***God, the Heavenly Father would never commit such an injustice.***

The resurrection applies to the spiritual body that is ***fashioned like unto His glorious body.*** Our future life in the Spiritual world of the resurrected is a gift and is not affected by what we believe, say or do in this life. ***"God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, <u>not imputing</u> their trespasses to them".*** *(2 Corinthians 5:19)*

The achievement of Christ

"***For it was in Him that the divine Fullness willed to settle without limit, and by Him and to reconcile in his own person all on earth and all in heaven alike."*** *(Col. 1:19&20 Moffitt)* Jesus said, ***"I came not to judge the world, but to save the world."*** *(John 12:47)* Seeing the Scripture clearly states, *"**The Father sent his Son to be Savior of the world,"*** *(1st Jn. 4:14)* we might ask, is anyone bold enough to say Jesus was unable to complete this task and therefore failed His mission? According to the Scripture, Jesus at the cross defeated the angelic gods (*called the principalities and powers*) who were the archenemies of the souls of mankind. Jesus, ***"Having disarmed principalities and powers***, ***He made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them in it."*** *(Col.2:15)* These principalities and powers are said to be, "***The rulers of the darkness of this world."*** *(Eph. 6:12)* Judaism is a religion founded by Jehovah who was one of these ruling angels. The Bible is very clear on this, saying "***An angel appeared to Moses in the burning bush on Mount Sinai."*** This angel called out to Moses saying, "***I am the God of your father, -- the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob."*** *(Exodus 3:2-6, also Acts 7:30-35, 38 &53)* Stephen used this Old Testament passage in his defense against the Jews

who martyred him. The Jews never questioned Stephen when he said their god was an angel!

The Hebrew tribe as well as other tribes all lived by laws issued by angelic demigods. These laws depicted gods demanding to be feared and were a curse to mankind rather than a blessing. Christ redeemed mankind from the curse of these angelic laws. *(Gal. 3:13)* The Scripture therefore tells us, ***"Let no one defraud you of your reward***, ***taking delight in false humility and the worship of angels."*** *(Col.2:18)* Paul makes it clear "***God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."*** Many who claim the 'inerrancy' of the Scripture teach the opposite, that trespasses ***will be*** imputed and judged in a final judgment.

Most Christian groups teach one must accept Christ in order to be finally saved in heaven. The Bible tells it very differently, He accepts us and not we Him. (*See Eph. 1:6)* The Scripture also makes it clear we were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, so it is much too late for us to make that choice now. Another question under the '*you must believe system,*' just what is to believed, and how much in order to be 'saved'? Of course this varies depending upon the doctrine of those who make this demand.

The Scriptures tell us unbelief does not change God's purpose. ***"For what if some did not believe? Will their unbelief make the faithfulness of God without effect? Certainly not!"*** (Rom. 3:3&4) The Scripture does not stop there***, "If we believe not, yet He abides faithful, He cannot deny Himself"***. *(2nd Tim. 2:13)* The redemption of mankind is because of the love and faithfulness of God our Father, and does not depend upon our faith, actions or choice. What's more, there were some who were even "***enemies of the gospel",*** but according to Scripture they are beloved. *(Rom. 11:28)* God's purpose in the final salvation of all will not be foiled.

Universalism honors God the Father
And gives the believer peace and spiritual comfort.

Those who have come to terms with the Bible teaching of the ***final salvation of all*** have been rescued from the lies of organized religion. They have been saved from the shackles of fear and

anxiety of religion's treadmills of servitude and have been delivered from the doubts and fears that religion had imposed upon them.

When Christ's achievement of redemption and reconciliation is understood, this knowledge will bring into ones life joy, peace and the spiritual freedom Jesus promised when He said, "***And you shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free".*** And ***"If the Son makes you free, you shall be free indeed".*** *(John 8:32 & 38)* He also said, ***"I am come that they might have life, and they might have it more abundantly"*** *(John 10:10)*

The Universalist places his faith, hope and complete trust in God the Heavenly Father not only for the life that now is, but also of that which is to come. This hope is said to be "***an anchor for the soul, both sure and steadfast."*** *(Heb. 6:19)*

The rewards for believing

The Bible teaches there is a special blessing for the believer. ***"Godliness is profitable for all things, having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come."*** *(1st Tim. 4:8)* This verse gives assurance of our salvation now, and the promise of life in the next world. The believer is blessed in having been ***"begotten again into a living hope."*** *(1st Peter 1:3)* The rewards for believing are well described in the following writing; "*Those who have truly known the Joys of experiential religion, in the sweet peace of believing in Jesus and trusting in God, will scarcely require any instruction as to what constitutes the proper rewards of faith. They have the testimony in their souls, and fully understand, "The kingdom of God is within you and is Righteousness, Peace and Spiritual joy".* (From Theology of Universalism, by Thomas B. Thayer 1863.)

Conclusion

. We have now considered and evaluated numerous passages in the New Testament, all of which not only imply, but also clearly declare the achievement of Christ to include the final salvation of all mankind.

I ask in all honesty and fairness, can we trust our Lord and His apostles to mean what they say? When they say ***"all men",*** the*y* are

to be understood to mean ***all men***, and not just some men. When they speak of ***"all things"*** they mean ***all things*** of the context and not some things, when they speak of life and salvation as **given** to the world, it is ***given*** and **not** ***offered***. When the Scripture says, "***He chose us before the foundation of the world***." This does not mean that it is up to us to make this choice..

Jesus said to His disciples, **"*You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you".*** We should understand Jesus to be truthful when He said***, "I came to save the world".*** When the Scripture says, ***"For it pleased the Father that in Him should all fullness dwell. And having made peace through the blood of the cross, by Him to reconcile ALL THINGS unto Himself; by Him, I say, whether they be things on earth, or things in heaven".*** *(Col. 1:19&20)* And again Paul says, **"*In the dispensation of the fullness of times He might gather together in one ALL THINGS in Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth".*** *(Eph. 1:10)* When Paul said **all things** I take him to mean **all things** and **not just some things**!

The Father sent Jesus to ***'save the world,'*** and Jesus said to the Father, '***I have finished the work you have given Me to do'.*** *(John 17:4 and 3:17)* He said of those the Father gave Him He would lose nothing. The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from these Scriptural statements is to believe **Jesus was not a failure, but He actually redeemed all of mankind!**

The subject of **Universalism** is seldom if ever addressed amongst the Fundamentalists and Evangelicals. **Universalism** is generally looked upon as God being unfair and unjust by not punishing those who commit great sins in this life. This objection only expresses the lack of comprehending the full extent of the infinite love of God who Jesus said loved even His enemies.

It was the Hebrew god of the Old Testament that judged and punished people; **not** the Heavenly Father the God of Jesus who is the God of love, grace and peace. *(1st John 4:8, 2nd Cor. 13:11)*

Many in the Christian world of Evangelicals place the choice upon the person as to where they will spend eternity, as if God's choice is non-existent. They fail to realize God made this choice long before we were born. ***"He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world";*** this choice was, ***"according to the good***

pleasure of His will." *(Eph.1:4 &5)* The Scripture again makes this very clear, ***"So then it is not of him, who wills, nor of him that runs, but of God who shows mercy."*** *(Rom. 9:16)* and ***"Through one Man's righteous act the free gift came upon all men, resulting in justification of life."*** *(Rom.5:18) and* ***"Christ Jesus gave Himself <u>a ransom for all</u>, to be testified in due time."*** *(1st Tim. 2:6)*

'In due time' ***"Every knee shall bow, of those in heaven, and on the earth and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."*** *(Phil.2:10&11)* .

"When the New Testament teaching of the final reconciliation of all is understood, we will then have discovered one of the greatest keys for our distinguishing truth from error. This is because no other doctrine is centered more on the love, grace and mercy of God the Father than this. It displays the very basis of God's supreme love, wisdom and power in action!" (Thomas B, Thayer1863)

When the true nature of God our Father is understood, He is worshipped out of love, in Spirit and in Truth, and not out of fear. ***"God is love."*** and ***"There is no fear in love; but perfect love casts out fear, because fear involves torment."*** *(1st John 4:18)*

By His grace and the gift of faith, we have great comfort, joy and peace in believing God's plan for the salvation of all mankind.

The Universalist marvels and rejoices in knowing that, ***"every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord",*** and ***"The creation itself will be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God"***. *(Rom.8:21)* ***"And every creature which is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, I heard saying, Blessing and honor and glory and power Be to Him who sits on the throne"*** *(Rev. 5:13)* This Scripture pictures every creature that ever lived to be praising God for their final redemption.

The Final Salvation of all, theologically called **Universalism, is a Scriptural sound doctrine and a prevalent teaching of the early Church.**

Now may *"**The God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope by the power by the Holy Spirit."*** *(Romans 15:13)*

crb 7/29/2009

Will God save all, or only some?

By Joseph E. Kirk

"Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation. For to this end we labor and strive, because we have our hope set on the living God, Who is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe. These things command and teach." *(1 Timothy 4:9-11, RV)*

"Think of it-the Living God ***is the Saviour of all men!*** Not the "preserver" of all, as some would have us to believe. The Greek word used here is ***soter.*** It occurs twenty four times in the New Testament and is correctly translated "Saviour" every time. (Here he lists the twenty-four references)

Nor does the text say God is the "provider" of salvation for all. This would not make Him the Saviour of all. He is only the Saviour of those He saves. In order to be the Saviour of all, He will save all. THE LIVING GOD IS THE SAVIOUR OF ALL MEN. Such a fact should fill the hardest heart with joy and cause continual thanksgiving to God for His power, wisdom, love, grace and righteousness.

Knowing how difficult it would be for man to believe this plain statement, God offers man encouragement by assuring him that it is a ***faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation.*** It is faithful to God, faithful to His Son, and faithful to His Word, and faithful to the desire of all who have had the love of God poured into their hearts by the Holy Spirit. It is hard to understand why so many should condemn it as unfaithful and worthy of all rejection, when God has so plainly declared it to be a faithful saying worthy of all acceptation.

The Scriptures make it very plain that not all are saved at the same time. "Who gave Himself a ransom for all: ***the testimony in its own times"*** (1 Tim.2:6, R.V.) "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, but each man in his own order." (1 Cor. 15:22-24)

"At the present time God is saving only those He has chosen and called unto the special salvation of the ages. (1 Cor. 1:26-30; 1 Tim. 6:12) He will use these various ways in bringing about the salvation

of the rest. (Eph. 3:8-12; 2:6-10*)* Note, please, the text says, "God is the Saviour of all men ESPECIALLY (not EXCLUSIVELY) of them that believe". Because the Apostle Paul wrote, "Therefore I endure all things for the ELECT'S sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory *(literally, 'eonian' or 'age lasting'* glory, 2 Tim. 2:10)."
Election and predestination become most precious portions of God's truth once it is seen that the reason some are elected to a special salvation is that through them the rest may be reached. There is a special salvation for some and a general salvation for the rest later on. The non elect will be saved at the end of the ages solely as the result of the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ in their behalf."

"Final reconciliation of All Men" *By Hosea Ballou 1852*

"St. Paul, in the viiith of Romans, shows the extent of redemption in so strong terms as to admit of no possible evasion. (See verses 22&23) "For we know that the *whole creation* groaneth, and travialeth in pain together until now. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body."

If the reader will be at the trouble of examining this passage, with its connexion, that, for which we contend, will appear plainly proved by it.

There is no end to proofs of universal reconciliation to God; for everything of a moral nature testifies it, and all material nature is a figure of it. The ministry of reconciliation, which, St. Paul says, was committed to him and others, is, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing unto them their trespasses. The truth of Christ dying for *all* is the foundation of the apostle's argument on this subject; which truth the apostle says he was constrained to believe, by the love of Christ; for thus saith he, "The love of Christ constraineth us: because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for *all,* that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again," 2 Cor.v.14 &c."

The Holy Trinity

A search for Scriptural Proof

Early in my adult Christian experience I asked the assistant pastor of the church of which I was a member, *where in the Bible can I find the word Trinity?* He answered by saying; *"The word Trinity is not in the Bible, you just have to take it by faith."* As I grew more mature in the faith I saw his reply was really avoiding an answer. In my later life and after much searching I learned the word "God" is mentioned more than a thousand times in the New Testament and God is always spoken of as but **One only**. Sometime during the fourth century the word *godhead* came into use to give support to the Trinitarians. It was edited into the Bible three times to give support to their dogma. Please note the following; In Acts 17:29 the Greek ***theios*** meaning God singular was translated *godhead,* this is changed to *Divine Nature* in the New King James Version and in many other translations. Later translations also make correction in Romans 1:20, ***"His eternal power and Godhead"*** has been corrected to "***His eternal power and deity".*** **(***RSV & others*) Paul speaking of Christ said, ***"In Him dwells all the fullness of the godhead bodily****." (Col. 2:9) Godhead* here is translated from ***theotes*** meaning **divinity.** The fullness of the Father's Divinity was bestowed upon Jesus when He became His Son at His baptism. *(Luke 3:22 Moffitt, Heb. 1:5 & 5:5 Acts 13:33, KJV)* Jesus cannot be both the giver and receiver of God's Divinity. Therefore, Jesus and God the Father are not one and the same. After all, Jesus said, ***"The Father is greater than I."*** If Jesus is God, can God be greater than God? Also if Jesus is God, how can it be that *God* the Father know something Jesus did not know? *(Mark 13:32)*

Jesus praying to the Father concerning believers said, ***"That they might be one, as You, Father, are in Me, and I in You; that they may be one in Us."*** *(John 17:21)* Jesus used the plural ***Us*** concerning He and the Father, showing He and the Father **are not** one and the same! In this prayer Jesus also said His disciples are all one in He and the Father, does that make the disciples ***persons*** **in a godhead? Ridiculous!** Also take note**; Jesus had a God,** *(John 20:17, Eph. 1:17)* and **He prayed to His God,** *(John 17:1) Jesus often prayed to God the Father.* Just remember **God doesn't pray!**

The first chapter of Hebrews also gives a very strong opposition to Trinitarianism; please notice, ***"God, has in these last days spoken to us through His Son, whom He has appointed heir of all things, through whom He made the worlds; who being the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, - - - when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of The Majesty on high; -- for unto which of the angels did He say: You are my Son, Today have I begotten You?"*** *And again,* ***'I will be to Him a Father, And He shall be to Me a Son****".* This passage makes it definite that Jesus **is not** God, by making the Father and Son distinct from each other, and the Son to be a servant of God the Father. This fact is constantly confirmed in the Gospels.

Jesus and His apostles always spoke of God as being **One only.** (*Mark 12:32, Gal.3:20, James 2:19, 1st Tim. 2:5)* In promising the coming Comforter, Jesus identified **Himself** to be the Comforter that would come to His disciples after He left them, saying ***"I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you".*** *(John 14:16 & 18)* The promised Comforter is none other than the Spirit of Christ.

When the Pharisees accused Jesus of claiming to be God, He denied their accusation by saying, ***"I am the Son of God****".* (*John 10:33&36)* Jesus is called the Son of God 39 times in the New Testament without a single passage empathically declaring Him to be God. Even the devils knew Jesus was not God but the Son of God. *(Matt.8:29 & Luke 8:30*)

When Jesus asked His disciples, ***"who do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God****.' (Matt. 16:15-17)* Jesus then told Peter he was blessed by this revelation from the Heavenly Father. The revelation and testimony **that Jesus is the Son of God** is **the rock** upon which Jesus said He would build His Church**.** This is still the premise upon which His church is built and the foundation upon which it stands.

Paul was not a Trinitarian

Paul always made a distinction between God and Jesus, he said ***"To us there is but one God the Father of Whom are all things: and we in Him and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things. There is not in every man that knowledge."*** *(1stCor.8:5- 6)*

He often said, ***"Grace and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ."*** Had Paul been a Trinitarian why is he always silent concerning the Holy Spirit when he mentions the

Father and the Son together? Paul gave no indication that God consisted of ***three persons***. His God was the Father only.

Paul confirmed what Jesus said concerning the Comforter by saying, ***"Christ in you, the hope of glory".*** *(Col. 1:27 & 2nd Cor. 5:17)* To Paul "*The Spirit of Christ"*, "*The Spirit of God"* and the Holy Spirit are one and the same Spirit. *(Rom. 8:9&10)* This Spirit of Christ comes from the Father and is never spoken of in the Scriptures as a ***'person,'*** much less, a third person in a holy trinity.

Paul's language always made God the Father to be the one supreme God and Jesus Christ to be His Son. Paul made it clear that he knew nothing about a trinity. It is also important to take note; He opens 2nd Corinthians with, ***"Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ."*** Again the Holy Spirit is absent from his salutation. In the Ephesian letter he says, ***"The God of our Lord Jesus Christ the Father of glory"***. Paul agrees with what Jesus said to Mary, ***"My God and your God'***. If Jesus had a God, how could He be that very God? The Trinitarian teaching of God being three persons or personalities in one God is foreign to the Scriptures.

"While we believe in, and rejoicingly acknowledge, the pre-eminence of Christ in all things, we reject the doctrine of His Deity, or His equality with God. There is nothing in the Scriptures to justify the assertion that 'in the Godhead, there are three persons of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ---the Father being of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son, eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son". He continues. "The whole sweep of the Old and New Testaments is in opposition to this dogma. Throughout the Scriptures, Jesus is represented as the Son of God and this is the title which He claims for Himself, and never anything higher than this." Theology of Universalism by Thomas Thayer 1863

Early writers were not Trinitarians

The Trinitarian dogma was never mentioned by Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp or Hermas who were the only writers at the beginning of the post-apostolic age (90 to 140 A.D.) whose studies remain intact today; these men said nothing about a Trinity nor of Jesus being God.

Justin martyr (about 150 A.D.) knew nothing about the trinity doctrine said, "*While Jesus was god, he was entirely distinct from God the Father, in every respect".* He was emphatic in maintaining Jesus was god, but not God the Father. How could Jesus be God and not be God at the same time? Such a thought is incomprehensible.

The origin and development of the Trinity doctrine

Trinitarianism can be traced back beyond 4000 years to the Sumerian culture; their trinity consisted of three gods, *Anu, Enlil* and *Enki.* The Hindu trinity consists of Siva*, Brahma and Vishnu*. The Egyptian trinity consisted of *Re, Amon* and *Ptah*. All of these had a trinity of identities in one god. Many of the ancient mythological religions had a trinity of a three in one god. Trinitarianism was promoted by some of the Church 'fathers' who were converts from other religions and they brought this mythological dogma with them.

Tertullian about 217 A.D. a convert from Greek mythology to Christianity, was first to introduce in his writings the Latin word *trinitas,* meaning three or trinity. This was the beginning of the idea of the Christian God being in three persons. By the fourth century this idea grew into a major controversy within the Church.

Arius, (256-336) a presbyter of Alexandria, did not accept the trinity dogma. He had a large following and this caused a controversy and a division within the Roman Church. In an effort to settle this Arian controversy, Constantine called for and presided over the Nicene council in 325 A.D. He being ignorant of Christian theology, his only interest in absolving this controversy was to restore peace in his empire. At this council the problematic doctrine of the Trinity was not resolved. The dogma of the Trinity continued to be very controversial. Arius sent a letter to Constantine that caused him to call for a council in Tyre 335 A.D. At this council the Nicene Creed was reversed in favor of the teaching of Arius. The Trinitarians refused to accept this ruling, and would not rest until Trinitarianism became the official doctrine of the Church. The Emperor Theodosius was persuaded to call for a council to be held at Cathage *(Constantinople)* in 381. The Trinitarians prevailed here only because of hand picked delegates. This did not resolve the controversy and the division widened within the Church. The Roman Emperor Marcian *(450-457)* being much more concerned

about unifying his Empire than he was about the cause of the controversy, called for a council held at Chalcedon in 451. Both he and Pope Leo I *(Leo The Great*) presided over this council that resulted in adopting what later became the framework for the Athanasian Creed. This settlement was based upon politics and no effort was made to use Scripture for its support. *This Chalcedon council also decreed that opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity would no longer be tolerated within the Catholic Church or in the Roman Empire. This decree was enforced by the Roman Government, resulting in those who opposed the Trinity dogma were arrested, imprisoned, tortured and many were murdered.*

"By their fruits ye shall know them." *(Matt. 7:20)*

The Roman Catholic Church accepted the Old Testament and it's god Jehovah, to be their God. Jehovah claimed to be ***"Jealous"*** *(Ex. 34:14)* and the *"**creator of evil.**"* *(Is.45:7 KJV)* By accepting this god the Church leadership assumed Jehovah's personality and practices by destroying those who were not of their brand of religion. This is evident as history reveals how this Church so vigorously defended their Trinitarian dogma they murdered hundreds of devout Christians because they refused to accept this dogma. Their murdering of Christians who opposed this doctrine continued for nearly a thousand years.

The **venom** of Trinitarianism even survived the Reformation. In 1553 John Calvin was guilty of having Servetus murdered at Geneva because he refused to accept the doctrine of the Trinity. The Trinitarians continued to reflect the spirit of their god Jehovah, ***"the creator of evil,"*** the murderer of the Egyptian first born, and killing Israelites by poison snakes and many other murders of those whom he did not like and called his enemies.

Both the Catholics and Martin Luther clamed those who refused to accept their doctrine of the Trinity would be eternally lost.

"***Historically, this doctrine has proved to be a bloody doctrine that has no relation to the true God of love nor to His Son Jesus Christ".***

From it's very beginning Trinitarianism has borne the bad fruit of deception, persecution and murder. Still in our present time Trinitarianism continues to bear the **bad fruit** of **dissention, rejection** and **anathema among Christians.**

5

This doctrine not only has no Biblical support or theological consistency, it makes no common sense. The doctrine of the Trinity is something the human mind and common reason are not programmed for**.** "*Three to be one, and one to be three. A Father not to be older than His Son; and the Son to be the same age and equal to his father; and One proceeding from both to be equal to both; to believe three persons in one nature, and two natures in one person."* *Thomas Paine*

How the Trinitarians tampered with the Bible

Isaiah 9:6 This passage in the Hebrew text used in the Septuagint 200 B.C. said nothing about the son being born to be ***Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, everlasting Father or Prince of peace.*** Most Bibles today use the much later Asher Hebrew text of the twelfth century that had been Christianized to make Jesus God and support Trinitarianism.

Matthew 28:19 has Jesus commanding His disciples to "***baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."*** If Jesus made such a command, **why did the apostles ignore it?** Not once did they ever use this triune formula in baptisms. All baptisms recorded in the Book of Acts were in the name of Jesus Christ or Jesus only. This verse was a later insert to support Trinitarianism. (*More on this later*)

1st John 5:7. ***"There are three that bear witness in heaven: the Father the Word, and the Holy Spirit; these three are one."*** This is another insertion into the Bible to promote the trinity dogma. However many Bibles have a footnote stating this does not appear in the most ancient Greek texts. This verse does not appear in the New American Bible, the NIV or the ASV, and many others, Luther, a Trinitarian, also rejected this verse.

1st Corinthians 12:3-6, " ***- - No one speaking by the Spirit of God calls Jesus accursed, and no one can say Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Spirit."*** This verse is used to teach a Trinity, but in reality it does the opposite by teaching *God is but One*. It says the Spirit of God, not God. The word ***'by'*** is translated ***'in'*** in later translations, so it is ***in*** *the Spirit of God that no one calls Jesus accursed*. This translation is supported in the more ancient Greek texts, and in the 1611 KJV, the NEB and many others where the word, 'Holy' is either not mentioned or spelled ***holy*** rather than Holy. This verse doesn't give the slightest hint that the holy Spirit is a '*person'* in a trinity!

6

2nd Corinthians 13:13, ***"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you".*** This verse is also used to give support to a trinity, but it teaches the opposite. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ **is not Jesus**, but His Grace, it says God's love, **but not God**, the holy Spirit is **not said** to be a person, but was the Spirit in which the Corinthian Church had fellowship.

John 1:1 ***"In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God."*** '**Word'** here is translated from *logos* the Greek philosophical term that has the meaning of *"**reason or wisdom"*.** English translations before the KJV render this ***logos*** as "**it**" rather than ***"him"*** in John 1:3. The Tyndale translation 1526, reads, "***All things were made by it and without it was made noo thinge: In it was lyfe, And lyfe was the light of men.*** This rendering still exists in the German and French translations. Translating ***logos*** to mean God first appeared in the Alexandrian manuscript during the eighth century. It is known that Origen 230 A.D. used a much earlier manuscript that read, "***The Logos existed in the very beginning, the Logos was with God, the Logos was divine"***. This earlier manuscript does not make ***logos*** either God or Jesus, but ***divine reason*** that was with God as an attribute. John's Gospel has this ***divine reason*** "***becoming flesh"*** and bestowed upon the man Jesus of Nazareth. Luke tells us this was when the Father claimed Him to be His Son at His baptism. (*Luke 3:22 Moffatt trans.)* It was here Jesus heard the Father say, ***"You are My Son, this day I have begotten You".*** *(Luke 3:22 Moffitt trans. and as it was in the text used by Justin Martyr and other Greek texts prior to 400 A.D. Also see Heb. 1:5, 5:5 & Acts 13:33)* Jesus being the Spiritually begotten Son of God the Father was the revealer of the Father's ***reason*** in all that He said and did.

The *Greek* term ***'logos'*** was first developed in Christian thought by the Gnostics during the 2nd century. Because of John's Gospel using ***logos,*** some ante-Nicene fathers considered it to be a Gnostic gospel until the 21st chapter was added to make it acceptable. The use of ***logos*** dates John's Gospel to the 2nd century. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica the Gospel of John **did not exist** before 140 A.D. Justin Martyr (150 A.D) did not know of John's Gospel. Theophilus, the bishop of Antioch, was first to mention it sometime between 150 and 180 A.D. Both internal evidence and

7

history puts to rest the claim that this Gospel was written during the 1st century.

Documented evidence exposing the Trinity dogma

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger who is now Pope Benedict XVI, said**, "***The basic form of our Matthew 28:19, the Trinitarian profession of faith took shape during the course of the second and third centuries in connection with the ceremony of baptism. So far as the place of its origin is concerned, the text came from the city of Rome."* He also makes another statement; *"In order to articulate the dogma of the Trinity, the Church had to develop its own terminology with the help of certain notions of philosophical origin: "substance", "person or hypostasis", "relation", and so on."*

"Neither the word trinity nor the explicit doctrine appears in the *New Testament."* The New Ency. Britannica 1985 Vol. II p928

"The Trinity is a deviation from believing in one God, it is a deviation from what the early church taught and it is a deviation from Scripture." New Catholic Encyclopedia 1967

"The formal doctrine of the trinity as it was defined by the great church councils of the 4th and 5th centuries is not to be found in the New Testament". *Harpers Bible Dictionary*

"The Athanasian Creed was unknown to the Eastern Church until the 12th century, scholars have; generally agreed that the Athanasian Creed was not written by Athanasius who died 373 C.E. but was composed in Southern France during the 5th century". Ency Britannica

"*The original Nicene Creed did not establish a Trinity. That Creed at most equates the Son with the Father in being of the same substance. It affirms the belief in the Holy Spirit but does not proclaim the Holy Spirit to be a person nor the third person of God." "The revised Nicene Creed of the 381 council of Constantinople was not widely recognized in the West until the seventh or eighth century."* The Catholic Encyclopedia

"It was not that the scholars examined the Bible thoroughly to see if such a doctrine was taught in it. Instead, secular and church politics largely determined its outcome. The doctrine seemed to be a victim or a product of Church politics and conflicts of personality."
The Christian Tradition Jaroslav Pelikin 1971

"The term 'Trinity' is not a Bible term, and we are not using Biblical language when we define what is expressed by it as a doctrine". International Standard Bible Encyclopedia p3012

"Theologians of the past have been embarrassed by the simple fact that in reality the Scriptures do not explicitly present the doctrine of the Trinity." The Catholic theologian Karl Rohner in The Trinity p22

"It is difficult, in the second half of the 20th century, to offer a clear, objective, and straight forward account of the mystery of the doctrine of the Trinity. Trinitarianism presents a somewhat unsteady silhouette." New Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. XIV p 295

"Fourth century Trinitarianism did not reflect accurately early Christian teaching regarding the nature of God; it was, of the contrary a deviation from this teaching" The Ency. Americana.1956,

"The word Trinity is not found in the Bible, It did not find a place formally in the theology of the church until the fourth century"

9

Illustrated Bible Dictionary, Tyndale House Publishers 1980

"The original text of Matt. 28:19 did not contain the Trinitarian formula, which were interpolated at the beginning of the third century. Jesus could not have given this command." English theologian F.C. Conybeare 1856 - 1924

"*Theologians agree that the New Testament does not contain an explicit doctrine of the Trinity." Bible Dictionary, Tyndale House Publishers*

"Something else that is worthy of serious consideration is the great diversity in the explanations of those, who have passed as Trinitarians. If the doctrine, be true, it is certainly true in some definite sense; and one would suppose, that sense would be easily found in the scriptures, if there be any such thing as revelation concerning this matter. How then has it happened, that so many, and diverse opinions have been given as to the meaning of the words, **three persons in one God?** *Why has one class of Trinitarians believed, that there are three agents, each processed of all divine perfections; another, that one being acts in three different offices; another, that three principal attributes of Deity are personified; another that, the three persons designate three positions of the Divine Being; another that, that there are three somewhats or three somethings in one God; and another, that it is proper to use the triune phraseology without any given sense, it being, in their irreverent, if not impious, to attempt, or even to enquire after any definition or explanation. These are but a part of the many ways, in which different classes of Trinitarians have endeavored to justify their use of the triune language."* Thomas Worchester, A.M. Boston 1817.

"*The New Testament does not contain the developed doctrine of the Trinity." (New Testament Theology, Zondervan Press 1967)*

"None of the apostles claimed Jesus was *"fully God and fully man."* or that he was "*begotten not made, of one substance with the Father",* as the fourth century Nicene Creed maintained. This was not the original form of Christianity, nor was it a doctrine of the Church until the first council at Constantinople in 381 A.D." *Jesus Interrupted by Bart Ehrman.*

Trinitarianism makes Jesus an unexplainable 2nd ***'person'*** in the Hebrew god Jehovah of the Old Testament, who said, "*I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I Jehovah do all these things".*

(Is. 45:7) If Jesus is Jehovah then he is the creator of evil, He hated Esau and murdered the first born in Egypt, He had babies heads dashed against the wall and was Israel's war god who used Sampson for his suicide terrorist. Trinitarianism makes Jesus a party to all of Jehovah's evil acts.

*"There is **one** God and **one** mediator between God and men**, the man** Christ Jesus".* 1 Timothy 2:5

Arius, who was declared a heretic by the Roman Church, had a Scriptural answer

"Arius had a very simple solution for which he could claim considerable support from the New Testament and from earlier Christian thinkers: Christ was a divine being, but he was subordinate in power and essence to God the Father. Originally there was only one God, but in eternity past, God begat a second divine being, his son, Christ. Christ was the one through whom God created the universe, and it was Christ who became human at the incarnation. In this view there was a time in eternity past before which Christ did not exist. He came into being at some point. And even though he was divine, he was not equal to God the Father; since he was the Son; he was subordinate to God the **Father".**

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11

Was Jesus Virgin Born?

The doctrine of the virgin birth of Jesus is so well accepted and cherished by most Christians that it has become a criterion for membership in most Christian organizations. All those who would dare to question it are generally held in contempt. Devout Christians religiously carry their bibles to church and are involved in 'bible study' classes and yet most haven't the slightest idea what their bibles really teach. Even fewer do not know where their bibles came from or how they were assembled and edited. It is assumed that somehow or in some way their bibles just dropped down from heaven. This subject however is never brought up in preaching or bible studies thus leaving most Christians, Bible **illiterate**. The question is never asked, where the Bible came from, or how and when was it edited and canonized? However we will take the Bible at what it says, and in this article compare the birth stories of Jesus of Nazareth as they are related in the Gospels.

The Gospel of Mark, most bible scholars tell us, is the earliest of all the other gospels. There is nothing in this gospel about the birth of Jesus. It opens up by saying, "***The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God***". Then with Jesus being baptized and preaching in Galilee. The Gospel of John, we are told, is the most recent of the four gospels. We find nothing in this gospel about the birth of Jesus or of His childhood. The writers or editors of these gospels either had no knowledge of the virgin birth of Jesus or thought it not noteworthy enough to mention. The opening statement in the Gospel of Mark is much closer to the Gospel in the first canon of the Christian Bible that was introduced by Marcion, 144 AD. Marcion's 'Gospel' opens with Jesus preaching in Galilee.

The other two Gospels, Matthew and Luke, both mention the birth of Jesus. The traditional nativity stories are taken from these two gospels.

Both of these gospels agree on the following events:

Joseph and Mary were the parents of Jesus, they were betrothed but not living in a marriage relationship when she became pregnant. (Matt.1:20 & Luke 1:27, 2:4). Although the details differ greatly, both tell of an angelic announcement about the child Jesus who was to be born (Matt.1:20-23 & Luke 1:30 -35). Both seem to indicate this child was not conceived in the normal human way, but rather by an intervention of God's Spirit (Matt. 1:20, Luke 1:34). Both have an angel saying His name was to be Jesus and that He would be a Savior (Matt. 1:21 & Luke 2:11). Both set the time of His birth during the reign of Herod the Great (Matt. 2:1 & Luke 1:5). Both tell us He spent His youth in Nazareth (Matt. 2:33 & Luke 2:51).

From this point on the details of the nativity stories are much different and are even in **conflict** with each other. Luke's genealogy begins with Adam (Luke 3:38) and ending with verse 23. Please note in verse 23 when it says Jesus was the son of Joseph, the words ("as was supposed,") are inserted in brackets. The editor saw this insertion to be necessary to support the doctrine of the 'virgin birth'. Matthew starts with Abraham (Matt. 1:32) and traces the lineage of Jesus ancestry through the royal line of David while Luke goes from David to Nathan, not Solomon, and ignores the royal line. Matthew also has several women in his genealogy; some were not even Hebrew, such as Rahab the prostitute. Some of the other women mentioned in this genealogy also had a cloud over their morality. Both Luke and Matthew have Jesus' lineage through Joseph, but they disagree as to who Joseph's father was. Luke says it was Heli and Matthew says it was Jacob. Some have tried to explain this contradiction by saying Matthew's genealogy was that of Joseph and Luke's was for Mary, but seeing that Luke has Jacob as the father of Joseph, so if this is also the genealogy of Mary, this would make Joseph and Mary brother and sister. This creates a greater problem than it solves. Neither does it deal with the problem of Joseph having two different fathers. It is also a **contradiction** to give a physical genealogy of Jesus through Joseph, as both gospels do, if the Holy Spirit and not Joseph was His father. The Christian community seems to ignore this contradiction all together pretending it doesn't exist.

Luke uses a Roman census, (of which there is no historic record), to get Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem (Luke 2:1&2), while Matthew assumes they already live there in a known house over which a star can stop, (Matt 2:11). Matthew seems to know nothing about a stable, a manger, an angelic chorus or wondering shepherds; while Luke knows nothing of a star in the east, wise men (Magi) or of any gifts nor of Herod's slaughter of the infants in Bethlehem. These two gospels are also at odds as to what happened right after Jesus' birth. Matthew has Joseph having a dream wherein an angel told him to take the child and flee to Egypt. After they had been in Egypt for some time the angel told Joseph that Herod had died and it was safe to return to Israel, but not go to Judea as Herod's son was reigning instead of his father, so to avoid danger go to Galilee (Matt 2:21-23).

Luke's story is all together different, Joseph and Mary took the child to the synagogue at Bethlehem when He was eight days old and had Him circumcised. When he was forty days old they took Him to the synagogue in Jerusalem for a special dedication (Luke 2:2). When they were finished there they went directly to their home at Nazareth. There is no agreement, nor consistency in these two stories. They both cannot be true. They could not go **south** to Egypt and **north** to Nazareth at the same time. This contradiction is far too great to be ignored.

It appears that the editor of the gospel of Matthew generated his story and tried to support it with passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, which he took out of context. He had to get Jesus into Egypt so he could misapply Hosea 11:1 in Matt. 2:14, which says, "***Out of Egypt I have called My Son***". He did not use the entire verse as that would have killed his story. This verse reads, "***When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I have called my son***." One does not have to be a genius to understand that the son referred to here is Israel and the calling out of Egypt was the exodus and had no reference whatsoever to Jesus.

One might say "the golden text" used for the 'virgin birth' myth is found in Matthew 1:23. However verses 23 & 24 are in brackets in the **original 1611 King James Version**. This is an indication of an insert by the editors. Isaiah 7:14 was inserted here to support their doctrine of the 'virgin birth'. If we keep this prophecy within the realm of its context we will learn that Jehovah had promised Isaiah the defeat and downfall of Israel's enemies that were an immediate threat. This passage reads as follows, "***Therefore Jehovah Himself will give you a sign; Behold a virgin*** (almah, Hebrew for a young woman), ***shall conceive and bare a son, and shall call his name Immanuel***. ***Curds and honey he shall eat, that He may know to refuse the evil and choose the good, for before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land you dread will be forsaken by both kings.***" The fulfillment of this prophecy is found in Isaiah 8:3. "***Then I went to the prophetess, and she conceived and bare a son. Before the child shall have knowledge to cry my father and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria will be taken away before the king of Assyria***". One can see at once that the young woman (not a virgin) of this prophecy was Isaiah's wife, who was a prophetess, and the mother of this conceived son. His name was Immanuel (God with us) because the fulfillment of this prophecy was proof that Israel's God (Jehovah) was with them. This prophesy was made about 700 BC and **fulfilled** in the matter of a few months and has **nothing whatsoever to do with the birth of Jesus**. To insert this passage to promote the virgin birth of Jesus is deception and a misrepresentation of scripture. Perhaps the editor of this gospel used the 'double fulfillment theory', like the futurist's do in our time. They disregard the first fulfillment so they can try to make it fit somewhere else at a later time.

Then we are confronted with, "Rachel weeping for her children, refusing to be comforted, because they were no more" (Matt. 2:18, Jeremiah 31:15). This passage is taken from a poem or song (Jer. 31:2-22). This song or poem reminisces past hardships of the children of Israel and has **no** reference whatsoever to any future events. This is used by the editor of this gospel to establish his generated story about the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem and of Joseph fleeing to Egypt. "Rachel weeping for her children" was **not** in Bethlehem, but in Ramah, which is in a mountain area of Galilee and is nowhere near Bethlehem, but about 80 miles to the north. It seems as though the editor did not expect anyone to check on his references. He was largely right because only a very few do. Otherwise this story would have no creditability or audience.

It is common knowledge that Paul's writings out date all others in our New Testament. What did he have to say about the birth and lineage of Jesus? Paul died about 64 AD and at this

point in time the virgin birth of Jesus had not yet been thought of. What he did have to say was, "_ _ ***Concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh***." (Romans 1:3). According to Paul, Jesus had a **natural physical** lineage from the line of David and it was by His resurrection and **not** His physical birth, by which He became the Son of God with power. If there was a virgin birth of Jesus, Paul as well as his contemporaries either knew nothing about it, or thought it not important enough to mention. He wrote to the Galatians that Jesus "***was born of a woman born under the law.***" (Gal.4:4). Had Paul known of a virgin birth, this would have been a good place to mention it. Also in 2 Timothy, a book attributed to Paul, we read, "***Remember that Jesus Christ is the seed of David***, (**not the seed of the Holy Spirit)** ***was raised from the dead according to my gospel".*** So if the Holy Spirit was the father of Jesus, Paul was unaware of it or completely ignored it. It was also ignored by John, James and Peter as well.

These apostles were not the only ones that were unaware of a virgin birth of Jesus. Philip, one of Jesus' apostles, had this to say, "_ _ ***Jesus the son of Joseph*** _ _," (John.1:45). If Jesus had been virgin born you would think this apostle would have been aware of it, but he knew Joseph was the father of Jesus. The Jews also who knew Jesus' family very well, said, "***Is this not Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know***?" (John 6:42). So again we see that the Jews, who lived in the area where Jesus was brought up, were familiar with Jesus and His parents, also understood that Joseph was the father of Jesus. If the Holy Spirit was the father of Jesus, all of these people were badly deceived!

Perhaps the best witness of the impossibility of a virgin birth is Jesus Himself. In His conversation with Nicodemus He said, "***That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit".*** (John 3:6). He makes it very clear the flesh and the spirit are distinctly different. The flesh consists of matter made up of atoms and there is not a single atom of material matter in a spirit. Therefore we conclude that the Spirit of God did not posses a single atom of material matter, not even sperm, to father a human child. It **had been** commonly believed for centuries that the man planted a seed into the woman much like planting a seed in the soil (mother earth). This is why he is called a husband (farmer). With this belief, if a virgin conceived from the Spirit of God, a God would be produced. **So, according to their belief, if God the Spirit fathered Jesus then He would be God.** This **myth** was promoted to support the claim that Jesus is God. However there is no valid record from the 1st century can be or has been produced that claims Jesus to be 'virgin born'. This myth was generated in the 2nd century.

The **myth** of the virgin birth was not first with Christianity, but Christianity stole it from previous non-Christian religions. In the Hindu religion the god Vishnu had an incarnate Son, Chrishna (Krishna) by a virgin birth. This was about 1156 BC. It is also interesting to note, at his birth, there was a special star in the sky, there were shepherds, and the local king out of jealousy slaughtered infants. The myth of a Virgin birth of other gods are, the Buddha, the Egyptian god Horus, a Roman savior Quarrnus, the Greek deity Adonis, the Persia god Mithra who was born December 25th. The list could go on and on including the god Zoroaster of BC 500, but this list should be sufficient to make the point.

So when did Christianity begin to believe and teach that Jesus was virgin born? It seems to have been shortly after the first Christian missionaries returned from India. This was sometime shortly after the turn of the first century. Having learned of the birth story of the Hindu god Chrishna, the Christian leaders felt the Son of God they worshipped should also have these credentials. This is why they adapted the Hindu story, with some variations, but including the star, the shepherds and a king who's jealousy motivated him to murder infants. They **stole** the birth story of Jesus from the Hindus.

There were many fantasy stories circulated during the 2nd century AD such as Jesus speaking to His mother shortly after His birth. This story came from the stories of the Buddha and Chrishna. The present day Koran (The Muslim bible) has a story that was circulated in the 2nd century that Jesus while a boy made mud birds and then commanded them to fly away, which they did.

It still stands that there is **no solid evidence of** any virgin birth stories of Jesus that came out of the 1st century AD. The Evangelicals have tried to prove otherwise, but for proof they always come up empty. The first allude to an immaculate conception was by Ignatius A.D.115. There is no record of the four Gospels, as we now have them, until mentioned by Irenaeus 190 AD. If this subject were investigated from **all** available sources, not just one sided history, one would see at once the four gospels Matthew, Mark, Luke or John, were developed during the 2nd century using some 1st century material. At this time the Church at Rome took liberties to edit and even insert passages into the scriptures. For an example, the triune baptismal formula in Matthew 28:19 and Matthew 1:23 concerning the 'virgin birth' were inserts. They were creating a bible to support their ever-changing doctrine.

The first Gospel to be included into a Christian canon was called, "The Gospel". The evangelist Marcion introduced this first Christian canon 144 AD. This canon consisted of one gospel only along with the then known epistles of Paul. 1st & 2nd Timothy, Titus and Hebrews were at that time unknown and therefore not included in this canon. This Gospel opened with Jesus preaching in Galalee, and had no birth story. Those who considered themselves to be the 'orthodox' Christian leaders, at that time did not have a canon of Scripture. At this time there was no agreement by the 'orthodox' theologians on just what to put in a canon.

It is believed by some that the Gospel in Marcion's canon was edited and added to by Theolophus, the bishop of Antioch about 160 AD. He doubled its size by adding other information that he thought essential for a Gospel, and then named it, "The Gospel according Luke".

During the latter part of the 1st century there were various stories about Jesus, mostly transmitted orally from one generation to another. There were very few written articles at that time. The oral stories that survived were eventually written down and edited by scholars in the 2nd century. They kept what sounded reasonable and rejected that which they considered fantasy. Bits and pieces were taken from, "The Acts of Pilate", Gospel "Q", the gospel of the Hebrews, the gospel of Peter, the gospel of the Egyptians, and the gospel of Macron and others, all of which were written long after the death and resurrection of Christ. The 'Orthodox' church leaders using some of these previous writings compiled what supported their doctrinal views at that time. So the four Gospels that we now have were edited and canonized using information from earlier writings along with other information that had been passed to them orally. The author of Luke said this is how he got his information. see (Luke 1:1&2).

How and when did Jesus become the Son of God?

The whole story of the 'virgin birth' was to make Jesus God by a physical birth. They tried to make Jesus some sort of a 'half breed', being half God and half man. The 'Orthodox fathers', of the 2nd and 3rd centuries formed most of what is known today as Evangelical or Fundamentalist Christian Doctrine. They came up with the idea of Jesus' virgin birth to give Him, a God nature and human nature. They called this the "Twofold nature of Christ". This is taught as a fundamental doctrine in most theological schools even to this day. ***According to Scripture*** there is overwhelming evidence that Jesus was born the son of Joseph and Mary, and was a normal human being who grew up "***increasing in wisdom and stature***" (Luke 2:52). (If Jesus is God, does God increase in wisdom?). He is called "The only begotten Son of the Father". **So when was Jesus begotten of the Father**? Again the Scripture is not silent. At Jesus' baptism the voice He heard said, "***Thou art My Son, This day I have become your Father***", Luke 3:22 (Moffit translation). Also some ancient texts place Psalms 2:7 here at Jesus' baptism, "***Thou art My Son, This day have I begotten Thee***". Paul seemed to place the fulfillment of this passage at the resurrection of Christ, (see Acts 13:33 and Romans 1:4). So in either case, **Jesus became the Son of God by His Spiritual birth, which was some time after His physical birth. By His Spiritual birth He became the Son of God the Father in a very special way, saying, "I am in the Father and the Father in Me". He became the "express image of the Father," and the sole revealer of the Father. His image of the Father was so complete that He said, "If you have seen Me you have seen the Father", and again, "I and the Father are one."** However He still maintained His distinction from the Father by saying, "***The Father is greater than I***".

So in conclusion, the teaching of the **"virgin birth of Christ"** is an **unfounded fable, a Myth that was invented and placed in the Gospels to give support to the doctrine that Jesus is God.** This doctrine had developed during the 2nd century**.** The '***Virgin birth***' is a ***physical impossibility***, a **fable** that was **borrowed from pagan religions.** *One should not be required to commit Intellectual Suicide in believing a lie in order to be a Christian!*

It's what Jesus accomplished at the cross that is all-important. The Christian Faith is founded upon the death and resurrection of Christ, **not His birth.** The Christian faith either stands or falls on the fact of the resurrection of Christ. (See 1 Cor. 15:12-19). Paul tells us we are not to know Christ after the flesh, (2 Cor.5:16). We are to know Him as, "***Christ in you, the hope of glory***," (Colossians 1:27). Our salvation is in our personal relationship with Christ, knowing Him and the power of His resurrection, and is not in the teachings of theologians, nor in the doctrines of men or even in the Bible, but in **Christ only**, who said, "I am the way, the truth and the life" (John 14:6).

"For we worship God in the Spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh". (Phil.3:3)

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Dear Fellow Christian:

I am writing this to give you a "reason for the hope I have in Christ". I have been a Christian for as long as I can remember, seeing that I was raised in a Christian home. I have always been one to seek the truth for a foundation of my faith. This motivation has caused me to do years of study and research in the Bible and Christian history. The more I compared the Old Testament with the New Testament the more I saw a very striking difference between the personalities of Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament and The Heavenly Father of the New Testament. This article was written to point out some of the differences. This is presented in the form of questions with Scriptures so you can see what the Bible really has to say about it.

Please read the passages given and give this view serious and prayerful consideration.

Question, read *Exodus 20:5&6.*

Now if I understand the English language. Jehovah, the God of Israel, claims to be a jealous God. In this verse He punishes those who hate Him to the 3rd and 4th generation. But His love is extended to only the one generation that loved Him. This can only mean that His hatred and punishment is three or four times greater than His love.

Question 2. Jehovah here claims to be jealous, this is confirmed in eight places in the Bible. In fact He is so jealous that in *Exodus 34:14* we read, "For Jehovah whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God". Question: Is jealousy and hatred an attribute of Jesus Christ or the Heavenly Father?

Read *Exodus 11:1-3.* Here we find that Jehovah had the Israelites steal silver, gold and clothing from the Egyptians under the pretense of borrowing it. Jehovah had the Israelites lie and steal breaking two of the Ten Commandments. Now I ask. Does Jesus or the Heavenly Father encourage us to lie and steal?

Read *1 Kings 22:22&23.*

Here we learn that Jehovah put a lying spirit into the mouths of His prophets. This caused them to lie. We read " The lying spirit from Jehovah came onto the prophets".

What happened to " Thou shalt not bear false witness"? Yet Jehovah forced them to lie.

Read *1 Samuel 16:14* and *19:9*

What motivated king Saul to try to kill David?

An evil spirit from Jehovah entered him. Do you think that our Heavenly Father would do suc h a thing?

Read *Isaiah 6:9-13.*

Here we learn that Jehovah called this prophet and commissioned him to deceive His people so He could punish them. Question: Do you think for a moment that Jesus or the Heavenly Father would call a preacher for the sole purpose to confuse people, cause them to sin so he could punish them? This is what Jehovah did to His prophet Isaiah.

Read *Isaiah 45:7.*

Jehovah here claims to be the creator of both good and evil. Question: If Jehovah created evil, then why do we blame the Devil?

Jesus once said, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit and neither can a evil tree bring forth good fruit." See *Matt. 7:18.* Which one of these trees would represent Jehovah, who said, He created both good and evil? Can He be both a good tree and an evil tree? Jesus said, "No", that a tree is either good or evil.

Read *Jeremiah 4:10*

Here Jeremiah is praying to Jehovah and accusing Him of deceiving His people and Jerusalem. Question: Jehovah is here a deceiver. Can this charge be made against Jesus or the Heavenly Father?

Read *Malachi 2:2&3.*

We here learn that Jehovah threatens to spread DUNG in the faces of the priests because they did not take him seriously.

Question, can you even imagine Jesus or the Heavenly Father making such a threat? Your god might do this but My God the Father is not capable of such a thought much less would He make such a vulgar threat. There are many other passages In the Old Testament that shows what a scoundrel Jehovah is, but I believe I have presented enough to make a case. But there is more in the New Testament.

Read *John 4:21-24.*

Here Jesus tells the woman at the well that "neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem do they worship the Father." Question: Who were the Jews worshiping in the temple in Jerusalem? Was it not Jehovah? This being the case, Jesus makes it very plain, Jehovah is NOT the Heavenly Father! Jesus said, "the true worshipers will worship the Father in Spirit and truth."

Read *John 12:37-39.*

Who blinded the Jews so they could not believe in Jesus?

If we believe the Scripture here it was Jehovah who blinded them. Jehovah was known to the Israelites as the God of that age. Paul said that the god of that age blinded people who did not believe the gospel. See 2 Cor. 4:4. So Jehovah was still in the deception business during Paul's ministry.

Read *John 17:1-3.*

Here Jesus says, "This is eternal life, to know Thee, (the Father) as the ONLY true God and Jesus Christ whom You have sent." This lets out ALL other gods, even Jehovah, as being the only TRUE God.

Read *1st Corinthians 8:5&6.*

Here we learn, "There are many called gods in heaven and on earth (as there are many gods and many lords). But for us there is only one God, the Father, __ and one Lord Jesus Christ". Paul here makes it clear that of all the gods, the only God for Christians is the Heavenly Father.

Read *Matt. 5:43-45*

This is a very interesting passage. Jesus relates how they were taught by Jehovah and contrasts it with His teaching about the Heavenly Father. Jehovah taught Israel to love their neighbor and hate their enemy. (a neighbor to the Israelites meant a fellow Israelite and the enemy had reference to other nations.) So Jehovah's policy was "racist". That is to consider all other races to be your enemy. The point here is that Jehovah taught hatred and Jesus taught that the Heavenly Father loves all races of people. Question: Do you see a contrast here? Jehovah taught hatred and Jesus taught that the Heavenly Father loves all. He causes the rain and sunshine to benefit all. Do you see a decided difference between the teaching of Jehovah and that of the Heavenly Father?

Jesus tells us to love our enemies, to do good to them, and pray for them, but Jehovah taught the Israelites to hate their enemies. What a contrast!

Malachi 1:2&3 "___Says Jehovah: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau."

In *Romans 9: 11&13*, This passage is also repeated. "For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, ___ As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." Here we learn that Jehovah hated Esau without a reason.

Another thought:

Jesus chose the twelve apostles all were Jews. They were raised in their religion and had been taught how to worship and pray to Jehovah. Question; why did Jesus instruct them to now pray to the Heavenly Father? He told them, "When you pray, say Our Father who art in heaven". Jesus addressed His prayers to the Father and told us to do the same.

Read *Galatians 3:1.*

Why did Paul tell the Galatians they had been bewitched? What did they do to deserve this? They had turned back to Jehovah's Judaism, which he called witchcraft. According to Paul, you should be a Christian without being a Judeo-Christian. This is very strong language, but no stronger than Paul who referred to the Jewish religion as dung. *Phil. 3:8.*

The founding of Judaism was when the "angel god, Jehovah", talked to Moses and gave him the Ten Commandments and the ceremonial laws. In *Exodus 3:2-4* we read that the God who spoke to Moses was as Angel. The Scriptures that prove the law was given by angels, *Exodus 3:2-6, Acts 7:30-32, 38, Gal. 3:19.*

Read *Colossians 2:13-15.*

Who are the principalities and powers who were defeated at the cross?

If you do some research you will learn that they are the angels and archangels of the Old Testament. Jehovah was one of these angelic gods. Paul tells us here that these principalities and powers were disarmed and made a public spectacle of. Their laws, which were against us, were nailed to the cross. These laws along with Christ died on the cross. Christ was resurrected but the laws and power of these angels and archangels were NOT. It was this great accomplishment and victory at the cross that redeemed us and set us free in Christ. Yes, Jesus set us free from religious laws and superstitions, dogmas and fears. We have been declared free and that's why there is now no condemnation to them who are in Christ. *Romans 8:1&2*

Paul encouraged the Galatians, to "Stand fast in the liberty by which Christ has made us free, and be not entangled in a yoke of bondage". He was referring to Jehovah's bondage of laws and religion.

Jesus said, "And you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free". *John 8:32.*

I do not ask that you answer these questions to me, but rather answer these questions to your own conscience. This is no 20th century "hair brained" idea of mine but was believed by nearly all of the Gentile Christians during the early years of Christendom. These Christians had their own Bible as early as 134 AD. This was the first Christian canon of scripture. This Bible had One Gospel and the authentic epistles of Paul. The Catholic Church organized for the sole purpose of destroying this teaching, which they declared heresy. They then set forth to destroy all the books and people who taught that Jehovah was NOT the Heavenly Father. They then began to compile their own Bible because they needed one that would support their doctrine. The Hebrew writings became a part their Bible and this they called the Old Testament. They replaced the one Gospel that was in the first Bible of 134 AD with four Gospels. Then added *Acts*, *1st & 2nd Timothy*, *Titus*, *Hebrews*, the *Pastorals* and the *Revelation of Peter*, which was later replaced by the *Revelation* of John. This was done because they saw a need to close out the New Testament with a book that would teach their God, Jehovah, to be a God of wrath and vengeance. This book has a threat of God's judgment to anyone that would add to or remove any part of it. See *Rev. 22:19.* It is also interesting to note, in this book of Revelation, the twelve foundation stones of the New Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven, are the same as the birthstones of the twelve astrological signs of the Zodiac. See *Rev. 21:2,19 & 20.* The Bible we now have is completely based upon the one that was put together by the Catholic Church in the 2nd through the 4th centuries to refute the teaching of Marcion, who taught that the Heavenly Father was not Jehovah. Many won't accept the truth of this history, but a little research will prove this to be fact. They would rather believe the Bible just dropped down from heaven in the King James Version. This attitude shows complete and total arrogance and ignorance.

The Catholic Church continued their religious war against all who would not accept Jehovah as the Heavenly Father and it took them over 600 years of persecution to minimize the influence of this doctrine.

An official Catholic Encyclopaedia states that one purpose of the French inquisition was to destroy the heretics who believed that Jehovah is not the Heavenly Father. Even at this later time there were many that believed even as I do. These people suffered much persecution. They were killed and all their books were burned.

The whole idea of now having an Old and New Testament is an endeavor to explain Jehovah changing His mind. The word "Covenant" or "Testament" was to teach that Jehovah dealt with the ancient Israelites with one covenant then did a complete turn around and established a new covenant, seeing that the first covenant failed. However in *Malachi 3:6* we read, "I am Jehovah and I do not change". So He lied to us again if he did change His covenant. So those who believe Jehovah and the Heavenly Father to be one and the same have a serious problem here! When was He converted from the God of wrath and hate to the God of love? According to the fundamentalists, Jehovah, instead of demanding animal sacrifices as He did in the Old Testament. He now under the New Testament slaughtered a human being, namely Jesus, as a human sacrifice to satisfy His "divine justice", so say their theologians. What a perversion of the truth of the gospel! The idea of appeasing 'divine justice' is just another fable of the theologians.

Jesus came to bring spiritual healing and comfort. In His first sermon He said, "I was anointed to preach the gospel to the poor; to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." *Luke 4:18.* There is nothing here or anywhere in the New Testament abou t any satisfying of "divine justice". The purpose of the gospel is to, "bring life and immortality to light". *2 Tim. 1:10.* Paul said, " I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ," *Romans 1:16.* I'm sure he would have been ashamed of a gospel that teaches God had to kill an innocent human being, namely His Son, in order to satisfy His "divine justice". The expression "divine justice" is no more that a pipe dream of theologians.

So don't condemn another's belief until you have given some research into the matter.

Don't be like Festus who knew nothing about the Christian faith, but told Paul his "much learning made him mad." *Acts 26:24.*

It is a good idea to know what you are criticizing before you criticize it.

I hope you ponder the above questions, scriptures and the other information that has been presented, search the scriptures and history for yourself, then follow your own good conscience before God and not man

Conclusion:

My God, the Heavenly Father does not follow the pattern of Jehovah in teaching people to steal, lie, deceive and spread dung in the faces of those who don't take Him seriously. See *Malachi 2:3.* I am very thankful for knowing God the Father, the God of all grace, love, kindness, mercy, compassion and truth, and Jesus Christ my Lord. Now I know that I have been set free from the clutches of Jehovah, the god of wrath, hatred, jealousy and condemnation.

During my some 50 years experience among fundamentalists 'Christian' denominations, I have learned most of them practice the kind of love Jesus accused the Pharisees of, 'loving only those in their own fellowship and having little regard for all others'. They follow the pattern of love and hate of Jehovah their God. The worshippers of Jehovah have not changed. Jesus said, love is the mark of discipleship. We read in *1 John 4:7&8*, " everyone who loves is born of God and knows God. ___, For God is love."

God the Father loves the world, *John 3:16.* We are to love one another. This was the new and ONLY commandment Jesus gave to His disciples, *John 15:17.* He also said, "By this shall all men know you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." Paul, in *1 Cor.13*, tells us, love is the greatest of all Spiritual gifts.

I now ask you to ponder over the above facts of Scripture that have been presented. I now want to thank you for your kindness and patience in reading this article and hope you now

understand why I DO NOT accept Jehovah as the Heavenly Father. The Heavenly Father was unknown in the world until Jesus introduced Him to mankind. Jesus said, "No one knows the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him". *Matt. 11:27.* Jehovah spoke to and was seen by Moses and He spoke to His prophets. Jesus said of the Heavenly Father, "You have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His form", *John 5:37.* Now if the Heavenly Father is only revealed by the Son, as Jesus said, and has never been seen nor His voice ever heard, then the Father could not be Jehovah. Jehovah was the God of Israel before Jesus had His earthly ministry, and was both seen and heard.

Both Biblically and Historically I find myself in good company in believing as I do on this issue. Most Gentile Christians held this view for the early 300 years of Christendom.

The great evangelist, Marcion, evangelized the countries around the Mediterranean at the very beginning of the 2nd century. He emphatically taught that Jehovah was not and could not be the Heavenly Father, and wrote the "Antithesis", which presented his view. Many of the Gentile Christians maintained this view for many years, although they suffered very severe persecution. The first record we have of a Christian killing another Christian over their belief was a Catholic killing another Christian who professed belief that Jehovah was not the Heavenly Father. This belief still existed in many areas during the "dark ages", but great persecution and suppression of education eventually prevailed. This blessed truth is not dead, but very much alive in the hearts and minds of many Christians through out the world today.

May the Grace and Peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Very sincerely yours,

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The Marcionite Origin of the Fourth Gospel

Joseph Turmel was a historian who lived from 1859 to 1943. He was originally Catholic, and was ordained a priest in 1882. He became a professor at the Grand Seminary of Rennes in the same year, but was deposed from that position in 1892 when one of his pupils denounced him to his superiors. He then published a series of works on the history of Christianity, under his own name and fourteen pseudonyms. The works were prohibited and condemned by the Catholic Church as they went against the tradtional view of Christian history. Joseph Turmel himself was excommunicated and declared to be a heretic in 1930.

Among his many works was one of particular relevance to the study of Marcionism; in *Le Quatrieme Evangile* (published under the name Henri Delafosse) he demonstrated that much of the content of the fourth Gospel was of Marcionite origin, having been re-worked by a Catholic editor. *Le Quatrieme Evangile* has been translated into English by Daniel Mahar, and can be accessed via the links below.

Part I: The First Redaction of the 4th Gospel / The Wedding Feast at Cana
A Survey of the Marcionite Doctrine / Origin of the 4th Gospel
Part II: The Second Redaction of the 4th Gospel / Carnal Body of Christ / The Bread of Life

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The First Redaction of the Fourth Gospel.

1) The Johannine Christ denies Mary.

The Johannine Christ begins his public life in attendance at the wedding of Cana (2:1-12). In the course of the meal, Mary, who is also present, warns him of the wine shortage. And Jesus responds: "What is there between me and you, woman?" Of all time this strange response has troubled the faith of believers. One is asked how an incarnate God could have spoken as such to whom he owes his human nature. Various artificial explanations led all to confuse the question or to displace it. However, Faith couldn't fail but to have the final word. Here, as elsewhere, it triumphed over the difficulty. But it didn't obtain its triumph outside of taking refuge in the mystery. One closed their eyes; one renounced at an understanding. One has to say that God must have had his reasons for speaking as he did. And, for those reasons, one adored them without having any pretension of understanding them.

The believers are not alone in being disconcerted by this response of Christ. The critics, these also, were struck by it of a stupor they couldn't conceal. Perhaps they are no longer held by a God truly made man; they had none other issue than with a fictional deity. But it was necessary for them to justify this fiction. They had to explain how a writer begins with presenting to us the incarnate Word, then places in his mouth some words of repudiation against his mother. They themselves did not set forth in quest of new solutions: they adopted explanations accommodated to believers, explanations of which the principal consists in stating that, in the Christ, the divinity is independent of Mary and that the saying: "What is there in common between me and you?" proclaimed this independence.

So the critics found nothing better for believers to account for the response of the Johannine Christ to Mary. But, while believers, set in the presence of a solution that they know is insufficient, renounce at understanding and take refuge in a mystery, the critics don't have this convenient resource. They do not shelter themselves behind the impenetrable counsels of providence; they don't have the right to the shutting of their eyes; they always have had to keep them wide opened and to declare pitilessly everything that is mere juggling.

We notice three things there: the thought which is expressed , the turn given to this thought, the absence of the word "mother" at the position where the word "woman" is presented. The fundamental thought is that the Christ is nothing to Mary, that Mary is nothing to the Christ. The interrogative turn given to the sentence is the process to which one resorts when one carries a challenge; it has here the sense of a provacation; and, consequently, in the place of attenuating the thought, it accentuates it.

Free of the interrogation which encompasses, the retort means: "I owe nothing to you", or "there is nothing in common between us". With the interrogation the sense is: "Prove therefore, if you can, that I owe anything to you, that there is something in common between us!" And, to complete the defiance, Mary is apostrophized of the name of a woman which implies here: "One regards you as my mother, but you know well that you are not". I said that this word completes the challenge. This is one, indeed, which closes the retort. In the end it is the motive; and the sense of the sentence is this: "You pass as my mother, and my historian himself bestows this name to you to conform to the common opinion that "the mother of Jesus was there" ; but, in reality, you are not my mother; I owe nothing to you".

One will say that I lead myself to an exaggeration. I respond that in theological matters the only exaggerated ideas are those which cannot be situated in history. I will search later whether my interpretation is destitute of attestation during the period of Christian origins. For the moment I have my text without troubling myself with the knowledge where this leads me. I have this, that is to say I march behind this, and I allow myself to be guided by it, and I abstain to supervise myself in the will of my fantasy. The one formal denial, vivid of the divine maternity of Mary. I have to conclude, unless indicated otherwise, that this denial expresses the thought of the author.

Where are these indications? It arrives oftentimes to the speakers being betrayed by the intoxication of words, and to saying what they didn't want to say. But we make issue here to the style of a piece of long studied; we do not have before us an oratorical improvisation. We also see all the day the uncultivated minds and the tired old man led astray in a vocabulary which they never possessed or of which mastery they lost. But the author of the Fourth Gospel knows how to clothe the most elevated ideas in their most delicate nuances.

How can it be believed, when wanting to teach a doctrine, that he had taught something else entirely different than what he had in mind? For this is the result at which one arrives as soon as one departs from the letter of the text. The Johannine Christ, asserts one, teaches us at Cana that Mary contributed nothing to his divinity in the sense of his thaumaturgical power. Granted. But to express this truth so simply, he is served by a turn of phrase which has muddled everything; he didn't know how to say what he wanted to say.

Others assure us that the rebuke of Christ himself was not addressed to Mary but to the synagogue, to his forme r alliance. I concur here. But one will agree with me that the author was very unfortunate in the choice of his formulas, and that the most ill-mannered clod would have been less clumsy. But then, if he wanted to put into the mouth of Christ some words of condemnations against the synagogue, might he had done this without burdening Mary to represent this moment-- even the synagogue? Didn't the most elementary decorum forbid entering the mother of Christ into this odious symbolism? On the other hand, no man was insane enough to ask if the Christ owes his divinity or his thaumaturigal virtue to Mary. None needed to be set on this point. And the Christ also, as the critics pretend as well as the believers, declares not to have possessed from Mary his divinity and his supernatural powers.

In a few words, the saying "what do I have in common?", such that one understands it plainly, beyond measure that it offends the laws of language, contains more an indecency and an insupportable triviality.

2) The Johannine Christ reveals God to men.

The Johannine Christ came to "bear witness to the truth" (18:37), to make "known the truth" (8:32). The truth that he reveals "frees" men" (8:32), they are made to "pass from death to life" (5:24), preserving them forever from death (8:51). And this truth sums up the knowledge of the one who is "the only true God", since the knowledge of God procures and guarantees eternal life (17:3,5:24).

The Jews themselves do not make exception to the general law. The Johannine Christ tells them that they don't know God: "the one who sent me, you don't know him. I myself know him (7:29). You know neither me nor my Father. If you knew me, you would also know my Father"(8:19); "This is my Father who glorifies me, the one whom you say is your God and that you know not" (8:54-55); "They will do to you all these things because of my name, because they don't know the one who sent me" (15:21, the sequence of the text proving that the Jews are aim here:(v.25) "This came to pass that the word might be fulfilled written in their law..."). And these repeated assertions leave nothing to surprise. What does the author make consequently of the text: "is God known in Judea" (Ps76 :2)? What does he make of the texts in which the psalmist proclaims the fidelity of Israel to God (Ps44: 18,23): "We didn't violate your alliance; is not our heart roundabout... This is because of you that one massacres us all the days?" Since the return from the captivity the Jewish people turned away from the images; one adored God; one desired to bring all the pagans to worship God (Ps.17 :1): "Praise the Lord, all you nations; Celebrate him, all ye tribes of people" . One especially dreaded to see the pagans turn at God in derision (Ps.115:2): "Wherefore should the nations say, Pray where is their God?" The Johannine Christ inscribes in forgery against the numerous texts which testifies of this situation. He stands in opposition to the Old Testament.

3) The Johannine Christ rejects the Old Testament.

But he pays no heed to the Old Testament. Or, if he does make allusion there, it is in repulsion for it with contempt. In the course of his discussions with the Jews, he alleges sometimes in his favor the texts of the Old Testament. And here is his handling of those texts: "It is written in your law that the testimony of two men is true" (8:17). The ordinance to which he refers here is written down in Deut. 19:15; it had been dictated by God himself to Moses. Its origin is sacred.

But not so to the Johannine Christ, who says scornfully: "Your law". Will one raise as an objection that the mosaic legislation had a transitory character, that with the sacrifice of martyrdom arrived its striking decline and that moreover the Jews alone were subject to it? Granted. But listen again to the Johannine Christ. He says (10:34) "It is written in your law: I said: you are gods"; and (15:25) "This came to pass that the word might be fulfilled written in their law: They hated me without a reason". In these two places his disdain is addressed not primarily to some prescriptions ritualistic or disciplinary; he attains some oracles emanated from the Psalms. The author of the Fourth Gospel mentions the Psalms as we would mention the books of the Illiad or the Aeneide, the maxims of which we exploit without us holding belief to their consideration with the least religious feeling. By means of a literary view he does the same with the Psalms. And because the Psalms and the mosaic legislation constitute the essential part of the Old Testament.

The assertions just made provide us the key to 5:36-37: "The Father who sent me bears witness of me. Ye have never heard his voice nor seen his shape". One often states that it is here an allusion to the prophecies from the Old Testament through which the Father would have bore witness to his Son. To where one concludes that these same prophecies are the "voice" of the Father, a voice which resonated in the ears of the Jews but which the Jews refused to hear, are precisely those which they refused to believe. Wrong. If the voice of the Father is caused to be heard with the Jews then one didn't hear it in the sense that they refused to look at it. Now the face of the Father is never shown to a person and, according to what one reads elsewhere in 1:18: "no one has ever seen God". The Jews didn't see the Father, not because they refused to see him, but because they never were allowed to even look at him. The voice of the Father, it neither ever resonated in the world. And the Jews didn't hear him, not because they refused to believe, but because they were not able to discern the accents. The Father never spoke. The testimony that he rendered to his Son doesn't consist therefore in the prophecies of the Old Testament being full of the oracles which God renders by the mouth of the prophets, of the theophanies agreed to the patriarchs and to Moses. Oracles and theophanies are no avenues for the Johannine Christ: "You have never heard his voice, you have never seen his shape". No avenue is likewise the ascension of the prophet Elijah to heaven in spite of the Books of Kings (2Kin2:1,11), for we read (3:13) "no one has ascended to heaven but the one who has descended from heaven".

4) The Johannine Christ rejects Moses and the Prophets.

But the Johannine Christ didn't yet provide his full measure. Continue to gather his oracles. He says in the allegory of the good shepherd (10:8) "All those who came before me are robbers and thieves". He says "all"; he doesn't exempt persons, not even the prophets, not even Moses. Terrified by this act of accusation, the Fathers, the apologists, the critics did there what firefighters do in the presence of a fire. They endeavored to isolate it.

One must absolutely preserve their Moses and prophets attained of the Old Testament. But how? Augustine (In Jo. tr.,XLV, 8) explained that the qualification of a robber and thief applied to those here who only came "from outside" of Christ. Now the prophets then are not thieves. I have to say that this advocacy so fanciful didn't convince the critics. They searched for something else. They searched and they found. What? They discovered that the word "all" means "some". For it is there that the critics enter when they relate to us that the Johannine Christ has in view the Jewish doctors of his time or to the false messiahs. So, in the allegory of the good shepherd, the author of the Fourth Gospel has in view some of those who preceded Jesus (in reality his contemporary or even some men who come after him). But if this is what he wanted to say, why is he served with the word "all"? Why hadn't he employed the word "some"? One pauses and one cautions me that in persisting to take on the letter of the 10:8 text, I stray into the domain of fantasy. I will examine this point later. For the moment I note that, in the interpretation of 10:8, the critics reissue, under a new form, the fantasies of Augustine.

5) The Johannine Christ fights the Prince of this World.

The Johannine Christ condemns Moses and the prophets. He bears his higher strikes; he attacks the "prince of this world", the "Devil". He came to the earth to reveal God, the "only true God", to men who didn't know him. But he came also to deliver a battle to the Devil. "The Son of God is manifested to annihilate the works of the Devil" we read in the first epistle (3:8). Before that fight even ended, we are informed of the outcome. The Devil is going to put to death the Son of God who accepts his fate; but he himself is going to be cast out. "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (12:31); "the prince of this world is condemned" (16:11); "for the prince of this world cometh, and has nothing on me, but all the same he comes to put me to death so that the world may know that I love the Father and that I do according to what the Father ordained" (14:30).

What is the Devil in the Fourth Gospel? Who is he? What is he in regard to God and men? Considered by himself the Devil is evil or rather "the Evil One". We know him in the gospel where we encounter the Christ asking his father to "preserve from Evil" his disciples (17:15). We know him especially by the first epistle: "You overcame the Evil One" (2:13,14); "Cain was of the Evil One" (3:12); "the Evil One cannot touch him" (the Christian born of God) (1Jo 5:18). Being evil, he sins and he tells lies: "Since the beginning the Devil sins" (1Jo 3:8); "there is no truth in him; when he speaks a lie he speaks of his own" (Jn 8:44).

In regard to God, the Devil is "the Enemy", for such is the sense of the Greek word which designates the Devil. This enmity is attested to us of the Christ when it is stated that he came destroy the works of the Devil. It is moreover inevitable since God is good and t he Devil is evil.

That which the Devil is in relationship to the world, the Johannine Christ teaches us in two words when he calls him "the prince of this world". The world is his kingdom, he is the king of it. The same idea reappears under another form in the following text of the first epistle (5:19) "The whole world lies in the power of the Evil One".

As Master of the world, the Devil is the source from whence emanates all political authority. To Pilate who boasts of the power of his will to put to death or to deliver him, the Johannine Christ replies (19:11) "You could have no power against me except it were given to you from above". Then he adds: "This is why the one who delivers me to you commits a greater sin". This answer contains two assertions. The first, we learn that Pilate holds his authority "from above", which is from a Being superior to men, from a Being to which he is a lieutenant and to whom he must do obedience. According to the second assertion it is this superior Being, this Being "above" who delivered the Christ to Pilate his lieutenant; and "this is why" the responsibility of Pilate in the death of Christ is mitigated. The great culprit is this Being "above", who placed his proxy Pilate in an inextricable situation. This Being "above" who is fierce against the Christ to the point of delivering him to Pilate, is "the Enemy", the Devil. He appears to us here as the sovereign holder of political authority of which he gave a parcel to the Roman governor. And it is in the logic of things, since "the whole world is in the power of Evil One" and that this Evil One is the prince of this world.

The Son of God, who came to battle the Devil, must necessarily extract the empire of the world from him. It is this program that he formulates in 12:31: "The prince of this world is going to be cast out". And there again is that thought which is in the background of the following texts (3:17) "God sent not his Son into the world so that he would condemn the world, but so that the world might be saved by him"; (12:47) "I came, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved". The Johannine Christ saves the world by freeing it from the yoke of the Devil, and he achieves this emancipation by casting the Devil out.

However, this result doesn't have to be attained in the future. From the moment Christ is on the earth, the world contaminated by its master is evil. The one who came to overthrow the Devil has to begin by overthrowing the world; or in the words, (16:33): "You will have some tribulations in the world; but have confidence, I have overthrown the world". The triumph of Christ over the world is progressive. It consists of expelling little by little the Devil in the manner of restricting the domain of his empire. And this expulsion is accomplished through the creation of the children of God. One will see this further concerning those born the children of God. We note here that the children of God are out of the Devil's range: "Whoever was born of God does not sin; but the one who was born of God, he protects and the Evil One does not touch him" (1Jo5:18). To where it follows, insofar as the world is the property of the Devil, the children of God are not of the world: "Whoever is born of God has the victory over the world". (1Jo5:4); "If you were of the world, the world would love it's ow n; but because you are not of this world ...the world hates you" (15:19; see 17:14,16).

But the children of God, at least throughout the days of the earthly life of Christ, form only a very small herd. What is the condition of other men, which comprise the vast majority, closer to the general entirety of the human race? The Johannine Christ teaches us this in the words which follow (8:23-44) "You are from below, I myself am from above. You are of this world, I myself am not of this world ... I speak that which I see by my Father; and you, you do that which you see in your father. If God was your Father, you would love me, ... you are of the Devil and you will accomplish the desires of your father".

The Jews are "of the Devil"; the Devil is their "father"; they are his children. From whence comes this appalling blemish to them? By this they are those "from below", by this they are those "of the world". If one is "from above", if one "is not of this world", they would be the children of God; but being from below and of the world they are of necessity the children of the Devil.

Follow the reasoning why one is a child of God. These, our texts states, are the children of God who received the Light coming into the world (1:9-13), those who believed in the Son of God and who, for that reason, have the eternal life (6:27a, 29, 35-40). Elsewhere, one has to believe in the Son by reason of the miracles that he does (5:36; 10:25,37-38; 14:11); and nonetheless, the one here only comes to the Son and believes in him whom the Father draws (6:44) and who yielded himself to the Son (6:37;10:29;17:6). Don't look for how this attraction of the Father conciliates with the obligation which would have men believing in miracles; suppose, to the contrary, the problem resolved (our author is confused here, but the theologians are just as tangled in our day as he), and consider the children of God. They, they are not "of the world" (15:19; 17:14); they received the birth "from above" which Jesus speaks of in his discussion with Nicodemus (3:3-7); they are "born of God" (1:13; 1Jo2:29; 3:9); they are "of God" (8:47; 1Jo4:6;5:19).

But, to receive these privileges, they must first of all believe in the Son, and, to believe in the Son, they had to be drawn to the Father. How would they have been drawn to the Father and how, drawn of faith, would they have believed, if he had not already existed ? Therefore they existed. The birth from above which made them children of God, came only in the second place. Before obtaining it they received a first birth which made them of men. First men, then children of God: there is the succession.

We apprehend the first birth, the one that deals to men the human condition. If it was from above, it would appoint them children of God, which it doesn't do. We are thus constrained to conclude that the first birth is from below. Moreover we would not be receiving an illusion forbidden to us, since the 1:12,13 text opposes there the birth of children of God to the one by which the principle is in the blood, in the will of the flesh and in the will of man. This birth is accomplished by the flesh and by the blood and in which the human Will presides, and this is precisely the one through which we enter into the world, through which we are introduced into the vast human family. And it is this birth that 1:13 opposes to the birth of the children of God, to the one which, in 3:3,7, is called the birth from above.

Thus concludes that the first birth is from below. And, as there, whoever is from below comes from the Devil, resigns us to that other conclusion that the first birth comes from the Devil. It is necessary to arrive to this position. The Jews to whom the Johannine Christ reproaches as being the children of the Devil, are thus due to their human condition. The man, on account of the very constitution of his nature, has for his father the Devil. What is missing in the Johannine "Devil", in the "prince of this world", in the "Evil One" in the Fourth Gospel as being regarded the author of the human race? What separates him from the Creator of the universe, from the author of the work of six days? We attend a duel between the God of the creation- who is also the God of Moses- and a different God represented by the Christ. The Creator, from whom Pilate holds his authority, is going to deliver to his proxy the Son of God with the command to put him to death. He is going to kill the Christ, as he kills all men, for he is "since the beginning a slayer of men" (8:44). But, despite this ephemeral victory, he will be overthrown. "You are of God, you, children, and you overcame them (the agents of the devil) because the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world" (1Jo4:4).

6) The Johannine Christ rejects the resurrection of the flesh.

The Johannine Christ reveals to men God, the "only true God", because the knowledge of God is, for those who possess it, a principle of eternal life. He expels the God of the creation, because this perverse Being burdened upon men the cruel law of death followed by the condemnation to hell. In sum the final goal of the coming of Christ is to extract men from death, to procure for them eternal life. Such is the doctrine which emits from the following texts: "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that whosoever believes in him shall not perish, but shall have eternal life" (3:16); "the one who believes has life eternal ...I am the bread which descends from heaven so that the one who eats shall never die ... the one who eats this bread shall live eternally" (6:29-58); "If any one keeps my word, he shall never see death" (8:51).

According to what rule is this kindness of eternal life dispensed? Does one possess it since now? Or do we not currently have the pledge of this goodness of which the possession is postponed to an ulterior date? One can draw nothing from the 17:3 text, where we read: "Eternal life is that they know you". But the following texts are decisive: "the one who ... believes in the one who sent me has the eternal life, *** he is passed from death to life" (5:24); "passed from death to life" (1Jo3:14). This death is the state of the soul which is ignorant of God, the God whose existence Christ came to reveal. This death ceases and makes room for the life as soon as the soul acquires the knowledge of God, or, those who return to the same, the faith in the Son. The Christian possesses from henceforth eternal life: "These things I have written to you that you may know that you have eternal life, you who believe in the name of the Son of God" (1Jo5:13). He died, he lives. And the life which he possesses is a real life produced through a veritable generation. Only this generation has nothing in common with the one that introduced us into this world. It is "from above" (3:3); it is "from God" (1:13, they are "born of God"); it is produced by "the seed of God" (1Jo3:9) "The seed of God abides" in the Christian. From henceforth the Christian is the child of God. All the privileges of faith are, for the moment, hidden, and are not manifested (1Jo3:2): "We are the children of God and it is not yet manifested what we shall be")

Since the resurrection is the transition from death to life, the Christian is, from henceforth, resurrected. The resurrection is an accomplished fact in him; but this resurrection is of a spiritual order. The author of the Fourth Gospel rejects the Jewish dogma of the resurrection of the body; he substitutes it with the resurrection of the soul which has its principle in the knowledge of God.

7)The Johannine Christ is a spiritual being.

During the feast of Tabernacles the Jews try to arrest Jesus to put him to death. But, declares the evangelist (7:30) "no one set their hand on him, because his hour had not come". After an interval of days, a second tentative arrest fails likewise. Two other times (8:59;10:31) Jesus escapes, without anyone knowing how, to the torment of their lapidation. Some days before the passover, new arrest measures made for him have no sequel (11:57; 12:36). The Johannine Christ is not submissive to the ordinary laws of location.

The law of suffering doesn't seem to reach him either. Some hours before the agony of Calvary he speaks of it with some lyrical strain: "Father, the hour is come,

glorify your Son, that your Son may also glorify you" (17:1).

High on the cross, he dictates with quietude his final briefing to his beloved disciple and to Mary whom he avoids calling his mother (19:27). In addition, our physiological regime is foreign to him. To the disciples who invite him to eat he answers (4:32,34) "I have a food to eat that you know nothing of... My food is to do the will of the one who sent me and to accomplish his work". He dies, but only because he wants to and when he wishes it. No one takes away his life from him (10:18); the prince of this world himself has no hold over him (14:30). He dies solely to obey the command of his Father (14:31). He doesn't give up the spirit until after noting that his mission is accomplished (19:28,30).

The Johannine Christ has only the appearance of a human body. And one understands now why he says to Mary: "What is there between I and you, woman"; why he says to the Jews: "You are from below, I am from above; you are of this world; I am not of this world"; why the author of the gospel discreetly fights the common belief of the Davidic origin of Christ and the legend of Bethlehem (7:42); why he doesn't mention the virginal conception. The Johannine Christ owes nothing to David, owes nothing to Mary. He came directly from heaven into Galilee without passing through Bethlehem, without passing through Nazareth.

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8) SURVEY OF THE MARCIONITE DOCTRINE.

Marcion, born in the vicinity of the year 100, at Sinope on the edges of the bridge Pont-Euxin (today the Turkish province of Anatolie) worked for a time in the marine profession (Tertullian enjoys giving to him the name "pilot"). But he renounced early on the sea and focused his attention to the Christian religion in which he had probably been raised since his childhood. Epiphanius (Haer. XLII), tells that Marcion was the son of a bishop; this information that he probably received from Hippolyte, cannot be admitted on the condition of taking the word "bishop" in a very general sense.

About the year 130 he preached, with a success continually increasing, first in Asia then at Rome where he arrived in the vicinity of 138, a theology of which he owed the germ to Cerdon and which the objective was toward resolving the problem of evil. I borrow from Tertullian, whose work entitled "Against Marcion" is our main source of information, for this survey of the marcionite system which one is about to read. Justin dedicated some lines to his contemporary Marcion in his First Apology, XXVI, 5; LVIII, 1. The same observation applies to Rhodon, from whom Eusebius provides us a fragment in his "Ecclesiastical History", V13, 3. Irenaeus, who often takes on Marcion in part, gives a general view of his doctrine in Adv.Haer.1:27. Also see the Panarion of Epiphanius, Haer. XLII. The "Dialogues of Adamantius" presents to us a marcionism quite advanced.

1) The problem of evil cannot itself be resolved until one admits there are two Gods, the one evil, the other good.

2) The evil God is the Creator God, that is to say, the one who made the visible world. This God boasts himself in Isaiah (45:7) as being the author of evil. He is indeed cruel and belligerent. It is by his incumbent responsibility that the fall of man took place since his beginning. Later, in the mosaic law, which is his work, he is shown to be barbaric and fanciful. Moreover, if the Creator God didn't foresee the evil that exists in the world created by him, he is ignorant; if, having foreseen it, he didn't want to prevent it, he is evil; if, he wanted to prevent it but was unable, he is impotent.

3) The Creator God, who is the author of the mosaic law , is also the author of the books of the Old Testament. The prophets are his agents. It is he who speaks through their mouths.

4) The Creator God announced by his prophets that he would send his Christ. But this Christ, whose coming the books of the Old Testament foretells, is a political individual as well as religious.

He has for a mission to unveil the throne of David, to provide to the Jewish people his old-fashioned strength. He has nothing in common with Jesus. Moreover, in the era of Marcion, which was more than a hundred years following the coming of Jesus on the earth, the Christ of the Creator God had not yet arrived.

5) The Good God is the author of invisible beings, of these here only. Creating neither the visible world nor man, he was completely unknown in this world until the day when Jesus revealed his existence. The evil God himself did not know him.

6) The Good God is gentle, tender, lenient, compassionate, incapable of becoming angry. This God, seeing that man was oppressed by the Creator who strived to make him miserable, became interested in him and resolved to save him. To save him, that is, to deliver and liberate him from the power of the God who had created him.

7) To achieve his objective, the Good God, under the reign of the emperor Tiberius, departed from his heaven, the third heaven; he crossed the heaven of the Creator situated beneath his own; he descended upon the earth into Galilee and went immediately to work. Immediately-- and here is why. He had only the appearance of a human body. In reality he was a spirit, a spirit savior.

He received nothing from Mary, he was not born, he didn't need to grow up. But is this the property of the Good God who personally came to the earth? Is he not limited to delegate someone? It was He Himself who was manifested to us under the appearance of a human body and who is called the Christ. The Christ is thus the Good God clothed with an ethereal cloak which renders him visible. (It is this ethereal covering, the appearance of a human body, which is entitled "son of God" and which calls God his father (I, 19 , The marcionite Christ, having had no childhood, descended from the heaven in the 29th year of our era, right at the moment where his public life began; I.,14-15;IV,7; I., 24;III,10; IV, 19,21;I,19,14;II,27). The spiritual Christ possesses a principle of life analogous to the human soul which allows him to experience, as he wishes and is without it subject, to the psychological and physiological phenomenons that we experience.

8) Upon arriving to the earth to deliver men who groaned under the cruel yoke of the Creator God, the Good God couldn't let stand the mosaic law, who on one hand, being incarnated, allowed the barb- arism of the evil God. On the other hand he could dispense in revealing himself to men as their savior. He abolished thus the law and, along with the law, the prophets. He is, all the more, made known to men. As much as the Son he revealed the Father; as much as the Father he revealed the Son, according to what he himself declared: "no one knows who the Son is but the Father; and no one knows who the Father is but the son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him" (Luke 10:22).

9) The Creator, seeing the Christ working against him, determined his loss. And, for best appeasing the hate that this rival inspired in him, he attempted to inflict upon him the torment that his law, the mosaic law, reserved for the accursed, which was the agony of the cross. The Christ was therefore crucified by the virtues and strengths of the Creator; he died on a cross (Tertullian noted that the death of the marcionite Christ was only a sham since his body was only a phantom; but the marcionite spoke of the crucifixion and death of Christ as a phenomenon truly accomplished (AM I., 25,11; III, 23;4,21;III, 19; here Tertullian reproaches Marcion to speak of the death of Christ whose birth he rejected; III, 8, same reproaching of the inconsistencies held by Marcion who believed in the death of Christ).

10) The Christ died; but he saved men in the sense that he liberated them from the yoke of the Creator. To be exact he saved their souls, expecting that the flesh was destined to perish. The resurrection, understood in the sense of a return of the flesh to the life which would take place at the end of the world, is an illusion. However there exists for the soul a spiritual resurrection that takes place everyday. This spiritual resurrection is produced when the soul passes from error to truth, which is when it detaches from the Creator God in order to be given to the Good God whose existence was revealed to him by the Christ. This conversion is, indeed, the transition from death to life (I., 24). Tertullian mentions several times in his "Resurrection of the Flesh" (notably XIX) the spiritual resurrection admitted by Marcion. Irenaus, Adv. Haer. II, 31,2, mentions the same doctrine by the gnostics .

11) The Good God does not punish sinners, nor does he judge them. His judgement is limited, in effect, to declaring those who are evil. The evil God causes fear, but the Good God is love. The Good God consequently has no inferiority. In the final day, he will satisfy the anger of the Creator God with the guilty which the Creator will then gather into his hell.

Add that Marcion had confessed penance at one time in the Roman church, but the Roman clergy had cast him out in 144.

9) ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

For as long as one attributed the fourth gospel to John, an immediate disciple of Jesus, one placed the composition of this book at the extreme limit of the first century. One didn't dare go any higher on account of Irenaus who portrayed the fourth gospel as a refutation against Cerinthus. On the other hand, one couldn't go down any lower for the difficulty of conferring an improbable length to the life of John. One attached then a historic value to the narrations of the fourth gospel. When this illusion fell, when the fictional character of the book attributed to the apostle John was established, a problem entirely new stood before the critics. One asked whether an immediate disciple of Jesus, through a colorful recounting of his life, might have been capable of transforming his master into an abstraction.

The answer to this question does not have to wait.

One realizes easily that this human fantasy has some impassable boundaries and that a witness to the life of Jesus would have never been able to write a fiction as the one which unfolds beneath our eyes in the fourth gospel. Historicity and Johannine origin are two intertwined facts, inseparable and of which the first drags the other in its fall. Historically, the fourth gospel could be by the author to whom tradition assigns it. But, if it is only a liberal composition, it cannot, to any degree, emanate from a companion of Jesus, and one is forced thereby to search for a different origin.

The critics searched. And if this didn't succeed in determining by whom the fourth gospel was written, they believed to have succeeded in fixing the approximate date of its composition. According to them this book was composed by an unknown in the neighborhood of the year 100; and, consequently, the tradition is not mistaken if partially accounted. It is wrong to attribute to it an apostolic plume; but this becomes reason for placing it at the fringe of the first century. In regard to the epistles of Ignatius and of Polycarp: these writings, they say, underwent the influence of Johannine literature and are clearly later; now these become set in the vicinity of the year 100.

This reasoning, as one comes to see, hinges everything entirely upon the dating of the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp; if this date should turn out to be wrong, this falls to the ground. Now all the correspondence of Ignatius is a fabrication subsequent to 150. As for the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians it is- barring some lines- authentic, but again it doesn't go any higher than the middle of the second century. In sum, Polycarp and the false Ignatius limits us to saying that the fourth gospel existed in the middle of the second century. Try to find elsewhere some information less vague.

For their search it suffices to concentrate on the school of the Johannine Christ and to gather his oracles. "What is there between me and you, woman?"; "You know neither me nor my Father"; "you never heard his voice, you never saw his shape"; "All those who came before me are thieves and robbers"; "The World is in

the power of the Evil One"; "You have for a father the Devil"; "the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world"; "the one who hears my word... has passed from death to life"; "I have a food to eat that you don't know".

Before these texts and others still, believers and critics close their eyes for not comprehending them. But it is impossible for them to consider the surface without seeing the source. The author of the fourth gospel constructed his edifice with some stones taken from the yard of Marcion.

This becomes especially obvious in the text of 5:24, where the Christ declares that the one who hears his word "has passed from death to life" and in the parallel text of the first epistle, 3:14, where the author, using this expression of Christ, states: "passed from death to life". These two oracles set before us the spiritual resurrection, that resurrection which consists in the conversion to the Christian faith, these reflecting the marcionite doctrine which likewise taught the spiritual resurrection. I know that some are going to raise an objection to this. Some are going to say that the dependence is on the side of Marcion who monopolized the Johannine formula and in so doing abused it to serve his ends.

This explanation strikes against the text of the second epistle to Timothy, 2:17-18, in which the two heretics Hymenaeus and Philetus are denounced because they "concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection already arrived" and that, in doing so, "they overthrow the faith of some". The theologians say that this denunciation emanates from Paul himself, who wrote the second epistle to Timothy in the year 62, shortly before his death.

The critics estimate that the author who wrote this was a Catholic in the vicinity of 125. If Paul himself, in the year 62, forbade from presenting the resurrection as a fact already accomplished, how explain that around the year 100, the author of the fourth gospel had no reservations about using a formula which threatened, in a saying of a great apostle, to "overthrow the faith of some"? And if the pastoral epistles are from the vicinity of 125, how explain that, at this date, a Catholic condemns, without any restriction, without any distinction, a formula that he could not have failed to read in the fourth gospel and in the first Johannine epistle, since the critics place these writings in the vicinity of the year 100? I am bound for the moment to conclude that the Catholic editor of the pastoral epistles (I will prove that he stands in the vicinity of 150) denounces precisely, under the names of Hymenaeus and Philetus , the marcionite writers, which included the author of the fourth gospel.

The book that one calls the Gospel of Saint John is, considered in its first edition, a marcionite product. It didn't see the light of day until after the first third of the second century. This date illuminates the 5:43 text, in which the Johannine Christ, after having reproached the Jews for not receiving him, he who came in the name of his Father, added: "If another comes in his own name you will receive him". The apologists and the critics, who persist in remaining in the vicinity of the year 100, confess here honestly their embarrassment and confess their incapability to identify the "other" to whom the Jews will make a favorable welcome. Here is the sense of the oracles: "You refuse to receive me, I who came in the name of my Father; but, in a hundred and three years, you will receive the impostor Barkochba who himself will claim a heavenly mission ". The Johannine Christ describes what occurred in the year 132 when the Jews, led by Barkochba, revolted against Rome.

The fourth gospel reflects the doctrines of Marcion. How, with such an original stigma, had it succeeded in becoming accepted by the Church? One cannot respond to this question other than by some conjecture. Here is one that might be deduced:

Marcion was excommunicated by the Roman clergy in 144. The same measure was perhaps already taken against him and his adherents by the churches in Asia where he had sojourned before coming to Rome. Other churches later followed the example given to them.

In the vicinity of 150 Marcion was a terror to the catholic surroundings; one agreed with Polycarp to consider him the "eldest son of Satan". But note that he had spent time in Rome. Marcion arrived in the imperial city around 138; it was only in 144 that he was forbidden from the assembly of the faithful. During six years he could gather some disciples, inoculate his ideas into them and nevertheless maintain contact with the Church. During six years he and his disciples participated at the liturgical reunions without alarming the clergy.

This was not made possible outside of strict discipline. Marcion imposed himself and imposed to his circle of friends a great deliberation. He did not express overtly his ideas to where he felt defiance he became reserved. He let rather his theories be guessed if he had not formulated them. He put into practice the maxim (Matt7 :6): "do not give that which is holy to dogs, and do not cast your pearls before swine".

It is in this state of mind that the first writing of the fourth gospel was written in the proximity of 135 (the allusion to Barkochba is understood best two or three years after the revolt of 132, rather than eight or ten years later). The author, a disciple of Marcion, had sojourned to Jerusalem and in Palestine before the war of 132 (one can depict a man like Justin born in Palestine and, consequently, be familiar with the Jewish conventions as also with the topography of the country). The new gospel was destined to expound, by putting into the mouth of Jesus, the good doctrine, the doctrine of Marcion. He expounded it with a level of uneasiness which capitalized on the current prejudices. Thanks to the ambiguous formulas that he used, thanks also to his reticence, the Johannine Christ remained in evident obscurity. He told the faithful: "Your doctors sketched for you a rough as well as inaccurate portrait of my person". And he outlined, on his origin, on his intimate nature, some explanations which pricked the curiosity without satisfying it, and which demanded the same to be completed at an opportune time with some oral explanations.

The fourth gospel saw its day in Asia (during this time Marcion had not returned to Rome). The Church where it appeared admitted to its liturgy - the disciples of the spiritual Christ whose doctrine she knew only so vaguely. When the new gospel was presented, she didn't try to study thoroughly; she contented in admiring the face of the edifice; the differences escaped her. She took confidence in the book one of her children had composed and she allowed its reading in her assembly. Other churches followed. About the year 140, the fourth gospel- or to be exact, the form in which it existed then- received authority in some of the main communities of the Orient.

Ten years later, Marcion and his disciples were despised. But the tree that they had planted in the garden of Christ had had time there to deepen its roots. It remained. The fourth gospel nourished the faith and piety of the faithful who themselves managed not to comprehend it; it continued exercising its mission. It no longer belonged to its author who, moreover, had launched it under the veil of anonymity. The Church, the great Church- that of the Orient- had taken possession of it with the same fact that she had introduced it into her liturgical assemblies. She guarded her treasure, reserving the sole right to enrich it.

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Second Redaction of the Fourth Gospel.

It enriches one. The new acquires a home without at first seeing the advantage. Then, little by little, some shortcomings are unfolded, of inconveniences, of gaps which require some retouches, some complements. At it's convention, several weak points appeared in the fourth gospel. One perceived that its discourses of such high inspiration and its narrations of such majestic pace not only defended wrongdoing against the marcionite heresy, but appeared here and there to actually be favorable to it. It was necessary to remedy this troublesome situation. From there, some interpolations destined toward explaining the primitive text, struggle with it, illuminate with it, but which, in reality, pervert it.

1) The carnal body of Christ.

The Johannine epistles denounce with horror men who refused to believe in the flesh of Jesus. These people here admitted that Jesus possessed divinity; but they claimed that this divinity did not take on flesh to enter into our midst. It is in this negation of the flesh that consists of their crime. A monstrous crime: "many seducers came into the world who do not confess that Jesus came in the flesh. The one (who thinks thus) is the seducer and the antichrist" (2Joh 7); "Any spirit who confesses that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is of God; and any spirit who does not confess Jesus (as having come in the flesh) is not of God; this one is of the antichrist which you have heard that he comes and who is already present in the world" (1Joh4:2,3); "This is he, Jesus Christ, who came by the water and the blood"; "not in the water only but in the water and the blood" (1Joh 5:6); the targeted culprits acknowledge that Jesus received the baptism, but they didn't admit that he had actually died; the water designates the baptism of Jesus by John, the blood designating his actual death. Thus one is an antichrist when one confines to admitting Jesus' divinity and rejecting his incarnation.

How could an author so anxious to setting into relief the human nature of Christ, elsewhere leave it in the shadow? One will say that he was not constrained to always repeating everywhere the same thing. Okay. But one must at least supervise his formulas and take guard in providing some ammunition against the "antichrists", against the "seducers" that he denounces here with so much vehemence. Now the following professions of the faith, that one reads in other places, could they only be welcome against the disputers of the incarnation, for all those who had believed in the rule of the faith, when they had proclaimed the divinity of Jesus: "the one who confesses that Jesus is the son of God, God abides in him and he in God" (1Joh4:15); "the one who believes in the Son of God has this testimony in himself *** These things I have written to you that you may know that you have eternal life, you who believes in the name of the Son of God" (1Joh5:10,13). How could the apostle of Christ's incarnation not see that he borrowed here from his adversaries their own language? But it is precisely not him who speaks in large part to us now, but rather the spokesman on behalf of the "antichrists".

He preaches the marcionite Christ, the Christ who is not incarnate; and the partisan of the incarnation is a Catholic who endeavors to neutralize this doctrine but who doesn't dare to entirely suppress the formulas.

I have just interrogated the Johannine epistles. I pass now to the gospel. It says (19:34) that a Roman soldier, seeing that Jesus had died, pierced his side with a lance, and out from him poured blood and water. This entirely natural fact appears to us banal. Also one is surprised at hearing the narrator make a solemn guarantee of the reality by this formula, the equivalent which does not reappear anywhere else except in the final remark: "the one who saw this bares witness and his witness is true; and he knows that he tells the truth so that you also believed".

Why does he consequently attach so much significance to a detail which has none for us? The text of 1Joh5:6, that we have just encountered, allows us to catch a glimpse into the solution behind this enigma. The blood and the water that the piercing of the lance caused to gush is the corroboration from the history of the didactic teaching given by the epistle. This last one professes that Jesus didn't come only with the water, but also with the blood; that he was not limited to receiving John's baptism, but that he also shed his blood, that he really died for us. The gospel exposes that which is past. When the Roman soldier approached the cross, Jesus had died already. However one would raise objection that he had died as phantoms die, that he had died only in appearance. The piercing of the spear dissipates this suspicion. The side of Jesus was pierced by the lance, blood flowed out with water. There was a blood flow: evidence that Jesus had a carnal body like that of our own, for an ethereal body would not have had blood. But was this blood of his possibly artificial? No, for had it been artificial, it would have had a vermilion color. Now, with the blood it became decomposed by death; thus evidence that this blood was of the same quality as ours and that Jesus possessed very much a human nature that was in every respect equal to that of our own.

The piercing of the spear, with what ensues, is therefore an apologetic history, a history destined toward confirming the incarnation of Jesus the Son of God. But what becomes of the witness with the certificate of high integrity that is delivered of him? This is the expedient to which one resorts when one has reservations to battle, and mistrusts to uproot. The author is taken up with some Christians who preached the doctrine of the spiritual Christ and who, if they did not already devote their adherence there, is on the verge of giving it. He says to them:

"There was the blood flow from the side of Christ pierced by the lance; blood mixed with water. This is well certain, for the witness to this fact is above all suspicion. Believe not thus in the phantom Christ, and hasten yourself to withdrawing your faith in him if you had the misfortune of agreeing with him. Do not let yourself become beguiled by this doctrine of delusion. Stay faithful to the incarnate Christ. Return to him if you left him ". He goes to war with docetism.

He battles with it. He has not thus been able to encourage it. It is not he who would have desired to yield to Christ the perception of a phantom. Well we know about some texts in which the Christ speaks, as an alien to the laws of humanity: "What is there between I and you, woman?" "You are from below; I myself am from above; you are of this world, I myself am not of this world "; "I have a food to eat that you know not"; "Father, the hour has come, glorify your son". Among these texts and the history of the piercing of the lance there is an abyss, -- an abyss which separates the marcionite christology from the catholic christology.

2)The Bread of Life.

We now pause before the speech on the bread of life (in chapter 6) to leaving aside the promises on the resurrection that one finds there and which I will occupy in the notes. Jesus, seeing the Jews in quest of material bread, exhorts them to procure "the food which subsists for the eternal life", the "true bread from heaven", to which the manna was only the shadow. The Jews exclaim: "Lord, give us always this bread". Jesus answers: "I am the bread of life. The one who comes to me will never hunger and the one who believes in me will never thirst *** (40) The will of my Father, is that whoever sees the Son and believes in him has the life eternal *** (47) Verily, verily, I tell you this, the one who believes in me has eternal life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the desert and they died. This is here the bread that descends from the heaven so that the one who eats it will never die. (51) I am the living bread who is descended from the heaven. Whoever eats this bread will live eternally *** (60) Several of his disciples, after having heard this, said: This saying is hard; who can hear it?" Jesus, knowing within himself that his disciples murmured on this subject, tells them: It is the spirit who vivifies, the flesh serves to nothing. The words that I told you are spirit and life. This discourse proclaims the virtue of faith, as he would later do in the discourse on the communion. Then Jesus says (17:3) "The eternal life is this, that they may know you, the only true God, and the one that you sent, the Christ". Today he says: "the one who comes to me will never hunger, and the one who believes in me will never thirst *** The will of my Father is that whoever sees the Son and believes has in him the eternal life". The faith is "the food that subsists for eternal life". And, since this faith has for the objective the Son of God (thus that of the Father; but the Father is only One with his Son, 10:30) , and whoever sees the Son sees the Father (14:7-9), it ensues that the Son of God is "the bread of life", the bread that one must eat to live eternally.

But how does one eat the Son of God? One eats him as soon as one believes in him, since, as soon as one believes in him, one has eternal life. And the words of Augustine are true (In Jo, XXV, 12) " This has nothing to do here with the teeth, the belly. Believe in him - this is to eat the living bread. The one who eats ".

To this spiritual manducation at the time there was moreover an explanation that Augustine didn't see, that his catholic convictions forbade him to see, but which the Johannine Christ deals to us through his frequent discretion. "The flesh serves to nothing". It wouldn't serve toward anything for the Son of God to accomplish his life-imparting mission. It is not by the flesh that he must nourish us; it is by the spirit. The Christ in the discourse on the bread of life is a spiritual Christ. But I omitted one entire section to this discourse on the bread of life. And this section, which goes from 6:51b to 6:57, seems to reduce to nought my conclusions, that one may determine from there. After having declared that he is the bread descended from heaven and that the one who eats of this bread will live eternally, the Christ adds:

(51b) "And the bread that I will give, this is my flesh that I will give for the life of the world", thereof the Jews disputed among themselves, saying: "How can he give to us his flesh to eat?" Jesus tells them:

"Verily, verily I say to you, that if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of the man and if you do not drink his blood, you will not have the life in you. The one who eats my flesh and who drinks my blood has eternal life and I will revive him on the last day. For my flesh is truly a drink. The one who eats my flesh and who drinks my blood abides in me and I abide in him. As the Father who is living has sent me and that I live by the Father, thus the one who eats me will live through me ".

There the flesh sets forth the first plan. But, at the same stroke, here the maxim "the flesh serves to nothing" becomes forgotten. Because between this and that there is an absolute contradiction. Not for the theologians, naturally. They never are short of explanations. To conciliate the dogma of hell with some perplexing texts they distinguished a fire that burns and a fire that doesn't burn, of pains that inflict punishment and of pains that don't punish. By the same they distinguish a carnal flesh to which applies the aforesaid maxim and a flesh not carnal, objective of the precept: "If you don't eat the flesh of the Son of the man ***". Leave aside this childishness and end it. It is apparent that, if the flesh serves to nothing, one does not have to preoccupy oneself with eating the flesh of Christ. It is just as apparent that the flesh has a capital significance, if in order to have the eternal life, one has to eat the flesh of Christ. Between "if you don't eat" and "the flesh serves to nothing", the opposition is truly irreducible.

To this first observation some append another. One recognizes generally that the relative declarations on the mastication of the flesh causes a certain contrast with the remainder of the discourse on the bread of life. But one assures that this contrast is in the precision of reflection and not in their opposition. Look at it closer. Believe in the divinity of Christ and eat his flesh- which this or the sense of the last statement- expresses two different ideas. One could believe that the Christ possesses divinity without eating his flesh; reciprocally one could eat- in the sense that one would please- the flesh of Christ without believing in his divinity. Now each of these two acts are presented to us successively as necessary and sufficient. At a place in the discourse the eternal life is guaranteed to all those who accept the divinity of Christ. Then, a little further, we are required to eat his flesh. If this last operation is indispensable, faith in the Son of God is thus insufficient. And if faith is sufficient, then the mastication of the flesh is superfluous. For the second time we have before us an irreducible opposition.

The discourse on the bread of life is not consistent. Two authors collaborated there. The first said: "The bread of life, this is the Son of God. This celestial bread feeds the soul who believes in him; and the food that he gives guarantees to the soul immortality. But, in this feeding there is nothing carnal; for the Christ is spirit and the flesh serves to nothing ". The second said: "The Christ procured the eternal life to men by pouring out his blood. It is his immolated flesh which is the bread of life because it is that which gave salvation to the world. Believe thus in the flesh and in the blood of Christ; for if we believe in a phantom Christ, we will not possess the eternal life that Christ obtained for us by his flesh and blood ".

We have before us two authors. And, as each sets their doctrine in this plugging of Christ, we have before us two Christs. Either two agrees with us on the question of faith, declaring to us that, without faith, we do not have eternal life (though the second adds the resurrection). Only they differ on the object of faith. The one is not occupied with his divinity: this is the marcionite Christ. The other thinks only of his incarnation: this is the catholic Christ. If we believe in the Son of God, we will be in line with the first. To satisfy the second it will be necessary for us to believe that the Christ had flesh and was not a phantom.

Herein a question becomes inevitably posed. If the catholic Christ simply demands us to believe in the reality of his flesh, why does he tell us to eat it? One saw that the marcionite Christ systematically shunned the light too oft supposed and moreover wrapped a light in a veil for fear of startling the conscience. But the catholic Christ doesn't have the same susceptibilities in this respect. Why therefore is the Catholic Christ so obscure? He was strained to obscurity by professional

duty. What role does he boast here? He pretends to interpret. Interpret the words of the marcionite Christ. In reality he suppresses them; but he suppresses them by way of commentary. An elegant process, but one which is not without imposing an intention. The dissertation on the flesh must adjust to the oracle that it was supposed to explain; it had to give the illusion that this prolonged it. Now the marcionite Christ had presented the faith under the symbol of the bread which feeds the soul and procures eternal life to it.

This symbol became utilized by the catholic Christ which was then cast into the mold of his dissertation. The flesh became a bread of immortality: "The bread that I will give, this is my flesh that I will give for the life of the world". Transformed into bread, the flesh became the food for the soul which eats it. Then the blood, reclaimed by the symmetry, intervened to play the role of a drink. There is how the necessity of the faith in the incarnation of Christ became translated into the necessity of eating the flesh and drinking the blood out of that situation. The author was far in foreseeing the enormous mystery which his makeshift would become as cause for posterity.

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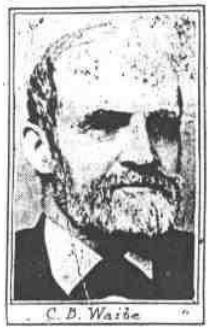
The History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred



by Charles B. Waite

Judge Charles Burlingame Waite (1824-1909)

Charles Waite's first career was in the legal profession rather than history or theology. In 1862 he was appointed associate justice of the supreme court of Utah by President Lincoln. In 1865 he resigned from that post, and a year or so later he devoted himself to literary pursuits. In 1881 he published *History of the Christian Religion to the Year A. D. 200*, which included research on the Marcionites and the Marcionite gospel.

This website includes extracts from the book:
An Outline of the Gospel of Marcion
The Gospels of Marcion and of Luke Compared (w/tables)

PDF versions of the entire book are avalible at Archive.org:
The History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred (black and white pdf - 20MB)
The History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred (colour pdf - 55MB)

OUTLINE OF THE GOSPEL OF MARCION

From

History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two-Hundred

by Charles B. Waite

(Chicago, C.V.Waite &Co., 1900) pp.272-286.

MARCION.-- A. D. 145.

Marcion, the great heresiarch, was born at Sinope, in the second century. He came to Rome about the year 142.

Tertullian says, the fiercest and most barbarous nations lived upon the Euxine Sea--that nothing had the glow of life there-that all things were torpid and stiff with cold - that nevertheless, nothing in Pontus was so barbarous and sad, as that Marcion was born there.

Dr. Lardner, on the authority of Jerome and Augustine - credits Marcion with being a man of letters [Lardner's works, vol. 4, p.526.] He preached and disseminated his doctrines, for twenty years; and with such success, that in the time of Epiphanius, his followers were in every nation under heaven.

The story that before he came to Rome, he had seduced a young woman, Dr. Lardner thinks an invention of Epiphanius.[Ibid. vol.4, p.59'.] It probably originated in the fact which we learn from Jerome, that Marcion had sent before him to Rome, a woman, to prepare the minds of the people for his doctrines [Jerome, adv. Ctesiph. t. 4, p.477.].

Marcion is said to have rejected the Old Testament entirely; not considering it of any authority after the coming of Christ. He wrote a work entitled "Antithesis," in which he contrasted the old system with the new--the God of the one, with the God of the other--the law with the gospel. He represented Christianity as a new system, abrogating the old, and as entirely disconnected from it. The Creator of the world described in the Old Testament, [The Demi-ourgos], was different fromthe God of the new dispensation, and inferior to him. From the superior God, Jesus had come, endued with divine power, commencing with the beginning of his ministry.

He maintained the doctrine of the impurity of matter and could not therefore believe in the immaculate conception. According to Tertullian,[Adv. Marcion, 3.8. See also de Pr. C. 33, 34.] he even denied the corporeal reality of the flesh of Christ. But this statement may be received with some allowance.

Marcion denied the resurrection of the body, and believed in the doctrine of necessity. He was a follower of Paul, and accused the other apostles of having perverted the gospel doctrines. Tertullian ingeniously endeavors to treat this accusation as aimed at the four gospels; and argues thence that they must have been in existence before Marcion. His argument, however, destroys itself; since the apostles denounced were Peter, James, and John; only one of whom has credit for writing either of the four gospels, while to the other two were attributed two of the apocryphal gospels. Marcion probably referred to the corruption of "the gospel," and not to any written books.

Marcion taught and permitted the baptizing by women. It may be inferred, also, from Epiphanius, that he did not treat with much respect those who refused them this privilege. [Adv. Har. 42.4.]

MARCION'S NEW TESTAMENT.

The first New Testament that ever appeared, was compiled and published by Marcion. It was in the Greek language. It consisted of "The Gospel," and "The Apostolicon." No Acts--no Revelation, and but one gospel.

The Apostolicon comprised ten of Paul's Epistles, as follows: Galatians, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Romans, except the 15th and 16th chapters, 1st and 2d Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon and Philippians ; arranged in the order as here named.[Also part of the Epistle to the Laodiceans.]. This canon of the New Testament was prepared and published soon after his arrival at Rome ; probably about A. D. 145. Baring-Gould thinks he brought the gospel with him from Sinope. [Lost and Host. Gospels, p.241].

Tertullian accuses Marcion of giving no name or title to his gospel. It was called simply "the Gospel;" and sometimes, "the Gospel of the Lord." Marcion claimed for it the authority of Paul himself. It closely resembles the Gospel of Luke, but is much shorter.

Ever since the time of Tertullian, it has been, by many, charged against Marcion, that he corrupted the Gospel of Luke. This charge, it will be seen as we proceed, cannot be sustained. Nearly all we have concerning the Gospel of Marcion, comes through Tertullian and Epiphanius, both of whom were violently opposed to him, and neither of whom was particularly scrupulous in the means employed against an adversary. Hence it has become difficult to reproduce the gospel. Several German critics have attempted to reconstruct it, and it is published in the Codex Apocryphus of Thilo, from the works of Hahn.

In Marcion 's Gospel, there was nothing corresponding to the first three chapters of Luke. The first chapter of Marcion was similar to the fourth of Luke, but had many variations from it; and it is here that the critics have had the most difficulty. After passing the first chapter of Marcion and fourth of Luke, the progress is somewhat easier.

Tertullian furnishes but little aid ; but Epiphanius, writing in the same language with Marcion, gives a list of 78 passages, in which, as he claims, Marcion corrupted the text of Luke. As he mentions the most trivial deviations, giving the exact words in every instance, we think it may be taken as the correct text of Marcion. This opinion is confirmed by the fact, that in his scholia, he recapitulates every reading in almost precisely the same words; the deviations being few and unimportant.

Tertullian, in his work against Marcion, has a running commentary on Luke, with a constant invective against Marcion, and an occasional allusion to his gospel. From this some little further assistance may be obtained. Too much reliance has been placed upon it by some critics, as it is quite uncertain, in many cases, whether Tertullian is referring to the Gospel of Marcion, or to the text of Luke, as it prevailed in his day. By comparing all that is said by these two writers, the text of Marcion may be pretty nearly discovered.

We have not been able to procure a copy of this important gospel, as it appears in Thilo, or else-where.From the works of Tertullian and Epiphanius, we have, however, attempted to reproduce it; occasionally invoking the aid of some of the German critics.

THE GOSPEL. [According to Marcion.]

CHAPTER 1.-(Mostly in the 4th chapter of Luke.)

'In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, (Part of Luke 3: 1), Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the Sabbath days. (Luke 4.31.)

Verse 2. And they were exceedingly astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power.

(For parallel with verses 2 to 9 inclusive, see Luke, ch. 4. vv. 32 to 39.)

3. And in the synagogue there was a man who had a spirit of an unclean devil, and who cried out with a loud voice,

4. Saying: Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, Jesus? (omitting the words "of Nazareth.") Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God.

5. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

6. And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying: What a word is this? For with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.

7. And the fame of him went out into every place, in the country round about. (This verse is omitted by Volkmar, but retained by Hahn, Hilgenfeld and others. See Sup. Rel. vol.2, p.128. Note. Baring-Gould, who reproduces this chapter, follows Volkmar. The two following verses are omitted by Ritschl and Bauer, but retained by others.)

8. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.

9. And he stood over her and rebuked the fever; and it left her; and immediately she arose and ministered unto them. (Following this, Volkmar has the last part of Luke 4.14 and 15; but he is not supported by other critics.)

10. And he came to Nazareth, and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and began to preach to them.(See Luke 4.16.)

11. And he sat down, and the eyes of all who were in the synagogue, were fastened on him.(Luke 4.20.)

12. And he began to speak to them. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. (Luke 4.21, 22.)

13. And he said unto them, Ye surely will say unto me this proverb: Physician, heal thyself; whatsoever ye have done in Capernaum, do also here. (Luke 4.23.) (The next verse, 24th of Luke, was not in Marcion. Neither were verses 25 and 26, according to Hahn, Ritschl and Dewette. We accordingly omit them, though they were retained by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld.. Verse 27 is also omitted by most critics. Baring.Gould, who follows Voikmar, retains these three verses.)

14. And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things were filled with wrath. (Luke4.28.)

15. And rose up, and thrust him out of the city and led him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. (Luke 4.29.)

16. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way. (Volkmar says "to Capernaum.") (See Luke 4.30.)

17. Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them. (Luke 4.40.)

18. And devils also came out of many, crying out and saying, Thou art Christ, the Son of God. And he, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ. (For parallel to verses 18 to 21, inclusive, see Luke 4.41 to 44.)

19. And when it was day, he departed, and went into a desert place. And the people sought him,and came unto him, and staid him, that he should not depart from them.

20. And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore am I sent.

21. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

CHAPTER II (See Luke ch. 5.)

Verses 1 to 13, same as in the Gospel of Luke.

14. And he charged him to tell no man, But go and show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto you.

Verses 15 to 39 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER III. (Luke, ch. 6.)

Verses 1 to 16, same as in Luke.

17. And he came down among them, (en autois), and stood in the plain, and there was the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people, out of all Judea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed oftheir diseases.

18. Same as In Luke.

19. And the whole multitude sought to touch him.

20,21 and 22, Same as in Luke.

23. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for behold your reward is great in heaven; for in the like manner did your fathers unto the prophets.

24 to 49 inclusive, same as In Luke.

CHAPTER IV. (Luke, ch. 7.)

Verses 1 to 28, same as in Luke except some unimportant verbal differences.

Verses 29 to 35 inclusIve, of Luke, not in Marcion.)

29. (36 of Luke.) And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.

30. (37 and 38 of Luke.) But a sinful woman, standing near, before his feet, washed his feet with her tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.

31 to 35 Inclusive, same as 39 to 43 of Luke.

36. (44,45 and 46 of Luke.) And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thy house, thou gavest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.

37 to 40 inclusive, same as 47 to 50 of Luke.

CHAPTER V. (Luke, ch. 8)

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke. (Verse 19 of Luke not in Marcion.)

19,20 and 21 inclusive, same as 20, 21 and 22 of Luke. But Volkmar has, in verse 20 of Marcion, (21 of Luke), "Who is my mother ? and who are my brethren? My mother and my brethren are," etc.

22. (23 and 24 of Luke.) He was sleeping with the sailors. And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.

23 to 40 inclusive, same as 25 to 42 of Luke.

41. (43,44 and 45 of Luke.) And a woman, touching him, was healed of an issue of blood; and the Lord said, Who has touched me?

42 to 52 Inclusive, same as 46 to 56 of Luke.

CHAPTER VI. (Luke, ch. 9.)

Verses 1 to 15 inclusive, same as in Luke.

16. Same as in Luke, except, "he asked blessing upon them." [Ep autois]

17 to 21 inclusive, same as in Luke.

22.Saying, the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be~put to death, and after three days rise again.

23 to 29 inclusive, same as in Luke.

30. (30 and 31 of Luke.) And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses, in glory.

31 to 33 inclusive, same as 32 to 34 of Luke.

34. (35 of Luke.) From the cloud a voice saying: This is my beloved Son.

35 to 38 inclusive, same as 36 to 39 of Luke.

39. (40 of Luke.) And I besought thy disciples, and they were not able to cast him out. (ouk eedunestheesan ekballein auto.)

40. (41 of Luke.) And he said to them, O faithless generation, how long shall I suffer you?

41 to 61 inclusive, same as in 42 to 62 of Luke.

CHAPTER VII. (Luke, ch. 10.)

Verses 1 to 20 inclusive, same as in Luke.

21.In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that those things which were hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes. Even so, Father, for it seemed good in thy sight.

22.All things are delivered to me of my Father, and no man hath known the Father save the Son, nor the Son save the Father, and he to whom the Son hath revealed.

23 and 24, same as in Luke.

25. And behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, say. ing: Master, doing what shall I obtain life? (aionion omitted.)

26. He said unto him, What is written in the law?

27 and 28, same as in Luke, except that instead of orthos apekrithees, Marcion had orthos eipes.

29 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER VIII. (Luke ch. 11.)

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, may thy Holy Spirit come to us. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

3 and 4, same as in Luke.

5. And he said: Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves? (aiton treis artous;)

(Verses 6, 7 and 8 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

6. [9 of Luke.] Ask, and it shall be given. (Verse 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

7. [11 and 12 of Luke.] Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or, instead of an egg, a scorpion?

8. [13 of Luke.] If, therefore, you being evil, know how to give good things unto your children, how much more your Father, who is in heaven?

9 to 23 inclusive, same as 14 to 28 of Luke.

24. [29 of Luke.] And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say: This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given them.

[Verses 30, 31 and 32 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 25 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 41 of Luke.

34. [42 of Luke.] Wo unto you, Pharisees! For ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over the calling [kleesin], and the love of God. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

35 to 40 inclusive, same as 43 to 48 of Luke. [Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 41, 42 and 43, same as 52, 53 and 54 of Luke.

CHAPTER IX. (Luke, ch. 12.)

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. (4 and 5 of Luke.) I say unto you, be not afraid of them who kill the body; fear him who has power, after killing, to cast into hell.

(Verses 6 and 7 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

5. (8 of Luke.) Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before God.

6. (9 of Luke.) But he that denieth me before men, shall be denied before God.

7 to 24 inclusive, same as 10 to 27 of Luke. (Verse 28 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

25, same as 29 of Luke.

26. (30 of Luke.) For all these things do the nations of the world seek after. And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh.

27.(31 of Luke) Pleen before zeeteite, omitted.

28. (32 of Luke.) Instead of ho pateer humon, Marcion had ho pateer; "the Father."

29 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

34. (38 or Luke.) And if he shall come in the evening watch, (hesperieen phulakeen), and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.

35 to 41 Inclusive, same as 39 to 45 of Luke.

42 (46 of Luke.) The Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.

43 to 53 inclusive, same as 47 to 57 of Luke.

54.(58 of Luke.) Instead of se parado, Marcion has paradoaei se.

55, same as 59 of Luke.

CHAPTER X. (Luke, ch. 13.)

(Verses 1 to 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.) Verses 1 to 5 inclusive, same as 11 to 15 of Luke.

6. (16 of Luke.) Ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond, on the sabbath day?

7 to 17 inclusive, same as 17 to 27 of Luke.

18.(28 of Luke.) There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see all the righteous in the kingdom of God, and your-selves cast out, and held back.

(Verses 29 to 35 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

CHAPTER XI. (Luke, ch. 14.)

Verses 1 to 6 inclusive, same as in Luke. (Verses 7 to 11 inclusive of Luke, not in Marcion.)

7 to 30 inclusive, same as 12 to 35 of Luke.

CHAPTER XII. (Luke, ch. 15.)

This chapter consisted of the first 10 verses only, of 15th Luke.

CHAPTER XIII. (Luke, ch. 16.)

Verses 1 to 11 inclusive, same as in Luke.

12. And if ye have not been faithful in that which was another man's, who will give you that which is mine?

13 to 16 Inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

17. Heaven and earth may pass, but one tittle of my words shall not fail.

18 to 28 inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

29. (In place of the last three verses of 16th Luke.) Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen. (epei oude tou egeiromenou apo nekron akouousin)

CHAPTER XIV. (Luke, ch.17.)

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2.(According to Volkmar.) It would be better for him, if he had not been born; or if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.

3 to 9 inclusive, same as in Luke.

10. So, likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.

11, 12, and 13, substantially as In Luke.

14.And he sent them away, saying: Go, show yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that as they went, they were cleansed.

15, 16, and 17, same as in Luke.

18. These are not found returning, to give glory unto God. And there were many lepers, in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of these were cleansed, except Naaman the Syrian.

19 to 37, substantially the same as in Luke.

CHAPTER XV. (Luke, ch. 18.)

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke.

19.Jesus said to him, Do not call me good; one is good: the Father.

20 to 30 inclusive, same as in Luke. (Verses 31 to 34 inclusive, of Luke, not in Marcion.)

31.(In place of 35 to 43 inclusive, in Luke, were this verse and the following:) And it came to pass, as he came near Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

32. And when he had healed him, he said, Thy faith hath saved thee.

CHAPTER XVI. (Luke, ch. 19.)

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke.

9. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come unto this house.

10 to 28 inclusive, same as in Luke.

(Verses 29 to 48 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

CHAPTER XVII. (Luke, ch. 20.)

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke. (Verses 9 to 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

9, (19 of Luke.) And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him, and they feared the people.

10 to 24 Inclusive, same as 20 to 34 of Luke.

25. (35 of Luke.) But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage.

26, same as 36 of Luke. (Verses 37 and 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

27 to 35 inclusive, same as 39 to 47 of Luke.

CHAPTER XVIII. (Luke, ch. 21.)

Verses 1 to 17 inclusive, same as in Luke. (Verse 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

18 and 19, same as 19 and 20 of Luke. (Verses 21 and 22 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

20 to 35 inclusive, same as 23 to 38 of Luke.

(Dr. Lardner thought, the first 18 verses of 21st Luke were not in Marcion. But later authorities include vv. 1 to 17.)

CHAPTER XIX. (Luke, ch. 22.)

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.

6,6 and 7, same as in Luke.

8. And he said to Peter and the rest, Go and prepare, that we may eat of the passover. (Kai eipe, to Petro kai tois Ioipois, apelthontes etoimasate, hina phagomen to pascha.)

9 to 13 inclusive, same as in Luke.

14. And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

15. Same as Luke, except pros autous in Luke.

(Verses 16, 17 and 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

16 to 24 inclusive, same as 19 to 27 of Luke.

(Verses 28, 29 and 30 of Luke, not In Marcion.)

25 to 28 Inclusive, same as 31 to 34 of Luke.

(Verses 35 to 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

29 to 38 inclusive, substantially the same as 39 to 48 of Luke.

(Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

39 to 49 inclusive, same as 52 to 62 of Luke.

50, substantially the same as 63 of Luke.

51. (64 of Luke.) And striking him, they said: Prophesy: Who is it that smote thee?

52 to 58 inclusive, same as 65 to 71 of Luke.

CHAPTER XX. (Luke, ch. 23.)

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets; forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and turning away the women and children.

3 to 32 inclusive, same as in Luke.

33. And coming to the place called the place of Calvary, (place of a skull, kraniou topos,) they crucified him and divided his garments; and the sun was darkened.

34 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke, excepting from Luke the portions contained in verse 33 of Marcion.

(Verse 43 of Luke, not in Marcion.) 43, same as 44 of Luke.

44. (46 of Luke.) And the vail of the temple was rent in the midst.

45. (46 of Luke.) And crying out with a loud voice, he expired.

46, 47 and 48, same as 47, 48 and 49 of Luke.

49. (50 to 53 of Luke.) And behold, a man named Joseph taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.

50 and 51, same as 54 and 55 of Luke.

52 (56 of Luke.) And returning, they rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.

CHAPTER XXI. (Luke ch. 24.)

Verses 1 to 4 inclusive, same as in Luke.

5.And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?

6.He has risen; remember what he said while yet living, (eti on.)

7.That It was necessary for the Son of Man to suffer, and be delivered up.

8 to 24, same as in Luke.

25.Then he said to them, O fools, and slow to believe all that he said unto you!

26, same as in Luke. [Verse 27 of Luke not in Marcion.]

27 to 30 inclusive, same as 28 to 31 of Luke.

31.(32 of Luke.) And they said one to another, Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way?

32 to 36 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

37.(38 and 39 of Luke.) And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? Behold my hands and my feet; a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.

38 to 41 inclusive, same as 40 to 43 of Luke.

42.(44 of Luke.) These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you.

(Verse 45 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

43. (46 of Luke.) That thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, the third day.

44 to 48 inclusive, same as 47 to 51 of Luke. (Verses 52 and 53 of Luke, not in Marcion.)

From the foregoing synopsis the reader can write out the Gospel of Marcion, and will have the text of that gospel, very nearly as it stood in the fourth century. The English reader may pass over, as unimportant, the Greek readings not translated, and may adopt the corresponding text of Luke.

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The GOSPEL OF MARCION and The GOSPEL OF LUKE COMPARED

From

The History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two-Hundred

by Charles B. Waite

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MARCION AND LUKE.

The question of priority, as between these gospels, is one of the most interesting connected with the history of early Christian literature.

From the commencement of the third, down to the beginning of the present century, it has been fashionable to accuse Marcion of corrupting the Gospel of Luke; the emphatic and oft-repeated assertions of Tertullian and Epiphanius to that effect, having been deemed sufficient authority.

Bishop Marsh was one of the first to do Marcion justice. He said there was no proof that Marcion used Luke's Gospel at all [Notes to Michaelis, vol.3, pt. 2, p. 160].

Since then, many of the most intelligent German critics have come to the same conclusion.

Baring-Gould also says: "Marcion was too conscientious and earnest a man, wilfully to corrupt a gospel "[Lost and Hostile Gospels, p.241].

This author thinks that the Church of Sinope, where Marcion formerly resided, had been furnished by Paul with a collection of the records of the life and teaching of Christ; that Marcion thus obtained his gospel, and brought it to Rome [Ibid.].

Again: "Marcion's Gospel contained a different arrangement of the narrative, from the canonical Luke, and was without many passages which it is not possible to believe he wilfully excluded,"[Ibid p. 242].

He afterward speaks of differences of arrangement, which are unaccountable on the theory that Marcion corrupted Luke, and says that Marcion's Gospel was without several passages which apparently favor his views.[Ibid, p.243; referring to Luke 11.51; 13.30, 34, and 29 to I6].

Canon Westcott is equally explicit in acquitting Marcion from the accusation made against him by the early fathers of the church. He says: "Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in affirming that Marcion altered the text of the books which he received, to suit his own views; and they quote many various readings in support of the assertion. Those which they cite from the epistles, are certainly insufficient to prove the point; and on the contrary, they go to show that Marcion preserved without alteration, the text which he found in his manuscript. Of the seven readings noticed by Epiphanius, (in the epistles), only two are unsupported by other authority: and it is altogether unlikely that Marcion changed other passages, when, as Epiphanius himself shows, he left untouched those which are most directly opposed to his system."

-[History of the Canon, p.284].

It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, that men, even in religious matters, can vindicate the character of an adversary, after it has been aspersed for fifteen hundred years.

Some writers still persist in repeating the old slander. But the more candid and intelligent opinion of Westcott and Baring-Gould, is supported by Semler, Griesbach, Loeffler, Schmidt, Schleiermacher, Hahn, and many others.

These writers, perceiving how little reliance is to be placed upon the statements of the fathers, in matters of critical exegesis, or of authorship, or upon their assertions concerning the heretics, have examined carefully the text of Marcion, and findmg the statements of Tertullian and Epiphamus unsupported by internal evidence, have rejected them altogether.

WHICH WAS FIRST WRITTEN ?

Let us now see if we cannot ascertain with reasonable certainty which was first written; the Gospel of Luke or the Gospel of Marcion. The question of priority, in this case, is closely connected with that of brevity.

The first three chapters of Luke were entirely wanting in Marcion, except the opening clause in the third chapter, which was the commencement of the Gospel of Marcion: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar." The balance of the first chapter of Marcion is contained with some variations in the fourth of Luke. About half that chapter is wanting entirely, in Marcion.

After passing this, the different chapters of the two gospels correspond, the 2d of Marcion with the 5th of Luke, the 3d of Marcion with the 6th of Luke, and so on.

The Gospel of Luke is the most copious throughout. The number of verses in Luke in excess of those in Marcion, is as follows: In chapter 7, seven verses: in ch. 8, one; in ch. 11, ten; in

ch. 12, three; in ch. 13, seventeen; in ch. 14, five; in ch. 15, twenty-two; in ch. 18, four; in ch. 19, twenty; in ch. 20, twelve; in ch. 21, three; in ch. 22, thirteen; in ch. 23, one, and in ch. 24, four: total 122 verses. To this add the excess of 23 verses in the 4th chapter of Luke, and we have altogether 145 verses, or more than three average chapters. Add the first three chapters of Luke, which are entirely wanting in Marcion, and the result is, more than six chapters, or more than one-fourth of the entire Gospel of Luke, wanting in Marcion.

But this is not all. In a number of places, the verses of Marcion are shorter. Then, again, two or more verses of Luke are contained, in substance, in one of Marcion, and in one place, nine verses of Luke in two of Marcion.

THE LAW OF ACCRETION.*

[* accretion = accumulation, build-up, i.e., words or sentences added later].

LUKE AND MARCION COMPARED.

Leaving out of view, for the present the wholesale accumulation of matter, aggregating 315 verses, the law of accretion will be well illustrated by those cases where one or more verses in Marcion are found swollen into several in Luke, or where a single passage has additions. They are as follows:

1.

MARCION, ch. 1, v.4.	LUKE ch. 4, v.34.
Saying, 'Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus?	Saying, Let (us) alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth?

The difference is important. According to Matthew, the parents of Jesus, when they returned from Egypt, being warned of God in a dream, turned aside, (they were going to Bethlehem or Jerusalem,) into the parts of Galilee, that a certain prophecy might be fulfilled. The language does not imply that Nazareth was their residence.

The theory of the author of Luke was, that Nazareth was their residence. Accordingly, in this passage, which, though followed in Mark, has no parallel in Matthew; Jesus is addressed as "of Nazareth," a phrase not in Marcion.

II.

A corresponding variation will be found in

MARCION, 1.10.	LUKE, 4.16.
And he came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, etc.	And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and as his custom was, etc.

These are probably interpolations, made for the purpose of establishing Nazareth as the birth-place of Jesus.

III.

MARCION, 3.19.	LUKE 6.19.
And the whole multitude sought to touch him.	And the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went Virtue out of him, and healed (them) all.

There is no reason why Marcion, who had not rejected the miracles of Christ, should omit the closing sentence. It is more probable that it was added in Luke, to give expression to a very natural inference on the part of the writer, as to the object of the multitude in pressing forward toward Jesus, and seeking to touch him.

There is no parallel in the other gospels.

IV.

MARCION, 4.29	LUKE, 7.36.
And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.	And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

V.

JESUS AND THE SINFUL WOMAN.

MARCION, 4, 30.	LUKE, 7.37 and 38.
But a sinful woman, standing near, before his feet, washed them with tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.	37. And behold, a woman in the city, who was a sinner, when she knew that (Jesus) sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, 38. And stood at his feet, be hind (him,) weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe (them) with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed (them) with the ointment.

This touching incident, simply and beautifully told in the sixteen Greek words of Marcion, is spun out, by the author of Luke, into more than three times the number, with no improvement in the story.

The washing of the feet of Jesus, which in Marcion is left as a figurative expression, denoting the great grief of the woman, is stated in Luke as an actual fact. while weeping, "she began to wash his feet with tears." Then, having washed them, she must needs "wipe them with the hairs of her head."

There can be but little doubt, that Marcion was first written, and that the author of Luke drew upon his imagination in filling up the text.

Again, there is a similar variation, in the following reference to the same transaction:

VI.

MARCION, 4.36.	LUKE, 7.44 to 46.
And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thy house; thou gayest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.	44. And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house; thou gayest me no water for my feet. But she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped (them) with the hairs of her head. 45. Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kissmy feet. 46.My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

The use here, by Jesus himself, of the figurative expression, "she hath washed my feet with tears," misled the author of Luke into conceiving, and hence expressing, a literal and complete washing of feet, followed by wiping them in the manner described.

This account is not in the other canonical gospels. It is simply a question between Marcion and Luke.

VII.

JESUS REBUKING THE STORM.

MARCION, 5.22.	LUKE, 8.23, 24.
He was sleeping with the sailors, and he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.	22. But as they sailed, he fell asleep: and there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled (with water), and were in jeopardy. 24. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying: Master, Master, we perish! Then he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the raging of the water: and they ceased, and there was a calm.

The language of Marcion, as given by Epiphanius, is highly elliptical. It was probably preceded by some sentence having reference to the storm. The text of the synoptics is more copious; especially Mark, in which a pillow is provided for the head of Jesus.

VIII.

HEALING OF THE WOMAN

MARCION, 5.41	LUKE, 8.43 to 45.
And a woman, touching him,	43.And a woman, having an issue of blood twelve years, who had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed by any,
was healed of an issue of the blood. And the Lord said, who has touched me?	44.Came behind (him), and touched the border of his garment; and immediately her issue of blood stanched. 45. And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they who were with him, said, Master, the multitude throng thee and press [thee], and sayest thou, Who touched me?

If these accounts come from a common manuscript, it had passed through many hands, before reaching the author of Luke.

IX, X.

MARCION, 6.22.	LUKE, 9.22.
Saying: The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be put to death, and after three days, rise again.	Saying: The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third day.

MARCION, 6.30.	LUKE, 9.30,31.
And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses in glory.	30.And behold, there talked with him two men, who were Moses and Ellas; 31. Who appeared in glory and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.

XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

MARCION, 6.34.	LUKE, 9.35.
From the cloud a voice, saying: This is my beloved son.	And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying: This is my beloved son. Hear him.

MARCION, 6.40.	LUKE, 9.41.
And he said to them, O, faithless generation; how long shall I suffer you?	And Jesus answering said: O faithless and perverse generation! How long shall I be with you, and suffer you?

MARCION, 7.21.	LUKE, 10.21.
In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that, etc. (balance of the verse substantially as in Luke.)	In that hour, Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that, etc.

MARCION, 7.25.	LUKE, 10.25.
Master, doing what shall I obtain life?	Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

The word *aioion*, (eternal,) was inserted by the author of Luke, to make more clear the meaning of Marcion.

The argument of Tertullian, (adv. Mar. 4.25), that Marcion struck out *aionion*, so that the question might be confined to this life, is weak and untenable.

XV, XVI, XVII.

MARCION, 7.26.	LUKE, 10.26.
And he said unto him, what is written in the law?	He said unto him, What is written in the law? How readest thou?

MARCION, 8.5.	LUKE, 11.5.
And shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves?	And shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves.

MARCION, 8.6.	LUKE, 11.9.
Ask and it shall be given. (*Aiteite, kai dotheesetai*.)	Ask, and it shall be given you. (*Aiteite, kai dotheesetai humin*.)

MARCION 8. 7, 8	LUKE, 11.11 to 13.
Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or instead of an egg, a scorpion? If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more your Father who is in heaven?	11.If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or if (he ask) a fish, will he for a fish, give him a serpent? 12.Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? 13. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your chudren1 how much more shall

	(your) heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

MARCION, 8.24. This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given it.	LUKE, 11.29. This is an evil generation; they seek a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of Jonas the prophet.

MARCION, 9.4. I say unto you, be not afraid of them that kill the body; fear him who has power after killing, to cast into hell. (*eis geenan*.)	LUKE, 12.4, 5. 4.But I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do. 5.But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear him who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell. (*eis teen geenan*.) Yea, I say unto you, fear him.

The last passage illustrates, throughout, the prevailing practice of verbal accumulation. The language of Jesus, "I say unto you," becomes, when it reaches the author of Luke, "I say unto you, my friends;" "Be not afraid of them that kill the body," becomes, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do;" etc.

XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI.

MARCION, 9.5. Him shall also the Son of Man confess before God.	LUKE, 12.8. Him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God. [Similar difference in the next verse.]

MARCION, 9.34. And if he shall come in the evening watch, and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.	LUKE, 12.38. And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find (them) so, blessed are those servants.

MARCION 9.42. And the Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.	LUKE, 12.46. The Lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for (him), and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.

MARCION, 13.29. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen.	LUKE, 16.29 to 31. 29.Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 30.And he said, Nay, father Abraham; but if one, went unto them from the dead, they will repent. 31.And he said unto him, if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

MARCION, 14.10. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.	LUKE, 17.10. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.

MARCION, 15.31, 32. 31. And it came to pass, as he came near to Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me.	LUKE, 18.35 to 43. 35.And it came to pass, that as be was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way-side, begging: 36.And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant. 37.And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by. 38.And he cried, Saying: Jesus (thou) Son of David, have mercy on me! 39.And they who went before, rebuked him, that he should hold his peace; but he cried so much the more, (Thou) Son of David, have mercy on me! 40.And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and when he was come near, he asked him, 41.Saying: What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight. 42.And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight. Thy faith hath saved thee. 43.And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, etc.

32. And when he had healed him, he said, thy faith hath saved thee.	

XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.

MARCION, 16.9. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.	LUKE, 19.9. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham.
MARCION, 19.4. And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.	LUKE, 22.4. And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might betray him unto them.
MARCION, 19.14. And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.	LUKE, 22.14. And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.
MARCION, 19.51. And striking him, they said Prophesy; who is it that smote thee?	LUKE, 22. 64. And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face; and asked him, saying: Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?

The account in Marcion, besides being shorter, is the more natural. Being struck from behind, or by a stranger, Jesus was called upon to tell who struck him. It was an impulsive action. But the author of Luke has the Jews deliberately blindfold Jesus, before striking him.

XXXI.

MARCION, 20.45. And crying out with a loud voice, he expired.	LUKE, 23.46. And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

These dying words of Jesus are not in either of the other three canonical gospels. They may have been taken by the author of Luke from the Acts of Pilate, or from a later version of the manuscript used by Marcion.

XXXII.

MARCION, 20.49. And behold, a man named Joseph, taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.	LUKE, 23.50 to 53. 50.And behold, (there was) a man named Joseph, a counselor; (and he was) a good man, and a just; 51.(The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them;) he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews; who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. 52.This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. 53.And he took it down and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulcher, that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.

XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI.

MARCION, 20.52. And returning, they rested the Sabbath day, according to the commandment.	LUKE, 23. 56. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the Sabbath day, according to the commandment.

MARCION, 21.6.	LUKE, 24.6.

He has risen; remember what he said, while yet living.	He is not here, but is risen; re member how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee.

MARCION, 21.7.	LUKE, 24.7.
That it was necessary that the Son of Man should suffer, and be delivered up.	Saying: The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

MARCION, 21.37.	LUKE, 24.38 and 39.
And he said unto them, why are ye troubled?	38. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?
Behold my hands and my feet, a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.	39. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I, myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

THE OTHER SIDE.

We will now give the cases where the text of Marcion is the more copious:

I.

MARCION, 5.20. LUKE, 8.21.

According to Volkmar, (though not in the schedule or scholion of Epiphanius), in this verse, after the words, "And he answered and said unto them," is the question, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" Balance of the Verse, same as in Luke.

Volkmar may have taken some of his Variations from the "Dialogues," etc., attributed to Origen, to which he appears to have given too much attention.

II, III, IV, V, VI.

MARCION, 9.26.	LUKE, 12. 30.
And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh; (*ton sarkikon*).	And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

MARCION, 14.2.	LUKE, 17.2.
(On the authority of Volkmar.) It would be better for him if he had not been born; or if a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, etc. (This may have been the reading of Luke at that time. See Tertullian adv. Marcion, 4.35.)	It were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, etc.

MARCION, 17.25.	LUKE, 20.35.
But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, etc.	But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, etc.

MARCION, 20.2.	LUKE, 23.2.
And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and turning away the women and children.	And they began to accuse him saying: We found this (fellow) perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king.

MARCION, 21.5.	LUKE, 24.5
And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, etc.	And as they were afraid, and bowed down (their) faces to the earth, they said unto them, etc.

Here are six cases in Marcion, against thirty-six in Luke; or 35 new words in Marcion, to 660 in Luke. If to these we add 315 verses of Luke which are not in Marcion in any form, we have a ratio of 1 to 230.

The strength of the argument, then, based upon the principle of accretion, would be 230 to 1, that the Gospel of Marcion was first written.

But there is other evidence of priority. The Gospel of Marcion is more simple and natural, not only in the mode of expression, but in the order of arrangement.

In the fourth chapter of Luke, Jesus is represented as being tempted in the wilderness, immediately after his baptism; thence he returned into Galilee, and came to Nazareth; [Luke, 4. 16]; where his public ministry commenced. But though commencing, at Nazareth, he is made to refer [v. 23], to works which he had done at Capernaum; a place to which he goes,

afterward ;[v. 31.]

In Marcion, on the contrary, his public ministry commenced at Capernaum; [Marcion, 1. 1]; whence, [v.10], he came to Nazareth, and preached; and here, in the natural order, [v.13], he refers to the works done at Capernaum.

This accords with the Gospel of Matthew, which represents that Jesus did not commence preaching until after he had taken up his residence in Capernaum. [Matt. 4. 13 to 17.] Mark follows Luke.

Matthew and Marcion were probably from a common manuscript.

In the Gospel of John, Jesus is represented as performing his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, after which he went down to Capernaum. [John 2. 11, 12.] This, therefore, is confirmatory of Marcion.

It is probable that in Luke, the manuscripts were put together out of their natural order, and that this disorder was followed in Mark. It was the opinion of Griesbach that the author of Mark had before him the whole of the present Gospel of Luke. Schleiermacher thinks he had some of the manuscripts which comprise the Gospel of Luke [Schleiermacher on Luke, p.91].

At the same time, the fact that nearly every word of Marcion is in Luke, besides much additional matter, is strongly suggestive of the theory, that the author of Luke had before him, besides other material, the Gospel of Marcion entire. On the supposition that Marcion was last written, it is difficult to conceive why he should have excluded so large a part of the Gospel of Luke, especially as it is now conceded that it was not done for dogmatic purposes. On the other hand, if Luke was written last, the accumulations were in accordance with the spirit of the age, and the practice of the times. Besides, it was necessary to have a gospel different from that of Marcion, who was a heretic. There is no satisfactory evidence that Marcion had seen either of the canonical gospels, or had even heard of them.

The first two chapters of Luke were wanting in the gospels of the first century. They were also wanting in the Gospel of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes, about A. D. 125, as well as in the Gospel of Marcion, A. D. 145. They first appeared in the Protevangelion, about A. D. 125, and were probably not deemed by Marcion, authentic.

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CHAS. B. WAITE'S HISTORY.

A LAWYER'S EFFORT TO DISPROVE THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPELS.

His Argument as to the Authorship of the Evangelists' Narratives—Indications of Profuse but Uncritical Learning.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION TO THE YEAR TWO HUNDRED, by Chas. B. Waite, is the contribution of a Chicago lawyer and Judge to anti-Christian literature. Like most writers of his class, Mr. Waite has a hypothesis of his own by which to explain the origin of Christianity on natural grounds, or rather he has pieced up two or three old theories, of which only the garnishing is original. By repudiating or omitting to say a good deal that has been said before, he shows his dissatisfaction with former attempts, and it now remains to see whether his own plan will prove more effectual. He admits the historical existence of Christ and the genuineness of ten Pauline epistles, but denies that the four gospels came into existence before A.D.170–185, asserting that the miraculous birth of Christ, His miracles and material resurrection were not known in the first century. He contends that Marcion's garbled version of Luke was the primitive third gospel, cites every mention that the fathers have made of apocryphal writings, and endeavors to make it appear that the early church was overrun with documents of this kind, before the present canonical gospels were known. While maintaining that belief in the supernatural characteristics of Christ was a late evolution, he inconsistently enough ascribes priority to the existing apocryphal gospels of the Protevangelion, the Infancy, and Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate, as the last named is often called. These, as is well known, swarm with absurd stories, while in other respects they harmonize with the general run of the narratives of the canonical gospels. Thus, in this instance, the evolution of myth has gone backward, and the later developments of alleged fables are the more free from extravagances. Furthermore, he contends that these apocryphal gospels were largely importations from India. The accounts of the star of Bethlehem are founded on an old prophecy of Zoroaster, while Krishna, as described in the Bhagavat Purana, was a prototype of the wonder working Christ. Mr. Waite professes great reverence for the "divine teachings of Christ," yet, singularly enough, endeavors to lower His character by repeating by way of comparison, the fables which Hierocles told respecting Apollonius of Tyana, a century and a quarter after the latter's death, taking advantage of a time when the Christians were suffering from persecution for the publication of his romance. Our author also finds a fit parallel for the suffering Redeemer in Alexander of Abonoteichus, the juggler exposed by Lucian.

Thus much for his scheme of denial. In reply we have to say that much of it is not new, and what is new is absurdly untenable. In the first place, no skeptic of honesty and ability pretends to ascribe so late a date as 170, even for the composition of the Gospel of John. Most unbelieving German scholars—if we are not mistaken, Mr. Waite is unacquainted with German—refer it to a period earlier than 130, while they unhesitatingly admit that the three synoptical gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, were productions of the first century, and some of them hold that they were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Dr. Ezra Abbot, in his External Evidences of the Apostolic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, has well nigh demonstrated its use by Justin Martyr as early as A. D. 145, and the remaining links of evidence connecting it with the close of the first century are equally strong. Even that obstinate leader of a forlorn hope, the author of Supernatural Religion, has been obliged to concede that Luke anticipated Marcion, not Marcion Luke, and in this has taken up the universal voice of antiquity and the well nigh universal declaration of modern criticism. Why he did so in his seventh edition, after affirming the contrary in the first six issues of his work, the reader will see by consulting the arguments of Dr. Sanday's masterly little volume, The Gospels in the Second Century, a work to be found in our Public Library.

Second, there is abundant evidence that the church and all the heretics, save one little sect whose name Mr. Waite misspells, accepted from the first certain facts as true regarding the origin of Christianity, and that these facts are precisely those recorded in our Gospels. As soon as sufficient time had elapsed from the apostolic period for the substitution of the citations of works for the record of well remembered events, our present Gospels were named with special and exclusive reverence. The quotations of their substance where the authors are not mentioned are no more merely substantial than those from the Old Testament in the New, or than many similar citations in modern authors. Mr. Waite obscures this by endeavoring to make it appear that the fathers treated the canonical Gospels (after he allows that they existed) and the ephemeral and heretical apocryphal utterances just alike. He is not always careful to confess that these quotations were most generally made in a different manner, just as a modern Methodist would differ in his citations from John Wesley, and one of Wesley's non-Methodist contemporaries. Any one who will consult Lardner's great work on the Credibility of the Gospel History, or even its meager synopsis in Paley's Evidences, will see the fallacy of Mr. Waite's claims for equal honors. He only repeats the fallacies which Toland broached nearly 200 years ago, and which were repeated in the Examen Critique des Apologistes de la Religion Chretienne, falsely attributed to the illustrious Freret.

The evidence for the genuineness of the canonical Gospels is far greater than that of any of the Greek or Roman classics. Many more manuscripts are in existence, and the slight discrepancies in style affect no important doctrine. According to the estimate of Norton, very high authority, the Christians of the latter part of the second century must

have had as many as [illegible]00 copies. They existed in all parts of the then known world, and their material falsification of any one copy would be impossible, since both the orthodox and heretics appealed to them. It was not an uncritical age for the Christian who wrote the story of Paul and Thecla, as a pious fraud was disciplined for his misconduct. No one could now alter the text of a book, copies of which existed in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and San Francisco, without a discovery of the fraud, and such an act would have been equally difficult in regard to manuscripts deemed sacred, but on certain statements of which religious differences held to be important were based. The Muratorian Fragment, a document dating back to about 170, declares that the canonical books differed from the apocryphal forgeries as honey from gall, and it would have been at no time possible for any schemers to supersede the genuine books by others; still more if the latter contained statements not in accordance with prevailing tradition. We find, as we might expect, that the apocryphal books enjoyed only a limited and qualified respect in the early Church, and as their real character became established they were repudiated and forgotten. But even without the Gospels we have information in the New Testament books, conceded to be genuine by Mr. Waite, which shows that early Christianity was what the four Gospels affirm it to be.

Any careful student of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, etc., will find the resurrection, heavenly origin, and divine power of Christ emphatically asserted. These letters are addressed to believers, supposed to be already convinced of the facts of the gospel histories; hence it is not to be expected that these last would be repeated in detail, as if heathens were being argued into conviction of their truth. The greater includes the less, and so declarations of the voluntary humiliation of One, who came from heaven, who rose from the dead, and who justified all believers through His blood, virtually include the working of miracles. At all events, there is no evidence that any of the early Christians thought differently, and the heathen Pliny, A. D. 110, represents the believers of his day as singing hymns to Christ as God, while Celsus, A. D. 178, repeats about everything in the Gospels, ascribing, however, Christ's miracles to magic. He was critical enough in various particulars to show that he was no blind conceder of his opponent's claims, and has furnished even the unbelievers of our own day with many of their stock arguments. Yet he never pretended to deny the statements of the Gospels. He only tried to explain them away. It will never do, as long as Pliny and Celsus continue to speak, or the Pauline epistles to be read, to affirm that there was no belief in the supernatural points repudiated by Mr. Waite. Furthermore, it is nonsense to say that the resurrection, to which minute testimony is borne in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, on the evidence of apostles, and of 500 brethren, many of whom were then alive—leaving out Paul's own experience near Damascus—was not a material one, but a mere subjective phenomenon. Such refinements may be labor saving inventions, but Mr. Waite would have been more candid to admit with Baur the inexplicability of the resurrection history.

Finally, in ascribing priority or authority to the three surviving apocryphal gospels, Mr. Waite is not only in conflict with all Christian critics, orthodox and heterodox, but flies directly in the face of both Strauss and Renan, each of whom regards them as late, and mentions them with contempt. The Oriental origin which he has devised for [illegible] is equally ridiculous. The Zoroastrian prophecy of the star can not be shown to be pre-Christian, for it does not occur in the Zend Avesta and even the Zend Avesta, as we have it, is a compilation of the third Christian century. Abulfaragius, who tells the story, was an Armenian Bishop of the thirteenth century. The Bhagavat Purana, which attributes to Krishna exploits very much like those of the apocryphal gospels, and also parallels a few of the miracles of the canonical gospels, is not as old as the days of Mohammed, being perhaps three or four centuries later. This is no assertion of ours, but the carefully formed opinion of German and English scholars entirely free from theological bias.

Such are the main points of a pretentious book issued with a great flourish of trumpets as a work which Christians would not be allowed to dismiss with a sneer. We think we have said enough about it, though we might add that we have noticed some needless blunders which show that the author is not as well versed in dealing with patristic literature as with legal questions. For example, he mentions in text and index Victor Capuanus Catena as a church writer. There was a Victor Capuanus, or Victor of Capua, but Catena is the name of a classified collection of extracts, and not of a man, as he seems to believe. He has no doubt been industrious, but he quotes a strange medley of authorities, many of them obsolete, and so largely on one side as to show that his opinion was made up before he began his work. Indeed, the book is obviously that of a special pleader. The production of a mere advocate, it never rises to the dignity of candid argument. It aims, as we have seen, to diminish the reputation of Christ, by comparing Him with unsavory personages; it browbeats Irenæus and Eusebius because they are important witnesses on the other side. It permits its own witnesses to tell only so much as is good for the cause, and to crown all, were its hypothesis admitted to be the true one, Christianity would exist as a causeless and inexplicable effect. Mr. Waite has not broken the array of Christian evidences, and he has made no addition to the really sharp assaults which have been directed against them. 8vo. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

TO THE

YEAR TWO HUNDRED.

By CHARLES B. WAITE, A. M.

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"TRUTH IS THE DAUGHTER OF TIME."— *Aulus Gellius, in Noctes Atticæ.*

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PREFACE.

This volume is the result of an investigation. extending through several years, and instituted for the satisfaction of the author.

Two years of the time were spent in the Library of Congress, which is peculiarly rich in the department of Biblical Literature. It contains the writings of all the earlier fathers, in the original, and an immense collection of the works of later writers.

The intent to publish was formed upon ascertaining facts and arriving at conclusions, which appeared of great importance, and which had never before been fully made known.

To the accomplished librarian, who furnished the author with every facility for the prosecution of his work, and gave him much valuable information, he returns his sincere thanks. Also to the assistant librarians, for the promptness with which the treasures of the library were from time to time placed at his disposal.

It is believed that this will be found to be the most complete record of the events connected with the

Christian religion during the first two centuries, which has ever been presented to the public.

The time has been divided into six periods, and the different writers and events are carefully arranged in regular chronological order. In fixing the dates of the various writers, it was found that the subject was involved in much confusion.

In each case, the different dates were carefully examined, and the one selected which appeared the most consistent, and supported by the best authority.

A comprehensive view is given of the gospels of the first two centuries, with a brief sketch of those of a later date. The comparisons which have been instituted between the canonical and certain apocryphal gospels, is a peculiar feature of this work, and one which is believed to be of great importance, in arriving at correct conclusions.

The Gospel of Marcion has been reproduced from the writings of the fathers, principally from the Greek of Epiphanius. This is something which, so far as the author is aware, has never before been attempted in this country.

The references to authorities will be found useful to those who may desire to pursue further the investigation of the questions discussed.

The reader will find considerable repetition in the following pages. The importance of the subject, and the necessity of examining many of the questions from different points of view, would seem to jus-

tify, if not absolutely to demand, a re-statement from time to time, of the same facts and propositions in different chapters.

In the preparation and publication of this work, the author has proceeded upon the assumption that the ascertainment of the truth is all important, and that its promulgation cannot fail to result in the permanent benefit of the human race.

The author is under special obligations to the Hon. William Birney, of Washington, formerly Professor in the University of France, who took a deep interest in the prosecution of the work, and devoted many hours to its examination and criticism.

The final result of the undertaking is submitted to the public, in the hope that it may add something to the pages of reliable history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

First Period.—Apostolic Age. A. D. 30 to A. D. 80.

CHAPTER I.
The Lost Gospels of the First Century.

CHAPTER II.
John the Baptist—Jesus Christ—Paul—Peter and the other Apostles—The Epistles of the New Testament.

Second Period.—Apostolic Fathers. A. D. 80 to 120.

CHAPTER III.
Clement of Rome—Ignatius—Polycarp.

CHAPTER IV.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Gospel of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER V.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Continued. Gospel of the Egyptians.

CHAPTER VI.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Concluded.

CHAPTER VII.
The Age of Miracles.—Apollonius of Tyana.

CHAPTER VIII.
Age of Miracles.—Continued. Simon Magus.

CHAPTER IX.

OTHER MIRACLES AND MIRACLE-WORKERS—JEWISH SUPERSTITIONS—MIRACLES OF THE FATHERS—MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE THREE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.—A. D. 120 to 130.

CHAPTER X.

EXTANT APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

THE PROTEVANGELION, OR BOOK OF JAMES.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTEVANGELION AND THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW COMPARED.

CHAPTER XII.

GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY COMPARED WITH THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY.

CHAPTER XV.

ACTS OF PILATE; OR THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

CHAPTER XVI.

ACTS OF PILATE AND THE CANONICAL GOSPELS COMPARED.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER EXTANT APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WRITERS OF THE THIRD PERIOD—MENANDER—SATURNINUS—BASILIDES—BARNABAS, AND OTHERS.

FOURTH PERIOD.—FORTY YEARS OF CHRISTIAN WRITERS.—A. D. 130 to 170.

CHAPTER XIX.

WRITERS FROM A. D. 130 to A. D. 150.—CARPOCRATES—HERMAS—CERINTHUS—VALENTINUS—PAPIAS, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XX.

MARCION.—A. D. 145.

CHAPTER XXI.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—A. D. 150 to 160.

CHAPTER XXII.

WRITERS FROM A. D. 150 TO 170. CONTINUED.—APELLES—PEREGRINUS—MARCELLINA—MONTANUS—TATIAN, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY OF EUSEBIUS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIEW OF THIRD AND FOURTH PERIODS.—A. D. 120 to 170.

FIFTH PERIOD.—THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.
A. D. 170 to A. D. 185.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FOUR GOSPELS AS A GROUP.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF JESUS AS GIVEN IN THE GOSPELS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES.—THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—MIRACLES OF CHRIST—HIS MATERIAL RESURRECTION—HIS DIVINITY—THE TRINITY—ATONEMENT—ORIGINAL SIN, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WRITERS OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.—ATHENAGORAS—THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH—PANTÆNUS—HEGESIPPUS, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REVIEW OF FIFTH PERIOD.—DESTRUCTION OF THE LITERATURE OF THE GOSPELS—LIST OF GOSPEL WRITINGS OF THAT AGE LOST OR DESTROYED.

SIXTH PERIOD.—CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY. A. D. 185 to A. D. 200.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WRITERS OF THE SIXTH PERIOD.—HERACLEON—SERAPION—PTOLEMÆUS, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

IRENÆUS—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND TERTULLIAN.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FORMATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REVIEW OF SIXTH PERIOD—TESTIMONY OF HEATHEN WRITERS—GENERAL REVIEW—CONCLUSION.

LIST OF CHRISTIAN WRITERS

AND WRITINGS, OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

	A. D.
Oracles of Christ, by Matthew,	50
Gospel of Paul,	do.
Gospel or Recollections of Peter,	"
PAUL'S EPISTLES. (See Note.)	
1. 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians,	52
2. 1st do. " "	53
3. 1st " " Corinthians,	57
4. 2d " " "	"
5. Epistle to the Galatians,	58
6. " " Romans,	"
7. " to Philemon,	62
8. " to the Colossians,	"
9. " " Philippians,	63
10. " " Ephesians,	"
The General Epistle of Peter, (1st Peter),	80
" James,	"
" Jude,	"
First Epistle of Clement of Rome, to the Corinthians,	97
Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans,	115
" " " Ephesians,	"
" " to Polycarp,	"
Gospel according to the Egyptians,	"
Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians,	116
Proverbs of Xystas,	119
Menander, Prodicus,	120

	A. D.
Preaching of Peter, Doctrine of Peter,	125
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,	"
Sibylline Oracles, later form, Preaching of Paul,	"
Some Syriac Documents,	"
Gospel according to the Hebrews,	"
Gospel of Perfection, Gospel of Philip,	"
Gospel of Matthaias, Gospel of Judas Iscariot,	"
Gospel or Harmony of Basilides, Book of the Helkesaites,	"
Midwife of our Savior, Gospel of Thaddæus,	"
And many other gospels now lost, written about this time.	
Acts of Peter, Acts of Paul,	"
Acts of Peter and Andrew, Acts of John, Acts of St. Mary,	"
And more than 30 other books of Acts, some of which are extant.	
Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalpse of Paul, of Bartholomew,	"
And many other books of Revelation, written about the same time.	
Saturninus, Basilides,	"
The Protevangelion, or Book of James,	"
Aristides, Quadratus,	126
Gospel of the Infancy, attributed to Thomas,	130
Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus,	"
Epistle of Barnabas, Epistle to Titus, attributed to Paul,	"
First and Second Epistles to Timothy, attributed to Paul,	"
General Epistle of John, (1st John),	"
Second and Third Epistles of John,	"
Agrippa Castor, Aristion, John the Presbyter,	"
Revelation or Apocalypse of John,	"
Carpocrates,	135
Epistles to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans and Philadelphians, attributed to Ignatius,	140
Epiphanes, Cerdon, Epistle to Diognetus,	"
Epistle to the Laodiceans, attributed to Paul,	"
Hermas, Author of The Shepherd,	145
Cerinthus and his Gospel,	"
Marcion and his New Testament,	"
Isadorus, Valentinus, and The Gospel of Truth,	150
Justin Martyr, Papias, The Clementines,	"

Apelles and his Gospel, Peregrinus, Marcellina, 160
Epistle to the Hebrews, attributed to Paul, "
Soter, 164
Tatian and his Harmony or Gospel, 170
Philip, Montanus, Second Epistle of Peter, "
Gospel according to Luke, "
Aristo of Pella, Dionysius of Corinth, Miltiades, 175
Maximus, Pinytus, Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, "
Gospel according to Mark, "
Modestas, Musanus, 176
Florinus, Blastus, Epistle of Churches of Vienne and Lyons, 177
Melito of Sardis, Athenagoras, Claudius Apollinaris, "
Gospel according to John, 178
Theophilus of Antioch, Bardesanes, Hermogenes, 180
Bacchylus of Corinth, Pantænus, "
Gospel according to Matthew, "
Acts of the Apostles, "
Marcia, 183
Hegesippus, 185
Asterius Urbanus, 188
Irenæus, Cassianus, Ptolomæus, Heracleon, Victor, 190
Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, Maximilla, Muratorian Fragment, "
Theododotus, of Byzantium, 192
Rhodon, Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, 195
Palmas, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, 196
Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Noetus, Hermas, 3d, 200
Praxeas, Symmachus, Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, "
Seleucas, Artemon, Pistis Sophiæ, "
Julius Africanus, 2d Epistle of Clement of Rome. "

[Note. THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.—We have taken as genuine, the ten epistles which constituted the Apostolicon of Marcion. The same course has been adopted by Dr. Davidson, except that he rejects, upon what appears insufficient grounds, the Epistle to the Ephesians.]

FIRST PERIOD. A. D. 30 to A. D. 80.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

CHAPTER I.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

THE GOSPEL OF PAUL—GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER—REFERENCES AND CITATIONS BY THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH—VIEWS OF MODERN WRITERS—ORACLES OR SAYINGS OF CHRIST, ATTRIBUTED TO MATTHEW—THESE THE GERMS OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, LUKE, MARK AND MATTHEW.

This is an attempt to write a history of the Christian religion during the first two centuries. Not a history of Christianity, which would require us to follow the principles of that religion, in their dissemination through various countries, and in their influence upon other institutions. Nor yet a history of the church; which would make it necessary to examine questions of ecclesiastical polity, to trace the rise and progress of different forms of church government, and to notice the manners and customs of the early Christians, and their treatment by the civil magistrates.

These are touched upon only in their bearing upon the main object of the inquiry; which is, an examina-

tion into the principal doctrines distinctive of the Christian religion, so far as they were known and taught in the first two centuries; also the principal books through which those doctrines were disseminated.

The difficulty of the undertaking is great. The gospels of the first century are unfortunately lost. There are left, of that century, only the epistles of Paul, the one epistle of Clement of Rome, some slight notices by Jewish and heathen writers, and the few legends and traditions preserved in the writings of the fathers, and in the extant second century gospels. And when we enter upon the next century, though there is more remaining than of the first, still, the great body of the Christian literature of that age also, has been lost or destroyed.

Availing ourselves of what remains, we shall, though conscious of the magnitude of the task, enter upon it, at least with fidelity to truth, and in the hope that something may be contributed to the pages of reliable history.

The time will be divided into six periods; to be designated as follows:

FIRST PERIOD,	Apostolic Age.	A.D. 30 to A. D. 80.
SECOND PERIOD,	Apostolic Fathers.	.. 80 to .. 120.
THIRD PERIOD,	The three Apocryphal Gospels.	.. 120 to .. 130.
FOURTH PERIOD,	Forty Years of Christian Writers.	.. 130 to .. 170.
FIFTH PERIOD,	The four Canonical Gospels.	.. 170 to .. 185.
SIXTH PERIOD,	Close of the Second Century.	.. 185 to .. 200.

FIRST PERIOD.

Lost Gospels of the First Century.

When Christianity had become partially established by the teaching of Christ and the preaching of his apostles and disciples, there arose among the Christians of the various churches a necessity, and hence a demand, for some written testimonies or records of the life and doctrines of their great master. But this need was not so apparent, or pressing in the first century, and especially during the life-time of those who had been with Jesus, and had been his followers and companions.

Of the numerous gospels which were in circulation in the second century, not more than three can, with any certainty, or with any high degree of probability, be traced back to the times of the apostles. These are the Gospel of Paul, the Gospel or Recollections of Peter, and the Oracles or Sayings of Christ, attributed to Matthew.

THE GOSPEL OF PAUL.

Ewald, one of the best of the German critics, concludes that there was a Gospel of Paul; thinks it was in the Greek language, and that it may have been written by the evangelist Philip.[1]

It may be inferred that it afterward became incorporated into the Gospel of Marcion, [A. D. 145], since Marcion was a follower of Paul, and for his own gospel claimed the sanction of that apostle.[2]

Marcion was a native of Sinope, a town of Asia Minor, on the south shore of the Black Sea. It is sup-

(1.) Yahrbucher, 1848, 1849.

(2.) See Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus, Hamb. 1703, vol. 1 p. 372. Also History of the Canon, by Westcott, 3d Ed. Lond. 1870, p. 282.

posed that the church at Sinope was furnished by Paul, at the time of its formation, with a collection such as he supplied to the other Asiatic Churches; containing records of the life and teachings of Christ.

It was the opinion of Jerome, and of several other writers, that when Paul spoke of his gospel, [Rom. 2. 16; 16. 25; 2d Thess. 2. 14]; he referred to a written gospel then in circulation.

Paul may have had such a gospel in mind; but his language is not sufficiently explicit to justify us in concluding with any certainty, that he meant any thing more than that gospel of good tidings, of which he was the great expounder.

There is, however, a more distinct trace of the Gospel of Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. 11, v. 23 to 25. By comparing this passage with Luke 22. 19, 20, it will be seen that the language is almost identical; while the parallel passages, Matt. 26. 26 to 28, and Mark 14. 22 to 24, have no such complete similarity, though the idea is the same. The Gospel of Luke, whether directly, or through Marcion's, was founded partly upon the Gospel of Paul. That Paul had something to do with a written gospel, which now appears, in whole or in part, in the compilation of Luke, is generally acknowledged; and this passage in First Corinthians, taken in connection with the corresponding passage in Luke, is strong evidence, that in Corinthians, Paul refers to a written gospel, which he had "delivered" to the Church at Corinth, and a portion of which written gospel appears in Luke 22. 19, 20. Paul may have referred, also, to the same gospel, in Galatians 2. 2.

This supposition receives countenance from a passage in Tertullian. In his work against Marcion, [A. D. 207 –210], after saying that Marcion did not ascribe his gospel to any author, and arguing thence that it was

not authentic, he proceeds as follows:

"Had Marcion even published his gospel in the name of Paul himself, the single authority of the document, destitute of all support from preceding authorities, would not be a sufficient basis for our faith. There would still be wanting that gospel which Paul found in existence, to which he yielded his belief, and with which he so earnestly wished his own to agree, that he actually on that account went up to Jerusalem, to know and consult the apostles, 'lest he should run or had been running in vain;' in other words, that the faith which he had learned, and the gospel which he was preaching, might be in accordance with theirs. Then, at last, having conferred with the authors, and having agreed with them touching the rule of faith, they joined their hands in fellowship, and divided their labors thenceforth in the office of preaching the gospel, so that they were to go to the Jews, and Paul to the Jews and Gentiles. Inasmuch, therefore, as the enlightener of Luke himself, desired the authority of his predecessors, for both his own faith and preaching, how much more may I not require from Luke's Gospel, that which was necessary for the gospel of his master."—*Tertullian adv. Marcion, bk.* 4, *ch.* 2, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol.* 7, *p.* 180.

From this passage of Tertullian, it is manifest, first, that there was a Gospel of Paul, and the inference is very strong, that it was in writing; since Paul is represented as going to Jerusalem to compare his gospel with another, and while there, conferring with the "authors" of the other gospel; secondly, that it was necessary, for the purpose of verification, that these two gospels should be compared; and thirdly, that all this was anterior to the Gospel according to Luke. It might be inferred, from the closing portion of the paragraph, that Tertullian thought the Gospel of Luke itself stood in need of some verification.

It does not follow, however, that the gospel with which Paul was so anxious to compare his own, was written before his. The word "primitive" inserted by the Ante-Nicene translator, in brackets, before the word "authors," we have therefore discarded, as unnecessary to the sense, and unauthorized.

The language of Tertullian is, "Denique, ut cum auctoribus contulit, et convenit de regula fidei, dexteras miscuere," &c. *Tertull. Op., tom.* 1, *p.* 251.

The opinion of Ewald is, that the Greek Gospel of Paul was the first ever written. There was probably no great length of time intervening, between the origin of that and of the other two gospels of the first century.

The testimony of Irenæus, [A. D. 190], concerning this gospel, is, that it was written by Luke.

"Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book, the Gospel preached by him."[1]

Notwithstanding the positive language here used, the statement is to be taken with some allowance. Irenæus was fully committed to the four gospels, and was engaged in endeavoring to give them authority. He may be said, in fact, to have introduced them to the notice of the literary world; since he is the first author who mentions more than one of them. He speaks frequently of these gospels, and argues that they should be four in number, neither more nor less, because there are four universal winds, and four quarters of the world.

Davidson calls him "credulous and blundering."[2]

Those who are so quick to receive the statement of Irenæus, that the Gospel of Paul was written by Luke, a statement manifestly made to give apostolic sanction to the Gospel of Luke, are not prepared to accept so readily his assertion, that the ministry of Jesus lasted twenty years, and that he was fifty years old at his crucifixion.[3]

THE GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER.

This was a book more generally known than the Gospel of Paul, and of the existence of which there can be no doubt. In the year 190, a large number of

(1.) Irenæus v. Hær. bk. 3, ch. 1, Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 259.
(2.) Canon, p. 121.
(3.) Iren. v. Hær. 2. 22, Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 196.

the Gospels of Peter were found in use by the Church of Rhossus, in Cilicia; and so much were the Christians of that church attached to them, that it became necessary for Serapion, one of the bishops, to suppress them, and to substitute the canonical gospels in their stead.[1]

Another case of the suppression of older gospels, in use in the churches, to make way for those which had been selected, will be noticed hereafter. [See Tatian.]

Eusebius, [A. D. 325,] speaking of the Gospel according to Peter, with other books, says:

"Neither among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our day, has there been one that has appealed to the testimony taken from them." Again in book 3, chapter 25, he speaks of the Gospel of Peter as among those that were "adduced by the heretics, under the name of the apostles," and "of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession, has condescended to make any mention in his works;" and says, "they are to be ranked not only among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious."—*Eccles. Hist. bk.* 3, *ch.* 3.

Eusebius had a peculiar faculty for diverging from the truth. Let us see how far from it he has gone in these assertions:

1. Justin Martyr, in the Dialogue, written about A. D. 160, says:

"The mention of the fact, that Christ changed the name of Peter, one of the apostles, and that the event has been recorded in his (Peter's) Memoirs, together with his having changed the name of two other brethren, who were sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, tended to signify that he was the same through whom the surname Israel was given to Jacob, and Joshua to Hosea."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 106.

The translation, as given in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol.* 2, *p.* 233, is as follows:

"And when it is said that he changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter, and when it is written in the memoirs of Him that this so happened, as well as that he changed the names of other two brothers," &c.

(1.) Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 636; Theodoret, Fab. Hær. 2. 2; Euseb. Ecc. Hist. 6. 12; Lost and Hostile Gospels by S. Baring-Gould, p. 245.

Theodoret there says, the Nazarenes held that Christ was a just man, and they used the Gospel of Peter. He speaks as of his own day; A. D. 430.

The word "Him," commencing with a capital letter, of course refers to Christ; thus making it read, the memoirs of Christ; and ignoring Peter as the author. The Greek is,

Καὶ το εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα των Αποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτου, &c.

Such a construction, beside referring the pronoun *αὐτου*, [of him], at the close of the sentence, to the more distant antecedent, contrary to the rule in such cases, attributes to Justin language which he is not in the habit of using. Elsewhere, when speaking of the gospels which he cites so frequently, he calls them, not Memoirs of Christ, but "Memoirs of the Apostles." He has ten times "Memoirs of the Apostles," and five times "Memoirs;" not once "Memoirs of Christ."

For the rendering we have adopted, we have the authority of Dr. Westcott,[1] and other eminent scholars. Moreover, it is powerfully supported by the fact, that the only one of the canonical gospels which has this account of the change of the name of James and John to Boanerges, is Mark, which has such an intimate connection with the Gospel of Peter. [See Mark 3. 17.]

We conclude, therefore, that Justin Martyr here refers to the Memoirs or Recollections of Peter; which can be nothing else than the Gospel of Peter. It was probably a consideration of this passage, which induced Credner to say that Justin made use of this gospel.[2]

2. The next writer who refers to the Gospel of Peter, is Tertullian; [A. D. 207–210.] He was one of the three fathers who were engaged in establishing the canonical gospels. And as Irenæus had undertaken to confound

(1.) Hist. of the Canon, p. 103.
(2.) Geschict. N. T. Kan. p. 22.

the Gospel of Paul with the Gospel of Luke, so Tertullian endeavors to identify the Gospel of Peter with the Gospel of Mark. He says:

"The Gospel which Mark published, is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."[1]

Jones, who is unwilling to recognize the Gospel of Peter as authoritative, attempts to break the force of this testimony by interpolating, in the translation, the words "by some;" thus: "is affirmed by some to be Peter's." But this is entirely unauthorized.

The original is, "Evangelium quod edidit Marcus, Petri affirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus;" translated in the Ante-Nicene collection, "That [gospel] which Mark published, may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."

Tertullian manifestly intended to assert, that in his day, the Gospel of Mark was understood to be Peter's; or to have the Gospel of Peter for its original.

3. The third father who referred to this Gospel, was Origen; A. D. 230.

"There are some," says he, "who say the brethren of Christ [here mentioned] were the children of Joseph, by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by some passages in that which is entitled The Gospel of Peter, or The Book of James."—*Com. on Matt.* 13. 55.

It must not be inferred that Origen here speaks of the books as the same; but that the opinion was held, in accordance with passages in the one book or the other. In the Protevangelion, or Book of James, as it was called, it is related, that when the high priest told Joseph that he was the person selected to take the virgin, he demurred, saying, "I am an old man and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel."

(1.) Tert. ad. Marcion, 4. 5.

Though Origen was not fully prepared to accept this statement, not seeing it in the canonical gospels, which had then, to use his own language, been "chosen,"[1] and were thenceforth to be authoritative, yet the fact had become so well understood, from the previous use of the other gospels, that it was, by most of the fathers, implicitly received as true, for a long time afterward. Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophilact, Œcumenius, and all the Latin Fathers till Ambrose, and the Greek Fathers afterward, held to the opinion that Joseph was a widower, and had children by a former wife; showing that the Gospel of Peter and the Protevangelion were regarded as authority.

Thus we find the Gospel of Peter expressly referred to by three of the fathers before Eusebius, though that historian asserts that no one of them had condescended to make any mention of it.

Eusebius exhibited a still more reckless disregard for the truth, in regard to the Preaching of Peter. He made a similar sweeping assertion respecting that; while the fact was, it had been mentioned by Heraclion and Lactantius, and six times by Clement of Alexandria, and every time with indications of approval. It may be well to mention an error of some writers, in supposing the Preaching of Peter and the Preaching of Paul to be one book, or parts of the same book, merely from their being mentioned in the same connection by Lactantius. Such an inference is not authorized.

(1.) "And that not four gospels but very many were written, *out of which those we have were chosen, and delivered to the churches*, we may perceive," &c.—*Origen, in Præm. Lucæ, Hom.* 1 *T.* 2, *p.* 210.

Again: "Four gospels only have been approved, out of which the doctrines of our Lord and Saviour are to be learned."

These gospels were selected, or "separated" from others.—Westcott, p.317.

Other writers have mentioned this gospel. Theodoret, [A. D. 430,] says, "The Nazarenes are Jews who venerate Christ as a just man merely, and it is said they use the Gospel according to Peter."[1]

Credner thinks the gospel was one of the oldest writings of the church, and the source from which Justin drew many of his quotations; also that it was essentially identical with the Harmony of Tatian, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.[2]

Dr. Mill[3] says it was publicly read by the Christians; and Mr. Whiston[4] asserts that it was, probably, in some sense, a sacred book.

Jones, who wishes to discredit it, says that it was interdicted by the decree of Pope Gelasius, [A. D. 494,] according to some copies; though he does not explain how the interdict crept into those copies, nor why it is not in the decree, as generally published, and as it appears in his own work, vol. 1 p. 154.

The Gospel of Peter favored the opinions of the Docetæ, who held that Christ and Jesus were different; that Jesus really suffered, but Christ, only in appearance.

Norton,[5] whose opinion is entitled to great weight, thinks this gospel was not a history of Christ's ministry.

Rev. S. Baring-Gould asks the question, "Was this gospel a corrupted edition of St. Mark?" and answers it thus: "Probably not. We have not much ground on which to base an opinion, but there is just sufficient to make it likely that such was not the case."[6]

(1.) Haer. Fab. 2. 2.
(2.) Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon, p. 22.
(3.) Prolegom. in Nov. Test. sec. 336.
(4.) Essay on the Constitutions of the Apostles, p. 24.
(5.) Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, by Andrews Norton, Boston, 1837, vol. 1 p. 234. Notes.
(6.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 221.

He considers the statement concerning the brothers and sisters of Christ, as most valuable, as the gospel is "wholly unprejudiced, and of great antiquity."[1]

The Oracles or Sayings of Christ.

Our information concerning this collection, is exceedingly meager; being based entirely upon a passage in Eusebius, in which Papias is represented as saying, "Matthew set forth the Oracles in the Hebrew dialect, which every one interpreted as he was able."[2]

Eusebius says further, that Papias wrote five books of "Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord." These are a part of the multitude of lost writings of those times.

Baring-Gould thinks the Oracles consisted of five parts, ending at the following passages:

First, at Matthew ch. 7, v. 28; second, at Matt. 11. 1; third, at Matt. 13. 53; fourth, at Matt. 19. 1, and fifth, at Matt. 26. 1. Upon this theory, the Oracles were a compilation of different manuscripts. It is the generally received opinion, that a number of older manuscripts have entered into the construction of the Gospel according to Matthew, and that this gospel was to some extent, based upon the Oracles.

RECAPITULATION.

The Gospel of Paul, though it does not stand out so clearly and indisputably as the Gospel of Peter, has yet sufficient evidence of having been one of the gospels of the first century. It is testified to by Marcion, and is apparently alluded to by Irenæus and Tertullian, and by Paul himself. It was in the Greek language.

(1.) p. 222.
(2.) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. bk. 3, ch. 39.

THE GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER, was a book well known, and of high authority among the ancient Christians. Even after the introduction of the four gospels afterward made canonical, the Gospel of Peter maintained so firm a footing, that it became necessary to suppress it in some of the churches. It was retained and used by the Nazarenes, long afterward.

It is cited by Justin Martyr, and referred to by Tertullian and Origen. The statement of Eusebius, that no one of the ecclesiastical writers had appealed to testimony taken from it, and that no one of them had condescended to make any mention of it, is untrue. The passage in Justin Martyr mistranslated in the Ante-Nicene collection, and the passage in Tertullian mistranslated by Jones.

The statement contained in this gospel, that Joseph had children by a former wife, was generally received by the fathers, for several centuries. The Gospel of Peter highly spoken of by Dr. Mill, Mr. Whiston, and other eminent modern writers. Credner, a German writer of high authority, thinks it was used by Justin Martyr; A. D. 150–160.

THE ORACLES, OR SAYINGS OF CHRIST, in the Aramaic language, we know but little about. It has been generally conceded, on the authority of Eusebius, that Papias [A. D. 150,] had such a book, and that he wrote commentaries upon it.

DOCTRINES.—There is no evidence that either of these gospels taught the immaculate conception, or the material resurrection of Christ, or contained any account of his miracles, or any reference to any book containing either of those doctrines.

It will be seen, as we proceed, that the three gospels which have been considered, were the germs of the three synoptic gospels, respectively. That is, the Gos-

pel of Paul was the germ of the Gospel according to Luke; the Gospel of Peter, of the Gospel according to Mark; and the Oracles, of the Gospel according to Matthew.

They cannot, however, in any sense, be considered the same. The synoptic gospels were undoubtedly written long afterward, and contained, in many respects, very different material. Moreover, the Gospel of Paul appears to have passed through the Gospel of Marcion, before reaching the author of Luke, and the Oracles through the Gospel of the Hebrews, before reaching the author of Matthew.

CHAPTER II.

APOSTOLIC AGE.—A. D. 30 TO A. D. 80.

JOHN THE BAPTIST—JESUS CHRIST—PAUL—PETER—JOHN—THE JAMESES—THE JUDASES—THE OTHER APOSTLES—EPISTLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—THE APOCALYPSE.

The first character in Christian history is John the Baptist.

What was his connection with Jesus, and what were his relations to the origin of the Christian religion?

Josephus, while he gives an account of John, and of his baptizing and making converts, says nothing of his announcing the approach of a coming Messiah.[1]

The author of Luke commences his account of John the Baptist, by saying that he appeared in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate, being governor of Judæa, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, his brother Philip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis, Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests. —[Luke 3. 1, 2.]

In the 23d verse of the same chapter, after relating the baptism of Jesus, he states that he began to be about thirty years of age.

If by this language the author of Luke meant to say, that Jesus was not then past thirty, did he not make a

(1.) Antiquities, bk. 18, ch. 5, 2.

mistake of at least three years? Tiberius commenced reigning A. D. 14, and the fifteenth year of his reign would be A. D. 29, or when Jesus was thirty-three years of age, as he was four years old, at the commencement of the Christian era.

We do not, however, look upon this as a very serious discrepancy, and think Dr. Lardner over-estimated the question, when he spoke of it as one of "very great difficulty." The word "ὡσεὶ," "about," used by the gospel historian, relieves him from any very exact criticism.

So of another objection; the statement that Annas and Caiaphas were high priests; it being notorious that the Jews never had but one high priest at a time. This has been partially explained by showing that Josephus, in one place, spoke of one as a high priest, who had held, but did not at the time referred to, hold that office. The language here is somewhat more definite, and appears more plainly to intimate that two did actually hold the position the same year.

This would indicate that this portion of the book was written long afterward, by one not acquainted with Jewish customs. Dr. Lardner says, "It would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. Luke so great a mistake as the supposing there were properly two high priests among the Jews at the same time." The most effectual way to relieve him from the imputation is, not to charge upon him the authorship of a work which bears so many marks of having been written long after his day.

If the passage in Josephus concerning Christ were genuine, then the failure to connect him with John the Baptist, would be utterly incomprehensible. But since it is the general verdict of scholars, that the paragraph in the 3d chapter of the 18th book of the Antiquities,

wherein it is stated that Jesus was the Christ, &c., is an interpolated forgery, the matter appears very differently. It is easy to see that Josephus, retaining all his Jewish prejudices and antipathies, might have intentionally passed over the proclamation of the coming Messiah.

Pursuing the biography of John, as given in the gospel history, the next incident presents a difficulty of a more serious character.

It is stated that Herod the Tetrarch shut up John in prison, being reproved by him for Herodias, his brother Philip's wife.—[Luke, 3. 19, 20; Mark, 6. 17–20; Matthew, 14. 3–5.] This Philip could be no other than Philip the Tetrarch of Trachonitis, mentioned in Luke 3. 1. He was the brother, or rather half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, and Herod had no other brother Philip. They were both sons of Herod the Great.

But according to Josephus, Philip could not have been the former husband of Herodias. It was another Herod, half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, having the same father, but not the same mother. The father of this Herod was Herod the Great, while his mother was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest.[1]

Josephus could not well be mistaken in this matter, being himself a Jew, and all the parties occupying a high position among his people. Not only were all these sons of Herod the Great, but Herodias was sister of Agrippa the Great. The attention of the historian was particularly called to the transaction, and he relates in full the visit of Herod the Tetrarch to Herod, his half-brother, his falling in love with Herodias, his brother's wife, and their subsequent arrangement to be married. Also the difference that arose on this very

(1.) Antiq. bk. 18, ch. 5, sec. 1, and same, sec. 4.

account, between Herod the Tetrarch, and Aretas, King of Petræa, father of the wife whom Herod put aside, in favor of Herodias; a difficulty which resulted in a war.

The gospel account of the death of John, is also very different from that of the historian. It does not appear in Luke, but in Mark and Matthew it is related that the daughter of Herodias danced before Herod, at a supper given by him on his birthday; [Mark, 6. 21, 22;] that Herod was pleased, and promised to give her whatever she should ask; and she, being instructed by her mother, asked the head of John the Baptist; that the king ordered it to be given her, and it was brought in a charger.—[Mark, 6. 21–29; Matt. 14. 6–11.]

The account by Josephus, is, in substance:

That John was a good man; that he commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, and exhorted them to come to his baptism;—that crowds came about him, much pleased at his discourses; that Herod feared that his great influence over the people, might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion; the people being ready to do any thing he should advise; that to prevent any mischief he might do, and to put it out of his power to raise a rebellion, Herod had him thrown into prison at Macherus, and there put to death.

Though it might be possible, by the exercise of skill and ingenuity, to show that the accounts of John the Baptist, as given by Josephus on the one hand and the gospel historians on the other, are not absolutely contradictory, except as to the former husband of Herodias; yet the general tenor of the two biographies is so different, and the narratives so divergent, as to render it problematical, whether John sustained any such relation to Jesus as is commonly supposed.

The Gospel of Marcion, [A. D. 145], which, in other respects, was very similar to Luke, contained no such history of John. Marcion's Gospel was probably first written. The first two chapters of Luke were not in Marcion. In place of the 3d and 4th chapters, there was the first chapter in Marcion's Gospel, which commenced as follows:

"Now in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate ruling in Judæa, Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and straightway on the sabbath days, going into the synagogue, he taught.

"2. And they were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power."

There was no statement in Marcion, as to the age of Christ, nor concerning the two high priests, nor were there any contradictions of Josephus.

Before leaving the history of John the Baptist, we cannot refrain from referring to the grotesque incident, of the daughter of Herodias dancing at a supper given by Herod, to his lords, high captains and chief estates. This portion of the narrative caused a sore trial to the faith of the great Dr. Lardner.

"It may perhaps be expected," he says, "I should here produce an instance, about that time, of some lady of like station with Herodias' daughter, who danced at a public entertainment. But I must own, I am not furnished with any instance exactly parallel."

Although the Doctor did not hesitate to believe in miracles, yet, when any thing purported to be inside the bounds of nature, he desired to see it within the range of probability.

Jesus Christ.—The next character is Christ himself. He is said to have been begotten of a virgin, by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost.

This event does not appear to have been mentioned in heathen, Jewish or Christian history, until more than a hundred years after it is said to have taken place. The doctrine of the immaculate conception,

when it was promulgated to the Christians of the second century, was found to be so congenial to the prevailing disposition to deify Christ, that it was at once taken up by the bishops, and incorporated among the foundations of the grand religious structure then being erected.

Paul, who had already laid the foundations of the structure, seems to have known nothing of the doctrine.

It was somewhat incongruous to deify a person born in the ordinary course of generation. The immaculate conception was needed, to give form and consistency to the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus.

Many attempts have been made to write the life of Christ. But it is difficult to see where, outside the gospels, the material for such a work is to come from; while, if the gospels are to be taken as a basis, it is equally difficult to understand, what is to be gained by rewriting what is contained in them. Any such attempt only brings out, in a plainer light, the discrepancies in those accounts, and finally results in a mere display of ingenuity on the part of the biographer, in his efforts to reconcile them; or, as in the case of some writers, in a sublime unconsciousness of any discrepancies whatever.

We know of Christ historically, that he was a great moral and religious teacher; that he had the most devoted followers and disciples; that he was put to death in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar;[1] and that upon his doctrines and precepts, and upon a belief in his spiritual resurrection, Paul, the chief of his disciples, founded a new religion.

Paul.—That Paul was the one who did the work, is manifest, from recorded tradition, and from those

(1.) See Appendix.

wonderful epistles, written in the first century, which are still extant, and the most of which are considered by scholars to be genuine.

Volumes have been written concerning Paul; works abounding mostly in unmixed eulogy. It is the duty of the impartial historian, while appreciating and admiring those grand qualities, which mark him as one of the greatest men of any age—while conceding his intellectual and moral grandeur, his thorough conviction of the truth of the doctrines he was teaching, and the zeal and devotion which he manifested in their propagation, to point out, at the same time, some of the defects in his character.

The chief of these, which was the result of his excessive zeal, was an impatience, and even a vindictiveness, toward those who differed with him in opinion.

By an occasional outburst of that spirit of persecution, under the influence of which he had so unrelentingly pursued the Christians, he demonstrates, that however thorough was his religious conversion, it had not eradicated or essentially changed those traits of character, and peculiarities of disposition, which distinguished him from other men. Commentators would have us believe, that when, in his Epistle to the Galatians, he said, "I would they were even cut off, who trouble you," he meant nothing more, than that they should be cut off from the church. But this he had power to have done; and did direct it, in addressing other churches. An examination of the context, and of the whole epistle, in the commencement of which he had anathematized any one who should preach any other doctrine, ("let him be accursed,") together with the application of a careful and thorough philological analysis of the words used by the apostle, all combine to give to his language a deeper meaning;

showing that in a moment of exasperation, he gave utterance to a sentiment, which, taken in connection with the teaching and practice of Peter, and the construction which was put upon some of the sayings of Christ, resulted in the most fearful and wide spread persecutions, through subsequent ages.

It is not strange that the apostle should have such feelings toward those whom he saw endeavoring to remove some of the beautiful pillars from the splendid edifice he was constructing; but it is to be regretted that he did not foresee the use which could be made of his language in after times.

Again: notwithstanding the spirit of kindness, of brotherly love, and even of tenderness, pervading the letters of the apostle, there may be discovered occasionally, beneath it all, glimpses of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition. This is particularly noticeable in his injunctions to the female Christians, and in his determination to discountenance any ambition on their part to take an equal place with their brothers, in the management of church affairs.

They were permitted to hold the position of deaconess, an office the functions of which consisted principally in ministering to the necessities of the saints. An office of labor and subserviency, they could fill, but not one of honor; "I suffer not a woman to teach;" said Paul; thus disclosing his domineering spirit, and his inability to rise above the prejudices of the age.

This prohibition of the apostle was scrupulously carried out; and in the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 365, the 11th Canon forbade the ordination of women for the ministry, while the 44th Canon prohibited them from entering into the altar.[1]

(1.) Landon's Manual of Councils, pp. 284 to 287.

But the point upon which the fathers were most sensitive, in reference to the position of women in the church, related to administering the rite of baptism. One of the earliest Christian writings, was the Acts of Paul and Thecla. It was a sort of romance. Thecla, who was engaged to be married, had heard, from an upper window, Paul, preaching. She had fallen in love with him; had deserted her lover and relatives, and had followed Paul; had become a devoted Christian; had baptized; first baptizing herself. Then she worked miracles, became a saint, and finally a martyr. She was held in the highest veneration by the fathers. But the book gave implied sanction to the right of women to baptize. On that account it was declared heretical, and search was made for the author; an unusual proceeding in those days. It was traced to a presbyter of one of the eastern churches, who acknowledged he had written it "for the honor of Paul." He was tried for the offense, and being convicted, was deposed from the ministry.[1]

The women claimed the right to baptize their own sex. But the bishops and presbyters did not care to be relieved from the pleasant duty of baptizing the female converts.[2]

Of the life of Paul, we know but little. The accounts in the Acts of the Apostles, cannot, for reasons which will hereafter be given, be considered historical.

In the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, it is stated that Paul was seven times imprisoned. Dr. Dollinger

(1.) Tertullian, de Baptismo, ch. 17; Jerome, de Vir. 1. 7. Jerome states, erroneously, that Tertullian had said he was convicted before John.

(2.) See Bunsen's Christianity and Mankind, vol. 7, pp. 386 to 393, published in the 3d volume of the Analecta. The converts were first exorcised of the evil spirits that were supposed to inhabit them; then, after undressing, and being baptized, they were anointed with oil. The custom may not have prevailed in the colder climates.

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says Paul was seven times imprisoned.[1]

WAS PAUL MARRIED?—Eusebius said,

"Paul does not demur, in a certain epistle, to mention his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, in order to expedite his ministry the better."

In saying this, Eusebius was quoting from the Stromata, of Clement of Alexandria. [A. D. 200.]

The full passage in Clement is as follows:

"Paul does not, indeed, in a certain epistle, fear to speak of his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, because it was not necessary for him, in the great work of the ministry. Therefore he says in a certain epistle, 'Have we not power to take about a sister wife, as also the other apostles?, For they, as was proper, while engaged in the ministry, because they could not keep them apart, were accustomed, doubtless as a matter of commendation, to take about with them female attendants, not as wives, but as sisters, who, together with the female servants, might be among the women who had charge of the house, by whom without any reprehension or suspicion of evil, the doctrine of the Lord might be carried even to the secret apartments of the women." —*Strom. bk.* 3, *ch.* 6, *Latin Translation in Ante-Nicene Collection, vol.* 12, *p.* 109.

Paul, according to the fathers, was martyred at Rome, A. D. 67 or 68.

An interesting story is preserved, of Paul and Perpetua. It is related that Perpetua, seeing Paul dragged along the streets of Rome, in irons, had compassion upon him, and wept bitterly. She had but one eye.

Paul asked her for her handkerchief. She gave it.

It was tied around Paul's head, and afterward returned to her bloody. When she received it back, her other eye was restored. Perpetua was afterward thrown into prison, and tortured, and at last, with a great stone tied to her neck, was thrown over a precipice.

There was, between Paul and his followers, on one side, and Peter and his followers on the other, a strong antagonism, not generally understood in our day, and

(1.) First Age of the Church, p. 87.

which, if properly taken into account, will explain several knotty points of scripture, and throw light upon many controverted questions in the early history of the church. Paul was rejected by large bodies of Jewish Christians; and in the entire volume of the Recognitions, a Petrine work of the early ages, abounding in scripture quotations, there is not a single citation from Paul's epistles.

The controversy related, principally, in the first instance, to the observance, by the Christians, of Jewish rites and ceremonies; but afterward it became hereditary and traditional.

The Ebionites claimed that Paul was an impostor; that he only became a convert for the purpose of obtaining a Jewish lady with whom he had fallen in love, and when he failed, he turned against the Jews, and opposed their observancies and customs.

His Epistles.—Ten of the Epistles of Paul are probably genuine; though some of the German critics hold that we cannot be certain of more than four; Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, and Galatians.[1] The 15th and 16th Chapters of Romans, also, are disputed, or at least not considered part of the Epistle to the Romans; not only by German critics, but by many others. Davidson and some others confine the objections to the 16th chapter.[2]

Though all the fourteen epistles ascribed to Paul, have maintained a place in the canon, many, even among evangelical writers, look with distrust upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, as having been admitted into the canon upon insufficient evidence.

(1.) See an interesting and well written work, entitled 'What is the Bible?' by J. T. Sunderland, Chicago, 1878; where authorities are referred to.

(2.) Davidson, Int. to N. T. 1. p. 137. Weiss, das Marc. 1872, p. 495.

Westcott states that at the close of the second century, it had not yet become established as authoritative in the churches.[1] It was not in the Latin version made by Tertullian. A. D. 210; Jerome speaks of it dubiously, and Toland says it was doubted by "the soundest part" of the ancients.[2] Dr. Dollinger says Paul did not write it.[3]

The New Testament as compiled by Marcion, [A. D. 145], contained ten epistles of Paul. He knew of no epistles to Timothy, to Titus or to the Hebrews; or he did not consider them genuine. Probably they were later productions.

The style of the Apostle Paul, though strong and concise, is sometimes elliptical and ambiguous. He indulges in mystical and allegorical expressions, and his applications are at times far-fetched and fanciful. "He often" says Dollinger, "gets more out of a passage, than the words or historical sense convey." This author shows, that in one place he applies to his argument, a meaning precisely opposite to that of the passage quoted. The passage is Psalms 68. 18; where, instead of "Thou receivedst gifts among men," or, "Thou hast received gifts for men," Paul reads, "He gave gifts unto men."—[Ephes. 4. 8.]

Doctrines.—The epistles of Paul being the oldest Christian writings extant,[4] their importance in the history of the Christian Religion, cannot be overestimated.

Paul believed in the resurrection of Christ, with a spiritual body. His idea of the resurrection, like that

(1.) History of the Canon, p. 306.
(2.) Amyntor, p. 56.
(3.) First Age of the Church, p. 83.
(4.) Origin of the Four Gospels, by Tischendorff, 1867, p. 24; Credibility of the Gospel History, by Dr. Lardner, vol. 3, p. 148.

of Clement of Rome, was, that the spiritual body arose from the decay of the natural body, as a plant from the decay of the seed sown to produce it. It is manifest that when Paul saw Jesus, he saw what appeared to be a spirit; since it was after the time when, as is alleged, Christ had ascended in the body. There is no evidence that Paul knew any thing of the canonical gospels; nor is there any reason to believe he had ever seen a gospel in which Jesus denied being a spirit, after the resurrection. With Paul, the resurrection and ascension were one and the same thing; and obviously meant, a manifestation from the spiritual world.

Paul believed that Christ, after his resurrection, or ascension, communicated to the disciples, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, through intercession with the Father, supernatural gifts; 'charismata;' and that these gifts were imparted by the laying on of hands. The precise nature of these 'charismata,' has been the subject of much discussion. There is no doubt that in the view of Paul, they not only included some miraculous powers, but extended as well, to the natural operations and processes of the mind; those involved in preaching and exhorting, as well as in interpreting, prophecying, &c. The assistance of this extraordinary gift extended to all the qualities necessary for the guidance, as well as the edification of the church.

Notwithstanding this advantage however, the churches which he addressed, and especially that at Corinth, which appears to have possessed an extra share of these gifts, could not have been, as Paul himself shows, much superior to the communities by which they were surrounded.

Whether Paul claimed to have himself performed miracles, is also a mooted question. He apparently makes such a claim, in Rom. 15. 18, 19, and in 2d Co-

rinthians, 12. 12; but it has been contended that the original does not necessarily require that construction.[1]

Whatever Paul may claim for himself and his fellow disciples, by virtue of the descent of the Holy Ghost, there is no reference in his epistles, to any miracles performed by Jesus, during his earthly ministry, nor any evidence that Paul believed in any such miracles, or had ever heard of them.

It has often been asked, why did not any heathen or Jewish writer of the first century, speak of the miracles of Christ? But a question arises which is equally suggestive, why does neither Paul nor Clement of Rome, the only Christian writers of the first century, make the slightest allusion to them?

The same is true of the immaculate conception. Justin Martyr is constantly referring to Christ as "born of a virgin." So with other writers of the second century. But in the epistles of Paul and Clement, though they abound continually in references to Christ, we look for that phrase in vain.

Peter.—If the fanatics of subsequent times could point to the sayings of Paul, as apparent authority for their excesses, they could, with still more confidence, turn to the teaching and example of Peter.

"When," says Dr. Dollinger, "Ananias and Sapphira, through their hypocrisy and avaricious attempt at deception, had made the first assault on the authority of the apostles and the Holy Ghost ruling in the Church, *St. Peter inflicted a terrible punishment upon them.*"[2]

When we meet with such language in a Christian writer of the nineteenth century, what might not be

(1.) Supernatural Religion, vol. 3, pt. 2, ch. 2.

(2.) First Age of the Chnrch, by John Ignatius Dollinger, D. D., 2d London Edition, 1867, p. 44.

expected of the priests of the middle ages?

In the Epistle of Clement to James, published in the Ante-Nicene coll'n, Clement describes his ordination.

He says, when Peter was about to die, the brethren being assembled, (at Rome), he laid his hands on Clement as the bishop, and communicated to him the power of binding and loosing, &c.; and as to him who should grieve the president of the truth, after declaring that such a one sins against Christ, and offends the Father of all, Peter proceeded as follows:

"Wherefore, *he shall not live;* and therefore it becomes him who presides, to hold the place of a physician; and not to cherish the rage of an irrational beast."—*Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol.* 17, *p.* 7.

It does not require a forced construction, to enable one to find the inquisition in this sentence. The genuineness of the epistle is not generally admitted by Protestants; but it appears among the ancient writings of the church. If its authenticity cannot be proven, the same may be said of other writings which are implicitly received as genuine.

But little is known of the personal history of Peter. His name was Simon, but there has not been the same difficulty in distinguishing him from the Apostle Simon Zelotes, as in the case of the two apostles James, and the two apostles Judas. There results, however, considerable confusion, when an attempt is made to identify Peter with the Cephas so often alluded to by Paul, and we are tempted to seek refuge from the dilemma, by supposing, with Eusebius, that Paul alludes to a person, supposed to be one of the seventy; not to Peter the Apostle.[1]

It is also remarkable, that in all the places in the gospels but one, (and the total number is nearly a

(1.) Eccl. Hist. 1. 12, citing Clement of Alexandria.

hundred), where Peter is mentioned, the Greek name 'Petros' is given, which is supposed to be used by Jews as well as others. This would indicate that all the canonical gospels, Matthew included, are original Greek productions.

So little is there authentic in the history of Peter, that to this day, the learned cannot agree, whether he ever went to Rome. Protestants generally, do not admit that such a journey was made.[1]

Theodore of Mopsuestua, about A. D. 394, says, Peter went to Rome, the others elsewhere. But he probably took it from Eusebius. That writer does not hesitate to make the statement explicitly, and to give the most circumstantial evidence. But in this instance, as in so many others, his testimony is at second hand, from lost writings. He quotes from Caius, a writer whose works, if they ever existed, are now lost or destroyed, what he said, disputing with Proclus, and Caius quotes from another writer whose works are lost, Dionysius of Corinth.[2]

Going back 135 years, we find the same thing in Irenæus. He says:

"Matthew wrote his gospel for the Jews, and in the language of the Jews, at the same time when Peter and Paul founded the church at Rome."—*Iren. adv. Hær.* 3. 1.

This complicates the question somewhat. Perhaps the easiest way to dispose of this testimony, would be to adopt the construction of Dupin, who, maintaining that Matthew wrote his gospel earlier, says the words of Irenæus are not to be understood in the literal sense.[3]

(1.) Rev. Dr. Sunderland, late Chaplain of the United States Senate, is said to have thanked the Lord, in a prayer, at a public meeting, that Paul had visited Rome, though Peter had not.

(2.) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. 2. 25.

(3.) Du Pin, Ecc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 46.

The journey of Peter to Rome, and his residence there, cannot be denied by Protestant writers, without rejecting the testimony of witnesses who, in other matters, are, by the same writers, relied upon with implicit confidence.

The received accounts of the miracles of Peter, are sufficient to excite our astonishment; but the most wonderful of all his miracles, is related in the Acts of Peter and Andrew, where he is represented as making a camel go through the eye of a needle.

"After the needle had been brought, and all the multitude of the city were standing by to see, Peter looked up and saw a camel coming. And he ordered her to be brought. Then he fixed the needle in the ground, and cried out with a loud voice, saying: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, I order thee, O camel, to go through the eye of the needle.' Then the eye of the needle was opened like a gate, and the camel went through it, and all the multitude saw it."—*Ante-Nicene, vol.* 16, *p.* 371.

The miracle was repeated. Onisephorus, who would not believe, sent for another needle and another camel, with a woman sitting on the camel. "And they went through twice."

His Epistles.—The First Epistle of Peter is not free from doubt, and the Second has long been a subject of controversy.

It was omitted in the Latin Version of Tertullian, of Africa, [A. D. 210],[1] in the Muratorian Fragment,[2] in the Peshito Version, used in the east in ancient times;[3] and as Mr. Toland says, was doubted by the soundest part of the ancient writers.

Westcott says, there was no trace of it before A. D. 170,[4] and that it was not authoritative at the close of the second century.[5] Davidson says, it was the last of

(1.) Westcott, Hist. of Canon, p. 234.
(2.) McClintock and Strong.
(3.) Westcott, p. 221. (4.) p. 234. (5.) p. 306.

the New Testament documents,[1] and Norton declares that there is no historical evidence to justify us in believing it to be the work of the Apostle Peter.[2]

Doctrines.—There is too little extant, which can be relied upon as the genuine writing of Peter, to throw much light upon the history of Christian doctrine. The two epistles ascribed to him are as silent as those of Paul, concerning the miracles of Christ, or the material resurrection, or the immaculate conception.

If we could rely upon the Clementine writings as authority for the views of Peter, we might infer that he did not look upon Jesus as equal to the Father.

"Our Lord," he is represented as saying, "neither asserted that there were gods, except the Creator of all, nor did he proclaim himself to be God, but he pronounced him blessed, who called him the Son of that God who ordered the universe."—*Clementine Homilies*, 16. 15.

John.—John is the only one of the twelve apostles, whose life appears to extend into the region of authentic history. And of him, this can only be said of the latter portion of his life. He is supposed to have been driven to Patmos, by some persecution, but the learned cannot agree what emperor it was under; the range being from Claudius to Domitian. In the persecution under Domitian he was taken to Rome. There, it is said, the boiling oil, into which he was thrown, had no power to hurt him.[3]

The account of his living to an old age, at Ephesus, has been universally received, and may be considered historic. Irenæus says that at Ephesus, John leaped out of a public bath, with horror, when he saw Cerinthus, the heretic, entering it. Cerinthus flourished about the middle of the second century. Some eccle-

(1.) Canon, p. 85.
(2.) Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. 2, p. 162.
(3.) Tertullian, de Præs. c. 36.

In the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 365, consisting of 32 bishops, from the different Asiatic churches, by the 60th canon, it was solemnly decreed what should be the canonical books of the New Testament. The Apocalypse was omitted.[1]

Eusebius argues against it, and thinks it was written by John the Presbyter, or Elder, who lived in the second century.[2]

After all this evidence, it would seem superfluous to add, that the church of Thyatira, one of those to whom it was addressed, had not then, A. D. 96, been founded.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.—The Rev. Dr. Davidson, who is considered such high authority, that he was employed to write the article on the Canon for the new edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, says:

"Its existence [the Gospel of John], before 140 A. D., is incapable either of decisive or probable showing." And again: "The Johannine authorship has receded before the tide of modern criticism; and though the tide is arbitrary at times, it is here irresistible."[3]

THE JAMESES.—Two apostles are mentioned by the name of James; one, the son of Zebedee, and brother of John, called also James the Elder, and the other, James the son of Alphæus, who was called James the Less, and James the Just. But whether the latter James was the same with the brother of the Lord, commentators have not been able to decide. This, the great church historian, Neander, pronounces the most difficult question in apostolic history.

James, the brother of Jesus, is a historic personage. An account of his death is given, with full particulars,

(1.) Landon's Manual of Councils, pp. 284 to 287.

(2.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 39. Also, 7. 25. The argument is credited to Dionysius.

(3.) Canon of the Bible, by Samuel Davidson, D.D., L. L. D., London, 1877, p. 99.

by Josephus. Some evangelical writers have been inclined to let this passage go with the other, as a forgery. But there does not appear to be any good reason to deny its authenticity. The account is as follows;

"Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; [having been appointed procurator of Judæa]; so he [Ananus, who had just been appointed high priest], assembled the Sanhedrim of judges and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned."—*Antiq. bk.* 20, *ch.* 9.

The historian then proceeds to relate, that some of the citizens condemned the proceeding, and went to meet Albinus, who was returning from Alexandria; that they complained to him of Ananus, and claimed that he had no right to assemble the Sanhedrim without Albinus' consent; that Albinus, taking the same view of the matter, wrote a severe letter of reproof to Ananus, and soon after, had the high-priesthood taken from him. Now here is a network of historical facts and incidents, connected with the customs and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews, which forbid the supposition of the whole account being a forgery. And if the words relating to Christ are to be stricken out, there must be some good reason given for it. We do not see any. There is nothing inconsistent in the language. Josephus is not here, as in the other passage, made to declare that Jesus is the Christ. He is spoken of, as "Jesus who was called Christ," to distinguish him from other Jews by the name of Jesus.

Epistle of James.—Commentators think this epistle was written by James the son of Zebedee, according to the subscription of the Syriac Version; or James the son of Alphæus, [1], or James the brother of the Lord, [2] or an

(1.) Dr. Davidson, Introduction to N. T.1. 385, supports 2d or 3d hypothesis.
(2.) Alford, Gr. Test. 4. 28, supported by Eusebius.

unknown James, which was Luther's opinion. As the Epistle maintains its place among the writings of the New Testament, we must conclude that upon the question of its inspiration, it is immaterial by whom it was written.

THE JUDASES AND THE OTHER APOSTLES.—There were two apostles by the name of Judas. The one, called Thaddæus, the other, Judas Iscariot. Whether the one called Thaddæus, and at other times Lebbæus, was also the Lord's brother, here again the learned cannot agree; nor whether he was the author of the Epistle of Jude. This epistle was not in the Peshito, nor in the Syriac Version of 1562. It was rejected by Norton[1] and had been long before by Michaelis.[2] This was one of the seven books which were for a long time discredited by the fathers. The others were 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, James, Hebrews and Revelation.

It is scarcely worth while to attempt to complete a history of the apostles. The whole subject is involved in obscurity. After, with much difficulty, we have settled upon eleven apostles, the twelfth, in the synoptic gospels was Bartholomew, while in John it was Nathanael.

(1.) Vol. 2, p. 162.
(2.) Vol. 1, p. 291.

SECOND PERIOD. A. D. 80 TO A. D. 120.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CLEMENT OF ROME, IGNATIUS, AND POLYCARP.

CLEMENT. A. D. 97.—No grander character appears in Christian history, than Clement of Rome.

Whether we look at his First Epistle to the Corinthians, generally considered to be genuine, or at the numerous other writings attributed to him, and the recorded traditions concerning his life and teachings, we find in either case, one of the highest and noblest types of Christian character. His first Epistle, written about A. D. 97, will compare favorably with the Epistles of Paul.

The great and absorbing question connected with this, the first authentic Christian writing outside the gospels, and subsequent to the New Testament Epistles, is, whether any of the gospels are recognized in it, and which?

There are some passages claimed as parallel, but there is no mention of any gospel by name. Of the supposed parallel passages, some have a similarity of language, while the idea is different; in others, the same or a similar meaning is conveyed in different language.

When these are eliminated, it will be found, that while there are, in Clement, twenty passages parallel to similar ones in the N. T. Epistles, there are but five parallel to any in the canonical gospels. But these do not by any means indicate that these gospels were then in existence. The passages all relate to the sayings of Christ, which were preserved by tradition, as well as in older gospels. Four of the parallelisms are in Matthew, and no doubt were in the Oracles, or other collections of sayings, to which Clement had access. The other is in Luke, 6th chapter, vv. 36 to 38. That also, is a saying of Christ, which in Clement differs considerably from Luke, although Clement professes to give the very "words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake."—[Clem. Ep. ch. 13.]

Tischendorff concludes that Clement's Epistle does not furnish proof of the existence of the four gospels at that time.[1]

In connection with the Epistle of Clement, there is a circumstance worthy of notice.

In the 17th chapter of Luke, between the 1st and 2d verses, the words elsewhere occurring in the gospels, "it had been good for that man if he had not been born," are wanting. Now these very words were in the Gospel of Marcion, in the same connection as they would be if between verses 1st and 2d, of 17th Luke. They were also used in a similar connection, by Clement, in the 46th chapter of his Epistle, long before the time of Marcion. If then, as is claimed, Marcion's Gospel is nothing but a corruption of Luke, how did it happen, that Marcion should interpolate a sentence precisely in the same connection, in which it had been used by Clement? Is it not more probable that Clement and

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 52.

Marcion were using in common an ancient gospel, in which that sentence occurred, and that the author of Luke either omitted the sentence, or made use of a different version of the same ancient gospel? It is true, these or similar words occur in Mark and Matthew, but not in the same connection as in Marcion. In Clement they are in the same connection.

The authorities are somewhat conflicting, as to the time when Clement was Bishop, but it is now pretty generally agreed that he wrote his Epistle, about A. D. 97. He is said to have lived to the year 100.[1]

Besides his First Epistle to the Corinthians, there are several volumes of writings attributed to Clement. There is a Second Epistle to the Corinthians; the Epistle to James, giving an account of his ordination by Peter; two Epistles in praise of Virginity; the Canons and Apostolic Constitutions, and the Clementines, so called, consisting of the Epitome, the Homilies and the Recognitions.

The Recognitions is a religious romance of much interest, throwing light upon the manners and customs of the times, and upon the religious views and practices of the early Christians, and especially illustrating the prevailing rage for miracles.

There is but little doubt that portions of it, at least, were written in the second century; the evidences which have been detected of a later date, being in the interpolations. The Latin translator, Rufinus, [A. D. 410], is the same who is generally believed to have taken such unwarrantable liberties with the text of Origen.

Origen referred to the Recognitions, A. D. 230.

Clement commences, in the Recognitions, by stating that he was born in the City of Rome, and was, from

(1.) Mosheim, vol. 1, p. 96; 2d ed. note.

his early youth, given to meditating upon serious subjects; upon the nature of life, whether there was pre-existence, and would be immortality, &c. While engaged in these reflections, a report reached him, which took its rise in the regions of the east, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. He speaks of the miracles of Christ. These reports became confirmed. About this time, Barnabas came to Rome to preach, and being derided by the people, and a tumult having arisen, Clement, who was a person of distinction, interfered in behalf of Barnabas. He becomes interested, and resolves to return with him to the east. Barnabas sails, and Clement as soon afterward as he can arrange his affairs.

Arriving at Cæsarea, Barnabas presents Clement to Peter, who receives him joyfully, and running up to him, kisses him. Peter is preparing for a debate with Simon Magus. (For an account of this discussion, see chapter 8.)

After a long stay, and meeting with many incidents, Clement recognizes in two of the disciples of Peter, Niceta and Aquila, two brothers of Clement, who, with their mother, had gone to a distant country, in their boyhood, and whom he had never heard of since. He also recognizes, in an old woman, and an old man, who are unknown to each other, and whom Clement meets at different times, his mother and his father; neither of whom had he seen since his boyhood. These are the "Recognitions," which give title to the book.

Doctrines.—Turning again to the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which, out of deference to the learned, is the only one of the writings attributed to him which can be recognized as genuine, let us see what it contains.

Though it is a long epistle, covering more than forty octavo pages, and is full of doctrinal allusions, we look

in vain for any trace of the immaculate conception of Jesus, or of his miracles, or of his material resurrection.

His views of the resurrection, are given in the 24th chapter, in beautiful language, similar to that used by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians. He compares the burial of the body, to the sowing of fruit in the earth.

"The sower goes forth and casts it into the ground; and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then, out of its dissolution, the mighty power of the providence of the Lord, raises it up again," &c.

He then refers to the phenix; a bird which was reported to live to a great age; and says, when its days are fulfilled, it builds its nest, and lies down and dies, and when its flesh has decayed, a new bird arises in its place.

It is difficult to believe, that Clement, when he wrote these words, or Paul, when he declared, "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption;" "it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body," had before him a gospel in which it was recorded, that Jesus expressly denied being a spirit, after his resurrection, and called for meat, that he might demonstrate to his disciples, that he had a material body like theirs.

The spiritualism of Paul and Clement was too refined for the gross conceptions of the second century, which would be satisfied with nothing less than the resurrection of the very crucified body of Jesus. Gospels were accordingly constructed, containing accounts of such a resurrection, related with great circumstantiality.

In the 40th chapter, Clement recognizes the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish worship, as still subsisting in his day, apparently even in the Christian church.

A large part of his epistle relates to those stirring up sedition and schism in the church. By the acts of these, the large-hearted father was deeply grieved.

After reminding them of the time when they were united and harmonious, in the following beautiful and affecting words,

"Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight; ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbors; their deficiencies you deemed your own," he refers to those who, "through pride and sedition, have become the leaders of a detestable emulation." But so far from expressing feelings of hatred toward them, he says in the same paragraph, "Let us be kind to one another, after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator." After citing many examples of humility and long suffering from the Old Testament, he calls upon his brethren to reflect, how free from wrath God is, toward all his creation.—[ch. 19.]

Illustrating his subject by the peace and harmony of the universe, he says:

"The heavens, revolving under his government, are subject to him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll in harmony, according to his command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to his will, brings forth food in abundance," &c. "The vast, immeasurable sea, gathered together by his working, into various basins, never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as he has commanded."

"Those" said he, "who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement, ought to have respect to the common hope."

He closes with this sublime benediction:

"May God, who seeth all things, and who is the ruler of all spirits, and the Lord of all flesh,—who chose our Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him, to be a peculiar people,—grant to every soul that calleth upon his glorious and

holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity and sobriety; to the well pleasing of his name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honor, both now and forevermore, Amen."

IGNATIUS. A. D. 115.—The personal history of Ignatius is so complicated with that of his epistles, that they cannot be separated.

Two hundred years ago, there were fifteen epistles in circulation, ascribed to Ignatius, who was Bishop of Antioch, about the commencement of the second century.

Scholars soon decided that eight of them were spurious. The other seven, being those addressed to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians and Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, appeared in two forms; one very much longer than the other, and in some places, containing whole pages not in the shorter form. Internal and other evidence caused the rejection of the long form, or long recension, and the learned settled down upon the short recension, or the Vossian Epistles, as they were named, from Vossius, their publisher, as the genuine writings of Ignatius; not, however, without some doubt expressed, as to the genuineness even of these.

Thus matters stood until 1845; when Dr. Cureton, who had charge of the Syriac department of the British Museum, published three Syriac Epistles of Ignatius, which had been discovered three years previous, having been procured by Archdeacon Tattam, from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, in Egypt.

Dr. Cureton, in an able treatise, maintained that these were the only genuine epistles of Ignatius. They were the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Romans, and to Polycarp; all in a shorter form than in the Vossian Letters.

For a number of years, the opinion of Dr. Cureton gained ground, and promised fair to become universal. But of late, the investigations of German scholars have resulted in raising grave doubts, as to the genuineness of any of the epistles. In England, the subject has undergone an animated discussion, and has been made the occasion of exhaustive research, resulting in very able treatises on both sides of the question.

The subject was opened by the author of "Supernatural Religion," who, after reviewing the arguments against the accepted statements of the fathers, that Ignatius was sent from Antioch to Rome to be martyred, statements upon which the genuineness of the letters in any shape depends, since in every form they purport to be written on such a journey, the author says:

"This conclusion, irresistible in itself, is, however, confirmed by facts arrived at from a totally different point of view. It has been demonstrated that Ignatius was not sent to Rome at all, but suffered martyrdom in Antioch itself on the 20th of December, A. D. 115; when he was condemned to be cast to wild beasts in the amphitheater, in consequence of the fanatical excitement produced by the earthquake which took place on the 13th of that month."—*Sup. Rel. vol.* 1, *p.* 268.

The writer refers to a number of authorities, all German, except Dr. Davidson.

This statement was subjected to the most searching criticism, by Mr. Westcott, in the Preface to the 4th edition of his work on the Canon, and by Dr. Lightfoot, in an article on the Ignatian Epistles, published in the Contemporary Review, for February, 1875. Also in a milder and more liberal style, by Mr. Sanday, in "The Gospels of the Second Century."

The criticisms of Lightfoot, Westcott and others, were replied to with great ability, in over fifty pages of the Preface to the sixth edition of Supernatural Religion.

The argument briefly stated, on both sides, is as follows:

Against the Martyrdom at Rome, and against the Genuineness of any of the Epistles.—It is shown that during the winter of 115–116, the Emperor Trajan, being engaged in a war with the Parthians, was in Antioch. If, therefore, he condemned Ignatius to martyrdom, he would be more likely to do it there, where they both were. Sending him to Rome would be an additional act of cruelty, not in accordance with the character of Trajan, who was a mild prince, under whose reign but one other instance of martyrdom is recorded, and that not well established. Ignatius, according to the account, was sent by a long and difficult land route, instead of the shorter and easier route by sea; which is improbable. Deputations of Christians have access to him, and accompany him, though he represents himself as guarded strictly by ten leopards. (Roman soldiers.) He is represented as being permitted to write long letters, advocating the very doctrines for which he is condemned. The epistles do not contain the last exhortations and farewell words that might be expected; but "are filled with advanced views of church government, and the dignity of the episcopate." There is no instance recorded, even during the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius, in which any one was sent to Rome, to be cast to wild beasts; although such executions frequently took place in Syria. Again, an earthquake occurred in Antioch, on the 13th of December, A. D. 115, which caused great consternation. This was a week before the martyrdom. It is probable that Ignatius fell a victim to the superstitious feeling which resulted from it. His remains were afterward known to be at Antioch, said to have been brought from Rome, but they were probably there all the time.

These arguments are endorsed by Davidson in England, and in Germany, by Volkmar, Bauer, Scholten and

Hilgenfeld. Volkmar, also, adds the authority of an ancient writer, John Malalas, about A. D. 600, who lived at Antioch, and would therefore, be likely to know.

For the Martyrdom at Rome, and the Genuineness of the Cureton (the three Syriac) Epistles.—The unbroken testimony of the fathers for nearly five hundred years. If Malalas lived at Antioch, so did Chrysostom and Evagrius, both earlier than Malalas, and both of whom state the martyrdom was at Rome. Besides, Malalas is shown to be entirely unreliable on several other subjects. Many reasons may have operated on the mind of Trajan, to induce him to send Ignatius to Rome, which cannot be judged of at this late day. Other instances are shown, where Christians, when in imprisonment, had been permitted to see their friends, and communicate with them. It is conceded that Ignatius suffered martyrdom, by order of Trajan. Arguments therefore go for naught, which are based upon the clemency of Trajan, or on the supposed fact that there were not other martyrdoms. The objection that he was permitted to write long letters, is removed, since it is generally conceded, that not more than the three short letters, according to the Syriac version, are genuine. But little can be inferred from the contents of the letters. The martyr wished to improve that opportunity, to give advice and instruction which would be of lasting benefit. The connection between his execution and the earthquake, is mere speculation. Furthermore, and these two considerations are probably the strongest of all,—First, the epistles are referred to in such a way in the Epistle of Polycarp, as to require a complicated double forgery, if the Ignatian letters are not genuine; and secondly, the Epistles of Ignatius are quoted by Origen, A. D. 230, and still earlier, by Ir-

enæus, A. D. 190; both quotations being found in the Cureton Epistles.

Such arguments are urged by Drs. Westcott, Lightfoot and others in England, and in Germany, by Bleek, Guericke and Mayerhoff.

In our judgment, the scales turn on the side of the martyrdom at Rome, and of the authenticity of the Cureton Epistles.

Dr. Lightfoot, while he accepts these epistles as genuine, states that the Vossian letters are a production of not later than the middle of the second century, and desires the question of their genuineness to remain an open one. But do not the Cureton letters, if genuine, exclude any longer form of the same epistles? Besides, that question was supposed to have been settled by Lipsius, whose opinion Dr. Lightfoot himself had endorsed, before writing this article for the Contemporary Review. Lipsius had come to the conclusion that the Vossian letters were an interpolation; that is, a forgery as to four, and an interpolation as to the other three; and that they were written about A. D. 140.

THE CURETON EPISTLES.—They are written in an affectionate and fatherly spirit, and the sentiments and views of the writer are expressed in language at once simple and dignified.

When referring to those making trouble in the church, he does so in the following words:

"Bear with all men, even as our Lord beareth with thee." (Addressed to Polycarp.) "If thou lovest the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; rather subdue those that are evil, by gentleness." "Let not those who seem to be somewhat, and teach strange doctrines, strike thee with apprehension." "More especially is it fitting, that we should bear every thing, for the sake of God, that he also may bear us."

In the Epistle to the Romans, the condemned martyr looks joyfully forward to the time when he shall be

offered up, as a testmony to the faith. He is even apprehensive, lest the brethren should interfere.

"Ye cannot," said he, "give me any thing more precious than this, that I should be sacrificed to God, while the altar is ready." Again: "I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I shall be ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God." (Quoted, with a slight variation, by Irenæus, adv. Hær. 5. 28.)

The zeal and enthusiasm of Ignatius, in contemplation of his martyrdom, rose to the height of fanaticism. His mind even dwelt with delight upon the details of his sufferings.

"Fire and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, harsh torments of the devil, let them come upon me, but only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ."

He coveted and earnestly desired the glory of martyrdom, and feared the brethren at Rome, whom he was addressing, might interfere in his behalf, before his arrival.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

Doctrine.—In the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, there is, apparently, an obscure reference to the immaculate conception of Jesus; the first intimation of such a doctrine, which we have been able to find in history.

It is in these words:

"There was concealed from the ruler of this world, the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries, which were done in the tranquillity of God, from the Star."

This, at first, even in connection with what follows, is not very clear. There appears to be a hidden meaning, not easily fathomed.

But if it be remembered, that Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, in Syria, a country imbued with the religious and mythological ideas of Persia, that he must be

supposed to have been familiar with the two principles, one of good, and the other of evil, and of their conflict through the ages; also that Zoroaster had been immaculately conceived by a ray from the divine reason; had been taken to heaven by lightning, and there enthroned as a living star; if we suppose these thoughts and images to be blended with his Christian convictions, giving his religious views a tinge of that Gnosticism then commencing to prevail so extensively in the church, the paragraph cited may be read with what follows more intelligibly.

"There was concealed from the ruler of this world, the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries, which were done in the tranquillity of God, from the Star." Then the following: "And here, at the manifestation of the Son, magic began to be destroyed, and all bonds were loosed; and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil were destroyed."

The ancient struggle is at an end; the principle of good has triumphed; and this has come from the influence of the living Star. The Gospel of the Infancy, which appeared about this time, and which possibly Ignatius may have seen, states that the magi came to Bethlehem, guided by a star, in accordance with the prophecy of Zoroaster.

Evidence as to the Four Gospels.—There is but one passage in the Cureton Epistles, which can be cited, even as apparent evidence of the existence of either of the four gospels.

"Be thou wise as the serpent in every thing, and harmless as to those things which are requisite, as the dove." No source is indicated, whence this is taken. It is one of the sayings of Jesus, which were preserved in various forms, both by tradition, and in the older gospels. It is not much relied upon as evidence. Rev. Mr. Sanday, after citing the passage, from the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, and thinking it ought to be

referred to the similar passage in Matthew 10. 16, adds:

"It is however, possible, that Ignatius may be quoting, not directly from our gospel, but from one of the original documents, (such as Ewald's hypothetical Spruch-Sammlung), out of which our gospel was composed; though it is somewhat remarkable that this particular sentence is wanting in the parallel passage in St. Luke."—*Gospels in the Second Century, p.* 78.

Ignatius had been forty years bishop of Antioch, and was said to be 86 years old at the time of his death.

"THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS."—This purports to have been written soon after the martyrdom, by some persons who accompanied Ignatius to Rome.

Many have expressed doubts as to its authenticity; others have rejected altogether. It is not necessary to decide. The document has but little historical value, since the martyrdom is generally admitted.

POLYCARP. A. D. 116.—It is difficult to understand how the Ante-Nicene editors and some other writers can concede the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, and still claim that it cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the second century. If there is any portion of it that belongs to that period, it must be an interpolation. The original epistle, if genuine, was written very soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius. This will become manifest, by comparing this letter with the one from Ignatius to Polycarp.

In that letter, Ignatius says, "I salute him who is reckoned worthy to go to Antioch, in my stead, as I directed thee." This can only become intelligible by reference to the 13th chapter of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. It must be borne in mind that Smyrna, the residence of Polycarp, was south east of Philippi, in Macedonia, the place to which his letter was directed; that Ignatius had passed through Macedonia, on his way to Rome, and that Antioch, whence

he started, was a long way south east of Smyrna. Polycarp, writing from Smyrna to the Philippians, says: "Both you and Ignatius wrote to me, that if any one went into Syria, he should carry your letter with him." He proceeds to say, in substance, that he will send the letter, if he has an opportunity. Again, same chapter, (13), he says: "Any more certain information you may have obtained, both respecting Ignatius himself, and those with him, have the goodness to make known to us."

He refers to Ignatius in language implying that he had proceeded, with his friends, on his journey to Rome. Nothing can be plainer, than if the letter is genuine, it was written after Ignatius had gone to Rome to suffer martyrdom, but before information of the particulars had been sent to Smyrna.

It has been objected, that in ch. 9, he spoke of Ignatius as having already suffered martyrdom, while afterward, he asked for information of Ignatius and "those with him." The latter portion has been thought to be an interpolation. But we do not think the two passages irreconcilable. Ignatius had gone to Rome as a martyr, and Polycarp believed him to have suffered when he wrote; and enquired after his companions, and for the particulars of the martyrdom.

Upon the question of the genuineness of this Epistle, also, there has been considerable discussion. But it was expressly referred to, about the year 190, by Irenæus, who in his youth, had known Polycarp personally. Polycarp lived till 155.

Evidence as to the Four Gospels.—The passages claimed as parallel, are all sayings of Christ, somewhat similar to those in the canonical gospels, but not ascribed to any definite source. No mention is made

of either of the Gospels, Luke, Mark, John or Matthew, by Clement, Ignatius or Polycarp.

One of the sayings of Jesus quoted by Polycarp, is precisely like one quoted by Clement; but is not in any one of the four gospels. It is as follows: "Be pitiful, that ye may be pitied." In Clement, word for word the same. Again: Clement; "Forgive, that it may be forgiven you;" Polycarp; "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you;" The nearest to which in the canonical gospels, is, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses," &c.

These circumstances and some others, struck the mind of the Rev. Mr. Sanday with so much force, that he admitted the passages might have been derived from other collections.[1]

He concludes, that if the apostolic fathers did not make use of our gospels, they had writings closely resembling them. That is true, so far as the sayings of Christ are concerned. But in other respects, they were widely different. The sayings of Jesus had become so extensively known among his disciples, and had been preserved in so many different ways, that they maintained, for the most part, a substantial identity, in whatever writing contained.

Perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the question of the evidence of the apostolic fathers, was found by Dr. Less, a German evangelical scholar, who wrote about the year 1770. He was author of a celebrated work, written to establish the "authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and credibility of the New Testament." He was stimulated to investigate the question, by a remark of Lord Bolingbroke. In his Letters on the Study of History, Bolingbroke had exposed a want of judgment in "those who attempt to vindicate the

(1.) Gospels in the Second Century, p. 87.

antiquity of the sacred writings by examples drawn from the fathers of the first century, with a design to prove that these fathers had read the gospels; though the instances alleged amounted to no demonstration."

Whereupon Dr. Less gave the subject a very careful and thorough examination. The result is given by Bishop Marsh, in a note to Michaelis; as follows:

"From the EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, no inference can be adduced, that he had read any part of the New Testament.

"From the GENERAL EPISTLE, as it is called, of CLEMENT OF ROME, it may be inferred, that Clement had read the First Epistle of the Corinthians.

"From the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, no inference whatever can be drawn.

"From the EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS, it may be concluded that he had read St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, and that there existed in his time, evangelical writings, though it cannot be shown that he has quoted from them. [This investigation was made long before the discovery of the Cureton Epistles, and the remark of Dr. Less was founded upon the Vossian Letters, which were more voluminous, and included four spurious letters, ascribed to Ignatius.]

"FROM POLYCARP'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS, it appears that he had heard of St. Paul's Epistle to that community, and that he quotes a passage, which is in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and another which is in the Epistle to the Ephesians; but no positive conclusion can be drawn, with respect to any other Epistle, or any of the Four Gospels."—*Michaelis by Marsh, vol* .1, *p.* 354, *citing Less, Gesch. der Religion, p.* 503-537, *ed'n* 1786.

As the result of this analysis, including, besides the apostolic fathers proper, Barnabas and Hermas, and extending to about the middle of the second century, no evidence of the four gospels was seen, in the writings of the apostolic fathers, by this eminent German theologian. Subsequent English and American ecclesiastical writers have discovered much, as they suppose, which escaped his careful scrutiny.

All three of the apostolic fathers mentioned Paul expressly, and referred to his writings.

Clement, in writing to the Corinthians, referred to Paul's Letter to them, and Polycarp, in his Letter to the Philippians, spoke of Paul's Epistle to that Church.

There has been an attempt made to make Polycarp a witness for the four gospels, in another manner. Feuardentius, in his note on Irenæus, 3. 3, published, with some other fragments, what purported to be a fragment of Polycarp, out of a very ancient manuscript of Victor Capuanus Catena, upon the four evangelists, wherein Polycarp mentioned each by name; "which," says Feuardentius, "Catena he there promises to publish; but whether he did or no, I know not." Victor Capuanus lived, A. D. 480; according to this writer. Grynæus places him at A. D. 455: others a hundred years later.

This testimony may be stated thus: Feuardentius says, that Capuanus had, in 480, a manuscript, showing that Polycarp, more than 300 years previous, mentioned the four gospels.

Westcott prudently abandons this evidence, significantly asking, "Is anything known of the MS. Catena, from which it was taken?" [1]

Polycarp was, for many years, Bishop of Smyrna, and was martyred, A. D. 155.

He was a devoted Christian, and an able expounder of the faith. In his treatment of heretics, he travelled in the footsteps of Clement and Ignatius. The spirit of persecution finds no sanction in the writings of the three apostolic fathers.

Speaking of Valens, who had been a presbyter, but who had departed from the faith, he says:

"I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for him and for his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be ye then, moderate in regard to this matter, and do not count such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and straying members, that ye may save your whole body."—[Ch. 11.]

(1.) Canon, p. 36.

RECAPITULATION.

The apostolic fathers make no mention of the miracles of Jesus, nor do they refer to any of the circumstances connected with his alleged material resurrection.

Upon that subject, Clement holds the same views with Paul, and illustrates them in an impressive and beautiful manner.

Ignatius, A. D. 115, appears to allude, in a mysterious way, to the immaculate conception; the first time we find it mentioned in history.

No reference is made to either of the four gospels, nor to the Acts of the Apostles, nor are there any quotations except such as evangelical writers concede may have been taken from other sources.

"THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP."—This was doubtless, one of the earliest of the martyria. Its genuineness has been denied; but the question is of little importance, as the document contains nothing of much historical value, in the way of fact or doctrine.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

Gospel according to the Hebrews.

This is the most celebrated of all the ancient gospels. It made its first appearance early in the second century. Probably not later than 125, and possibly five or even ten years sooner.

As this gospel, in various forms, and under different titles, was the one most in use among the Christians of the second century, we shall give all the citations of it by the fathers, and all the fragments of the gospel which they have preserved.

1. Hegesippus; A. D. 185. According to Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, bk. 4, ch. 22.

Eusebius here says of Hegesippus,

"He has also written (laid down) some things concerning the Gospel according to the Hebrews and Syrians, as also concerning the Hebrew language, by which he evidences that he was converted from Judaism to Christianity."

It may be mentioned in passing, that this is the principal testimony relied upon to show that there was a Syriac Version of the canonical gospels in the second century. But so far from its being any evidence of that fact, Eusebius was not referring at all to the canonical gospels, or either of them, but to the Gospel

of the Hebrews. He calls it the Gospel according to the Hebrews and Syrians; by which he evidently means, that it was used by the Jews in Syria, as well as elsewhere.

This view is confirmed by the statement of Jerome, which will appear presently, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was written "in the Chaldee and Syriac languages." It appears it was used by the Nazarenes residing in Berea, Syria; hence it was translated into Syriac.

2. Clement of Alexandria; A. D. 200. Stromata, bk. 2, ch. 9:

"And it is written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 'He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall be at rest.' "

3. Origen; A. D. 230. Comm. in Joan.:

"But if any one will receive the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in which our Savior says, 'The Holy Ghost, my mother, lately took me by one of my hairs, and bore me to the great mountain Tabor,'' ' &c.

From the same. Fragment of the gospel, preserved in Hom. 8, in Matt. tom. 3, p. 21:

"But let us treat this place a little otherwise: It is written in a certain gospel, which is entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' (if any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority, but only for illustration of the present question),''

Then comes the following account of the colloquy between Jesus and the rich man, which the reader can compare with Matt. 19. 16–24. As he does so, he may wonder at its being pronounced by Origen, "not of any authority,"since it is in spirit, the same as the account in Matthew, and is somewhat more simple and natural.

There is reason to believe that the clause in brackets, is one of the many interpolations to which it is well known the writings of Origen have been subjected. In

the same sentence he himself speaks of it as a gospel; not as a book called "the Gospel according to the Hebrews," but as a gospel, "entitled according to the Hebrews." The phrase "it is written," when used by the fathers, is generally understood to apply to writings considered scriptural. Origen says, "It is written in a certain gospel." It will be seen also directly, that Jerome speaks of this gospel as "one which Origen often used."

The following is the narrative:

"Another rich man said unto him, 'Master, What good thing shall I do that I may live?' He said unto him, 'O man, fulfil the law, and the prophets.' And he answered him, 'I have done so.' Then said he unto him, 'Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor; and come, follow me.'

"Then the rich man began to smite his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, 'How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, when it is written, in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself? And lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are covered with filth, and dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing therefrom goeth forth at any time unto them.'

"And turning himself about, he said unto Simon, his disciple, sitting near him, 'Simon, son of Jonas, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' "

Rev. S. Baring-Gould, after comparing this with the corresponding passage in Matthew, says:

"The comparison of these two accounts is not favorable to that in the canonical gospel. It is difficult to understand how a Jew could have asked, as did the rich young man, (according to Matthew's Gospel), what commandments he ought to keep, in order to enter into life. The decalogue was known by heart to every Jew. Moreover, the narrative in the lost gospel is more connected than in the canonical gospel."

To which may be added, that the account is considerably shorter than in the Gospel of Matthew, or Mark; indicating, according to a principle which will be frequently adverted to as we proceed, that it was first written. The narrative in Luke is of about the same length with that in the Hebrews.

4. EUSEBIUS; A. D. 325. Ecc. Hist. bk. 3, ch. 25.

In enumerating the apocryphal books, he adds:

"In this number, some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews; with which they of the Jews, who profess Christianity, are very much delighted."

Again, when speaking of the Ebionites; Ib. ch. 27:

"They made use only, of that which is called the Gospel according to the Hebrews; very little esteeming any other."

Again, speaking of Papias; ch. 39:

"He mentions another history, concerning a woman accused of many crimes before our Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews."

5. EPIPHANIUS; A. D. 385. Hæres. 29, sec. 9:

"They (the Nazarenes) have the Gospel of Matthew most entire in the Hebrew language, among them: for this truly is still preserved among them; as it was at first in Hebrew characters. But I know not whether they have taken away the genealogy from Abraham to Christ."

Again, against Heresies, 30: (Ebionites.)

"They (the Ebionites) also receive the Gospel according to Matthew. For this, both they and the Cerinthians make use of, and no other. They call it the Gospel according to the Hebrews; for the truth is, that Matthew is the only one of the New Testament writers, who published his Gospel and preaching in the Hebrew language, and Hebrew characters."

Again; in Sec. 13:

"In the gospel which they (the Ebionites) have called the Gospel according to Matthew, which is not entire and perfect, but corrupted and curtailed, and which they call the Hebrew Gospel, it is written:

" 'There was a certain man called Jesus; and he being about thirty years of age, made choice of us. (This was called also the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.) And coming to Capernaum, he entered into the house of Simon, called Peter, and opening his mouth, said: When I passed by the Lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot; and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I called, and thou didst follow me. I will, therefore, that ye be my twelve apostles, for a testimony to Israel. And John the Baptist was baptizing, and the Pharisees went out to him, and were baptized, and all Jerusalem.

" 'And John had his garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat (according to that gospel) was wild honey, the taste of which was like manna, or as cakes made with honey and oil.' Thus they change the true account into a falsehood, and for locusts, put cakes made with oil and honey.

"The beginning of their gospel was this: 'It came to pass, in the days of Herod, King of Judæa, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance, in the River Jordan, who was reported to be of the family of Aaron, the high priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all people went out after him.'

"And after several other things, it is said in this gospel: 'The people being baptized, Jesus also went, and was baptized by John; and as he ascended out of the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove, descending and entering into him; and a voice was made, (ἐγένετο), from heaven, saying: Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; and then another, I have this day begotten thee; and suddenly there shone around the place a great light; which when John saw, (says this gospel), he said to him, Who art thou Lord? and then another voice from heaven came to him, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Hereupon, (according to this gospel), John fell down before him, and said, 'O Lord, I pray thee, baptize me;' but he hindered him saying, that it is so fit, that all things should be fulfilled.' See how their false doctrine appears every where, how all things are imperfect, disordered and without truth or order.

"So also Cerinthus and Carpocrates, using the same gospel of theirs, would prove from the beginning of that Gospel according to St. Matthew, viz. by the genealogy, that 'Christ proceeded from the seed of Joseph and Mary.' But they (the Ebionites) have quite other sentiments; for they have taken away the genealogy from Matthew, and accordingly begin their gospel, as I have above said, with these words: 'It came to pass, in the days of Herod, King of Judæa,' &c."

Again, Epiphanius says, sec. 16:

"They (the Ebionites) do not say that he, (Christ), was begotten of the Father, but made as one of the angels; but being greater than they, he has dominion over them, and all the works of the Almighty; and that he came and taught that which is contained in their gospel, viz. 'I came to abolish sacrifices; and unless ye cease to offer sacrifices, the wrath (of God) shall not cease from you.' And such as these are their tenets."

Epiphanius also tells us, [1] that a certain Jew, called Joseph, found in a cell at Tiberias, in the time of Constantine, the Hebrew Gospel ascribed to Matthew. Not

(1.)Hæres. 30, Ebion. sec. 6.

much confidence has been placed in this statement by subsequent writers.

6. JEROME; A. D. 400. Catal. Vir. Illust. in Matt.

Matthew also called Levi, who became from a publican an apostle, was the first who composed a gospel of Christ; and, for the sake of those who believed in Christ from among the Jews, wrote it in the Hebrew language and letters; but it is uncertain who it was who translated it into Greek. Moreover the Hebrew (copy) itself is to this time preserved in the library of Cæsarea, which Pamphylus the martyr, with much diligence, collected. The Nazarenes who live in Berea, a city of Syria, and make use of this volume, granted me the favor of writing it out; in which (gospel), there is this observable, that wherever the evangelist either cites, himself, or introduces our Savior as citing, any passage out of the Old Testament, he does not follow the translation of the LXX, but the Hebrew copies; of which there are these two instances, to wit: 'out of Egypt have I called my Son;' and 'he shall be called a Nazarene.'"

[NOTE.—If this statement of Jerome, who is not very reliable, could be depended upon, there was a version of the Old Testament then in circulation, containing the latter passage; a passage which, it has been often asserted, was not in the Old Testament; and which is not now to be found in that volume.]

Again, same work, Life of James; after relating various wonderful things concerning James, he says:

"The gospel also, which is called, 'according to the Hebrews,' and which I translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often used, relates, that after our Savior's resurrection, when our Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, he went to James, and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread, from that hour in which he drank the cup of the Lord, till he should see the Lord risen from the dead. And a little after, the Lord said, 'Bring the table and the bread;' and then it is added, he took the bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, 'My brother eat thy bread; for the Son of man is risen from the dead.'"

This appearance is not related in the canonical gospels; but an appearance to James is mentioned by Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 7; which would indicate that the Gospel of the Hebrews contained the oldest traditions.

Again; JEROME, adv. Pelag. l. 3, in prin.

"In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldee and Syriac languages, which the Nazarenes use, that according to the Twelve

Apostles; or as most think, according to Matthew; which is in the library of Cæserea, there is the following history:

"'Behold, the mother and brethren of Christ spake to him: John the Baptist baptizeth, for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. He said to them, In what have I sinned, that I have any need to go and be baptized by him? unless my saying this proceeds, perhaps, from ignorance?'

"And in the same volume it is said, 'If thy brother offend thee by any word, and make thee satisfaction, though it be seven times in a day, thou must forgive him.' Simon, his disciple, said to him, 'What! Seven times in a day?' The Lord answered and said unto him, 'I tell thee also, even till seventy times seven.'"

Again; Jerome, Lib. 4, Comm. in Jesai. c. 11, 2:

"According to their gospel, which is written in the Hebrew language, and read by the Nazarenes, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended upon him. Besides, in that gospel just mentioned, we find these things written:

"'It came to pass, when the Lord ascended from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended, and rested upon him, and said to him, 'My Son, among all the prophets, I was waiting for thy coming, that I might rest upon thee; for thou art my rest; thou art my first begotten Son, who shall reign to everlasting ages.'"

And again, in Lib. 11, Comm. in Jesai. 40, 11:

"But it is written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes read, 'The Lord said, The Holy Ghost, my mother just now laid hold on me.'"

By the same, in Lib. 2, Comm. in Mic. 7. 6:

"Whoever reads the book of Canticles, and will understand, by the spouse of the Soul, the word of God, and will believe the gospel which is entitled, 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,' which I lately translated, in which our Savior is introduced, saying, 'Just now my mother, the Holy Ghost, laid hold on me by one of my hairs,' will not scruple to say, the Word of God was born of the Spirit, and the soul, which is the spouse of the Word, has the Holy Ghost for its mother-in-law, who, in the Hebrew language, is expressed in the feminine gender."

The same, in Lib. 6, Comm. Ezek. 18. 7:

"In that which is entitled, 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,' it is reckoned among the chief of crimes, for a person to make sorrowful the heart of his brother."

Again; Jerome, Lib. 1, Comm. in Matt. 6. 11:

"In the gospel entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' I find, instead of supersubstantial bread,' "Machar;" which signifies the morrow; so, the sense

is, 'Give us this day, the bread necessary for the morrow;' i. e. for the future."

Again, the same. Lib. 2, Comm. in Matt. 12. 13:

"In the gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, (which I lately translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and which is by most esteemed the authentic Gospel of Matthew), the man who had the withered hand, is said to be a mason, and prayed for relief in the following words:

" 'I was a mason, who got my livelihood by my hands; I beseech thee, Jesus, that thou wouldst restore to me my strength, that I may no longer thus scandalously beg my bread."

And again, in Lib. 4, Comm. in Matt. 23:

"In the gospel which the Nazarenes use, for the son of Barachiah, I find written, 'The son of Joiada.' "

The following extracts also are from Jerome:

From Lib. 4, Comm. in Matt. 27. 16:

"In the gospel entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' he (Barabbas) is interpreted, The son of their master, who was condemned for sedition and murder."

Same book:

"In the gospel which I have often mentioned, we read, that a lintel of the temple, of immense size, was broken and rent." (At the time of the crucifixion.)

From Epistle ad. Hedib. 149:

"In that Gospel which is written in Hebrew letters, we read, not that the vail of the temple was rent, but that a lintel (or beam) of a prodigious size fell down."

From lib. 3, Comm. in Ep. ad. Eph. c. 5, v. 4:

"In the Hebrew Gospel, we read, that our Lord said to his disciples, 'Be ye never cheerful, unless when you can see your brother in love.' "

From Præf. lib. 18, Comm. in Jesai.:

"For when the apostles supposed him to be a spirit, or according to the Gospel which the Nazarenes received, an incorporeal demon, he said to them, 'Why are ye troubled,' &c."

And in De vir. Ill. n. 16, in Ig., he bears the following testimony to the source whence Ignatius was supposed to have taken the quotation, concerning the conversa-

tion between Jesus and his disciples, after the resurrection.

"In the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, (which, in the time of Jerome, and until lately, was thought to have been written by Ignatius,) he (Ignatius) takes a testimony from the Gospel which I lately translated, as spoken by Christ; he says, 'I saw Christ in the flesh after the resurrection, and believe that it was he; and when he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter, he said unto them, Behold, feel me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit; and presently they touched him and believed.'"

Such are the testimonies of the fathers concerning this famous gospel, and the fragments of it which they have preserved for our inspection.

It may be added, that it was not condemned in the decree of Gelasius, A. D. 494.

There has been much diversity of opinion, and a good deal of learning brought to bear upon the question, whether the Gospel according to the Hebrews was written by Matthew; and if not, whether Matthew wrote a Gospel in Hebrew.

It will be seen by the foregoing extracts, that Epiphanius and Jerome are very explicit in asserting that this was the Gospel of Matthew.

The readiness with which these statements are set aside by able modern writers, may be regarded as an instructive commentary upon the degree of credit and authority to which the fathers are entitled, on questions requiring for their decision, an educated and critical judgment.

It will be noticed hereafter, that Jerome asserts, with the same positiveness, that the Gospel of the Infancy, which he translated from memory, and a portion of which translation has since been called the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, was written also by Matthew. In that case, he went so far as to say, it was in Matthew's own hand-writing. [See chapter 17.]

That the Gospel of the Hebrews was Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, was the opinion of Du Pin,[1] and Father Simon.[2] Beausobre considered it, whether written by Matthew or not, very ancient, and of very high authority.

Dr. Niemeyer thought this gospel, "the fountain from which other writings of this sort, have derived their origin; as streams from a spring." Baronius said, "The present Greek text of St. Matthew, is of no value or authority, unless it were to be compared with the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, which is the true original."[3]

Michaelis [A. D. 1777], examined the question critically. After citing Father Simon, Dr. Mill, and other writers, and admitting frankly that the Nazarenes knew nothing of the Greek gospels, he considers whether in the gospel of the Nazarenes, like that of the Ebionites, the first two chapters of Matthew were wanting. He examines Jerome's references to the gospel which he had translated, and comes to the conclusion, that while there is no trace of the first chapter of Matthew, it probably contained the second chapter. He does not speak with much confidence, however, and says, "at different times, I have entertained different opinions on this subject."

The difficulty experienced by this eminent scholar, appears to have been easily surmounted by more modern writers, some of whom do not hesitate to assert, in the most positive manner, that the references of Jerome prove that the gospel which he translated contained both chapters.

(1.) History of the Canon, vol. 2, c. 2, 3.
(2.) Crit. Hist. N. T., Pt. 1, ch. 7, 9.
(3.) Annal. ad. Am. Ct. 34, num. 175.

Michaelis finally concludes, upon the main question, that if the Gospel of the Hebrews was originally the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, it received various additions among the Nazarenes, after it had been translated into Greek.[1]

Bishop Marsh, assuming that the Gospel of Matthew was a translation from the Hebrew, thinks the first two chapters may not have been in the original, and that the Greek translator prefixed a translation of some other Chaldee document, containing an account of the birth of Christ.[2]

Stroth, [1780], whose essay on the subject was printed in Eichhorn's Repertorium, contended that the Gospel of the Hebrews was used by Justin Martyr; an opinion which many others have since adopted.

Bishop Marsh, referring to this theory of Stroth, and to the reasons given, which had been favorably referred to by Dr. Rosenmuller, [A. D. 1800], says, "It is true that if the force of these arguments be admitted, [and they seem really convincing], we cannot produce Justin as an evidence of the four gospels."[3]

Norton thinks the Gospel of the Hebrews should not be considered apocryphal, and says, in its primitive form it was probably the Hebrew original of Matthew.[4]

Toland, speaking of the Gospel of the Hebrews, says:

"It was read in the Christian churches for three hundred years, not rejected by Origen and Eusebius, but alleged as a true gospel by Papias, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Hegesippus and others."—*Naz.* 20. 78.

Tischendorff finds that the Gospel of the Hebrews was probably used by Justin; also by the author of the

(1.) Vol. 3, p. 169.
(2.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 139.
(3.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 1, p. 361.
(4.) Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. 1, pp. 214, 225.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Clementines, and by Tatian and Hegesippus.[1]

From the views of these writers, after comparing them carefully with the testimony of the fathers, in the foregoing pages, we may, perhaps, elicit the truth, and state it in a few simple propositions.

1. The Gospel of the Hebrews was an ancient gospel, and nearly the only one in use among the Jewish Christians, in the first ages of the Church. It was also extensively used by others, and was of high authority with the fathers.

2. It was universally attributed to Matthew.

3. There was no other Gospel of Matthew at that time. (First half of second century.) The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew so much talked about, other than the Gospel of the Hebrews, is a myth, so far as there is any historical evidence.

4. The Greek Gospel of Matthew was a subsequent production, and either originally appeared in the Greek language, or was a translation of the Gospel of the Hebrews, with extensive changes and additions. There is reason to believe it to have been an original compilation, based upon the Oracles of Christ, but containing, in whole, or in part, a number of other manuscripts.

The arguments used to prove that Matthew's Gospel was originally in Hebrew, all run in a circle. They assume that the Greek gospel is in some way from Matthew, and is therefore authoritative. The reasoning then runs smoothly, and ends in proving a Hebrew Matthew, a document of the existence of which no mention is made in history; if we except a vague tradition never yet traced to its source.

As a specimen of this reasoning, we may refer to the argument of Jones, contained in three propositions:

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 78.

1. The Greek gospel contains all that Matthew ever wrote; else it would not be a complete revelation of the divine will, so far as Matthew is concerned.

2. It differed from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

3. Therefore the latter was not written by Matthew.

The corollary would be, that there was a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, different from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

By whom and when written.—It will be safe to accept the almost unanimous opinion of theological writers, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, was not written by Matthew. The author is unknown.

It was a compilation, made for the use of the Jewish Christians, from the gospels and gospel documents then in circulation; the manuscripts principally used appearing to be, the Oracles or Sayings of Christ, and the Gospel, Preaching and Doctrine of Peter. The Oracles probably constituted the principal basis, and as they had been attributed to Matthew, that circumstance is sufficient to account for the association of the apostle's name with this gospel.

The exact time when it was written can only be a matter of conjecture. It could not have been later than the first quarter of the second century.

Jerome supposed it to have been written before the epistles of Ignatius. But this was because he thought Ignatius had referred to it in his epistle to the Smyrnæans; a document of which Ignatius was not the author.

Doctrines.—There is no sufficient evidence that this gospel contained the doctrine of the immaculate conception. On the contrary, it is well understood that the earlier Jewish Christians did not believe in it.

The miracles of Christ now first begin to be heard of, and as might be expected, the first mentioned are those relating to the healing of the sick and deformed. The more wonderful and startling, such as turning water into wine, and raising to life a human body in a state of decomposition, are not met with until some time afterward.

The doctrine of the resurrection of Christ in a material body, now for the first time appeared, and was stoutly maintained by the fathers afterward.

CHAPTER V.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.—Continued.

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIANS.

This is universally conceded to have been a very ancient gospel. The learned Dr. Lardner thinks it was not written until the second century.[1]

Clement of Alexandria [A D. 200], mentions it in various places, and gives several fragments from it:

1. From Stromata, bk. 3, ch. 6.

"When Salome asked our Lord, 'How long death should prevail,' (not as though life were an evil, or the creation an evil), he answered, 'As long as ye women do bring forth children.'"

From what follows, it will be seen that this passage was in the Gospel of the Egyptians. The fact that the gospel is not cited by name in this place, becomes, after we know the quotation was taken from that book, a very strong endorsement of it; since it is asserted that Jesus said what he was reported to have said, in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

2. From the same, ch. 9.

"But they who oppose the established order of God, by their spurious pretences to celibacy, cite those things which our Savior spake to Salome, which I

(1.) Works, vol. 3, p. 204.

just before mentioned. They are, I think, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians; for they say that our Savior himself said, 'I am come to destroy the works of the woman; that is, the works of female concupiscence, generation and corruption.'

"Afterward, Salome asked him how long it should be that death should prevail against men? And he answered, 'While ye women bring forth children.'

"Hereupon she said, 'Then I have done well in bearing no children, seeing there is no necessity of generation.' To which our Lord replied, 'Feed upon every herb, but that which is bitter, eat not.'"

3. From the same, ch. 13.

"Wherefore Cassianus saith, that when Salome asked, when the things should be known concerning which she enquired, our Lord answered, "When you shall despise the covering of your nakedness, and when two shall become one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' First, (I observe) we have not this saying in the four gospels given to us, but in that according to the Egyptians."

This passage, quoted from the Gospel of the Egyptians, may be found in similar language in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, formerly attributed to Clement of Rome, but which is now thought to have been written, not earlier than A. D. 150.

The next author who refers to this gospel, is Origen; [A. D. 230.] In his Homily on the Gospel of Luke, ch. 1. v. 1, he says:

"The church has four gospels, the heretics many; among which is that according to the Egyptians, that according to the Twelve Apostles," &c. (This according to the Latin translator of Origen.)

The next is Jerome; Præf. in Com. in Matt.:

"The evangelist Luke declares that there were many who wrote gospels, when he says, "Forasmuch as many," &c. &c. (ch, 1, v. 1,) which being published by various authors, gave birth to several heresies; such as that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, that of the Twelve Apostles, and Basilides, and Apelles, and others, which it would be tedious to enumerate; in relation to these it will be enough at present to say, that there have been certain men, who endeavored, without the spirit and grace of God, rather to set forth some sort of account, than to publish a true history."

It will be seen that Jerome admits that not only the Gospel of Basilides, composed about A. D. 125, and other

gospels, admitted to have been first published in the second century, were written before that of Luke, but even the Gospel of Apelles also, which was written not earlier than A. D. 160.

That the Gospel of the Egyptians was one of those referred to in Luke's preface, was the opinion of Origen, Theophylact and others of the ancients, and among the moderns the same view has been expressed by Grotius, Dr. Grabe, Erasmus, and many others.

Epiphanius speaks of this gospel,[1] and thus refers to one of its doctrines:

"They (the Sabellians), make use of all the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, but principally of some certain passages, which they pick out according to their own corrupt and preposterous sentiments. But the whole of their errors, and the main strength of their heterodoxy they have from some apocryphal books, but principally from that which is called the "Gospel of the Egyptians;" which is a name some have given it: for in that, many things are proposed in a hidden, mysterious manner, as by our Savior, as though he had said to his disciples, that the Father was the same person, the Son the same person, and the Holy Ghost the same person."

The learned Dr. Grabe,[2] has a long dissertation concerning this gospel, the substance of which is, that it was composed by some Christians in Egypt; that it was published before either of the canonical gospels, and that Clement of Alexandria did not reject it, but endeavored rather to explain it; which he would not have done, had he considered it the work of a heretic.

Dr. Mill[3] thinks this and the Gospel of the Hebrews were composed before either of our canonical gospels, and that the authors of it were probably Essenes, who received the Christian doctrine from the preaching of Mark at Alexandria.

Mr. Whiston says:

"The Therapeutæ mentioned by Philo seem to have been those first Christian

(1.) Hæres. 62. 2.
(2.) Spiceleg. Patr. tom. 1, p. 31 to 34.
(3.) Prolegom. in N. T. sec. 35 to 38, and sec. 50.

ascetics, who were converted from the Jews, chiefly in Egypt, soon after our Savior's passion, before the coming of Mark thither, and to have both imperfectly understood and practiced the Christian religion. Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome plainly take them for Christians, and their sacred, ancient, mystical books are by Eusebius supposed to be the gospels and epistles of the New Testament. The modern critics are entirely puzzled about these Therapeutæ, and yet are not willing commonly to believe them Christians. And indeed Eusebius' opinion, that their ancient allegorical books were our gospels and epistles, is liable to great exceptions, since they are not allegorical in their nature, nor were they published any considerable time before Philo's own writings; so that upon the whole, I believe, it is more reasonable to say, these Therapeutæ were those first Christian ascetics, who had gotten very imperfect accounts of Christianity, and were guided by the Gospel according to the Egyptians, which we know by the fragments remaining, was a gospel sufficiently mystical and allegorical, according to the genius of that nation."—*Essay on Const.* 1. 37.

The statement of Eusebius,[1] that the Therapeutæ of Egypt became Christians, (though not in the first century), may be accepted. It is supported by Epiphanius and Jerome, and by the historical fact, that the Christian monkish system had its origin in Egypt.

How far the Therapeutæ of Egypt and the Essenes of Palestine may be identified, as one and the same class or sect, is a question which has been much discussed. Their beliefs and practices were similar; they both had, anterior to the Christian system, many of its peculiar doctrines, and the members became easy converts to the new religion, and were among the first Christian disciples.

A full account of the Essenes will be found in the writings of Josephus.

Jerome says, in his life of Mark,

"He went with his gospel into Egypt, and there constituted a church; that he was so remarkable in the abstemiousness of his life, that he obliged all his converts to follow his example; insomuch that Philo, the most eloquent of all the Jewish writers, when he saw the first church at Alexandria still observing the Jewish customs, thought it would be to the honor of his nation to write a book concerning their way of life; and as Luke says the Christians at Jerusa-

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 2. 16. 17.

lem had all things common, so he relates that it was at Alexandria, under Mark's instructions."—*Catal. Vir. Illust. in Marco.*

And again, in his life of Philo, he says, he places Philo among the church writers, because,

"By writing a book concerning the first church of Mark at Alexandria, he has said much in commendation of the Christians. He not only mentions such as were there, but in many other provinces; and calls their places of abode monasteries; from whence it appears, that the first Christians, who believed there on Christ, were such as the monks now pretend and desire to be; to wit, to have all things common,"&c.—*Catal. Vir. Illust. in Philone.*

This is a good illustration of the careless writing of the fathers, and of their readiness to supply, from their own imaginations, what is wanting in historical data. Philo, though he writes of the Therapeutæ, and of their mode of life, says nothing of any church of Mark at Alexandria, or of any other church, nor does he once mention the Christians in that connection, if indeed in any other.

There is, in fact, no historical evidence, at all reliable, that any Christian church was founded in Egypt in the first century. The first reliable information upon the subject, is in the letter of Hadrian to Servianus, husband of Paulina, the Emperor's sister. Servianus was consul, A. D. 134. The letter is preserved by Vopiscus, who wrote about the year 300, and who took it from the books of Phlegon, the historian, who was a freedman of Hadrian. From this epistle it appears, that the religion of the Christians was so crude that Christ and Serapis were worshipped indiscriminately; from which we may reasonably infer that the Christian religion had not long been established in that country.

The testimony of Epiphanius is as follows:

"They who believed on Christ were called Jessæi, (or Essenes), before they were called Christians, either because Jesse was the father of David, or from Jesus, the name of our Lord, because they were his disciples, and derived their constitution from him, or from the signification of the name Jesus, which in

Hebrew signifies the same as Therapeutes, (the name by which Philo calls them), i. e. a Savior or physician."—*Hæres.* 29. 4.

Who this Mark or Marcus was, who established the first Christian Church at Alexandria, is uncertain; possibly it was the same who wrote the Gospel of Mark, in the second century.

That it was not Mark, the associate of Peter, who wrote the Preaching, and perhaps the Gospel, of Peter, is manifest from the fact, that in this first church in Egypt, the ascetic system among the Christians, had its origin; and that system, as we learn from other sources, originated not earlier than the second half of the second century.[1]

Jerome, also, witnesses that it was not earlier than that, in the following passage:

"It has often been a question, from whom the desert way of life of the monks, derives its original. Some derive it as far as from Elijah and John.

"Others, which is the prevailing opinion, from Antonius; which is in part true; for he was not so much the first in this way of life, as the means of propagating it; for Amathas and Macarius, two disciples of Antonius, affirm, that one Paul of Thebais, (in Egypt), was the chief author of this matter; which I also assent to."—*In Vita Paul, Eremit. par.* 3, *tr.* 8. *De Vit. Con. Ep.* 37.

Antonius and Paul of Thebais are thought to have lived in the third century. However that may be, it is manifest, from all the evidence, that the ascetic system of the Christian monks cannot be traced back further than the latter half of the second century.

Baring-Gould thinks the Gospel of the Egyptians was related to that of Mark, and that it was composed at the beginning of the second century. He classes it among the Petrine Gospels.[2]

It was no doubt, older than Mark, and this, as has been shown, is the opinion of eminent Christian writers.

(1.) Consult Serarius, Sozomen and Spanheim.
(2.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, pp. 117, 123.

Davidson says,[1] it was classed by Origen with the Gospel of the Hebrews, as inauthentic.

Norton[2] thinks it was not a historical, but a doctrinal book.

This gospel was not condemned in the famous decree of Pope Gelasius.

As has been already seen, the decree did not include either of the first century gospels; the Gospel of Paul, the Gospel of Peter, the Oracles of Matthew; neither did it touch the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Jones objects to the Gospel according to the Egyptians, that it contradicts the canonical gospels, in representing Salome to be a single woman. But it will be found, upon examination, that the objection is hastily made. Matt. 27. 56, and Mark 15. 40, are cited to show that Salome was the mother of Zebedee's children; assuming that the third woman spoken of in each place, as present, at the crucifixion, was the same. But this may or may not have been the case. It is stated, both in Mark and Matthew, that many women were there. Because each historian mentions two of the number alike, it by no means follows, that the third was also the same.

If Salome had been the mother of the two apostles, James and John, she would doubtless have been so designated, wherever spoken of.

Before leaving the Gospel of the Egyptians, it will be necessary to notice a mis-translation of Jones, made for the purpose of bringing this gospel into disrepute.

He makes Clement of Alexandria say, Strom. 3, ch. 9,

"The things which follow, spoken to Salome, they cite, who had rather follow any thing, than the true canon of the gospel," &c.—*Jones, vol.* 1, *p.* 208.

(1.) Canon, p. 115.
(2.) Vol. 3, p. 243.

The inference would be that Clement considered the Egyptian Gospel an uncanonical book.

The Greek used by Clement is,

"Επιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι, φαμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς," &c.

"They cite, who rather follow any thing, than what is according to the truth, in the gospel rule."

The Greek word κανὼν meant, literally, a rule of measurement; hence, secondarily, a moral rule. It was not used, as applied to a collection of New Testament books, until the fourth century; while Clement wrote at the close of the second.

When and by whom written. The original of this gospel may have been in use among the Therapeutæ of Egypt, a long time before the introduction of Christianity, the passages relating to Christ being afterward added. Or it may have been written in another country, and brought into Egypt, with the Christian religion. In either case it may be dated as early as A. D. 110 to 115.

Doctrines. We find no evidence that this gospel contained the doctrine of the immaculate conception or of the material resurrection, or made any allusion to the miracles of Christ.

RECAPITULATION.

The Gospel of the Egyptians was very ancient; written early in the second century; is mentioned in several places, and fragments given by Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 200, who emphatically endorses it, although Jones disingenuously attempts to prove otherwise. The gospel taught abstemiousness and celibacy and gave countenance to the Sabellian form of the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead. According to Jerome, Origen and Theophylact of the ancients, and Grotius, Erasmus, Dr. Grabe, Dr. Mill, and others of the moderns, it was written before the Gospel of Luke, and in the opinion of

Drs. Grabe and Mill, and other eminent theologians, before either of the canonical gospels. Was not condemned in the decree of Gelasius. The objection as to Salome shown to be untenable. The gospel probably written more than fifty years before the introduction of Christianity into Egypt; the Christian religion having probably been introduced at the same time with Mark's gospel, and with the establishment of the monkish system; toward the close of the second century.

The story of Joseph and Mary appears not to have been known when this gospel was written. Neither is any thing said, so far as we have information of its contents, of the miracles of Christ, or of the material resurrection.

CHAPTER VI.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.—Concluded.

OTHER LOST GOSPELS.

GOSPEL OF PERFECTION—GOSPEL OF ANDREW—OF BARTHOLOMEW—OF PHILIP—THE SYRIAC GOSPEL—GOSPEL OF EVE—THE GOSPEL OF MATTHIAS—OF JUDAS—OTHER GOSPELS AND UNCANONICAL WRITINGS.

THE GOSPEL OF PERFECTION.—Epiphanius alludes to this gospel in the following manner;

"But others of them (the Gnostics), produce a certain spurious and supposititious work, to which work they have given the name of the Gospel of Perfection; which really is no gospel, but the perfection of sorrow; for all the perfection of death is contained in that product of the devil."—*Adv. Hæres.* 26. 2.

Baring-Gould classes this as a Pauline gospel. It was regarded as sacred by the Ophites. Bauer thinks it the same as the Gospel of Eve. But they are distinguished by Epiphanius. Norton says, if it ever existed, it was not a historical work.[1]

The doubt expressed by Norton, as to the existence of this gospel, might well be indulged, if it depended only upon the assertions of Epiphanius. But it is expressly mentioned in the Gospel of the Infancy, one of the oldest pre-canonical gospels which have been preserved.

(1.) Genuineness of the gospels, vol. 3, p. 222.

In that gospel, after a lengthy account of the miracles performed by Christ while a child in Egypt, it is added:

"And the Lord Jesus did many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy, nor in the Gospel of Perfection."—[Infancy, ch. 25.]

Camerarius supposed that Basilides and other Gnostics used this gospel, and that it was the same with the Gospel of Philip.[1] But Epiphanius distinguishes between them. (See Gospel of Philip.)

Gospel of Andrew.—There are no fragments extant, of the Gospel of Andrew, and but little is known of it beyond the fact, that it was condemned as apocryphal in the decree of Pope Gelasius; A. D. 494. In some copies of the decree, however, it was not mentioned.

The Gospel of Andrew is considered by Jones and others, to have been one of the "many" referred to in the preface to Luke. It is thought to have been alluded to by Augustine, (A. D. 420), in his Prol. in Matthæum.

Gospel of Bartholomew.—Strauss refers to the Gospel of Bartholomew as one of those "always current," quoted by heretics and sometimes by orthodox.[2]

No fragments are extant. It was pronounced apocryphal by the decree of Gelasius. Was counted by Jerome, Venerable Bede and others, among those referred to in Luke.

Some have thought it the same as the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes; but Jerome, who saw and read the Gospel of the Nazarenes, spoke of the Gospel of Bartholomew as distinct from it.

It was reported that Pantænus, when sent to India to preach the gospel, found that Bartholomew had preached there before him, and had left the Gospel of

(1.) Fabricius, Codex. Apoc. vol. 1, p. 373. Note.
(2.) New Life of Jesus, vol. 1, p. 56.

Matthew in Hebrew; and Jerome says he brought it back with him to Alexandria. This has been thought to be the same as the Gospel of Bartholomew. The subject is involved in much confusion and uncertainty.

Nicephorus says, Bartholomew, while in India, dictated the Gospel of Matthew to them out of his memory, and did not take it along with him.[1]

Monsieur Daille supposed the Gospel of Bartholomew was forged, a short time before Gelasius.[2]

Gospel of Philip.—The following notice of this gospel, and fragment of its contents, is taken from Epiphanius on Heresies, ch. 26, sec. 13.

"They (the Gnostics) laugh at the conduct of the monks, and those who profess chastity and virginity, as submitting to unnecessary hardships. They produce a forged gospel, under the name of the holy Apostle Philip; in which it is written:

" 'The Lord hath revealed to me what the soul must say when it ascends into heaven, and what answer it must make to each of the celestial powers: 'I knew myself and gathered; recollected myself on all sides, and did not raise children for the devil, (Archon, prince of this world), but extirpated all his principles, and I have gathered myself together, the scattered members; and I know who thou art, for I am one of the celestial number. And thus,' says that book, 'she is set at liberty.' But it adds, that if the soul be found to have propagated children, it is obliged to stay below, till she shall be able to receive and bring those children to herself."

It is not safe to place reliance upon these accounts. Norton says, "Epiphanius is a writer as deficient in plausibility, as in decency and veracity."[3] He was fond of indulging in obscenity, when treating of the doctrines and practices of heretics.[4]

Du Pin supposes the Gospel of Philip was made use of by Basilides and Apelles, and by the Ebionites.[5]

(1.) Ecc. Hist. l. 4, c. 3, 2.
(2.) De Pseud. Dion. Areop. c. 27.
(3.) Genuineness of the Gospels, by Andrews Norton, 1837, vol. 2, p. 211.
(4.) See his work, adv. Hær. 26. 5.
(5.) Hist of the Can. vol. 2.

If Epiphanius is to be at all relied upon, there could have been but little affinity between the Gospel of Philip and that of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes.

The Gospel according to Philip is mentioned by Timotheus,[1] as one of the new books which the impious Manichæus, inspired by the devil, had made. It is one of the Pauline gospels of Baring-Gould. Philip, like Paul, is said to have been an apostle of the Gentiles.

"This Gospel," says Baring-Gould, "belongs to the same category as those of Perfection, and of Eve, and belonged, if not to the Ophites, to an analogous sect, perhaps that of the Prodicians."—*Lost and Hostile Gospels, p.* 293.

THE SYRIAC GOSPEL.—This was probably nothing but the Gospel of the Hebrews in the Syriac language. It is said to have been used by Hegesippus, the first church historian, A. D. 185.

GOSPEL OF EVE,—Is another of the gospels of Epiphanius. The following extract is from his famous work against heresies.

"Some of these, (the Gnostics), do produce a certain spurious and forged writing, which they call the Gospel of Perfection;—others have the impudence to produce one called the Gospel of Eve;—for under her name, as reported to have received great discoveries, revealed to her in her discourse with the serpent, they propagate their principles.

"But as the discourses of a person in drink, pretending to give advice, are according to his giddy fancy, not equal, but some of them merry, others melancholy, so are the wicked principles of these impostors. For they are led away with certain ridiculous testimonies and visions, which are in that gospel which they make use of. They produce such as the following:

"'I stood upon a very high mountain, and saw one man very tall, and another short. And I heard a voice, as it were, of thunder; upon which I went nearer to hear; and he spake to me saying, I am thou, and thou art I; and again, I am thou and thou art I; and where thou art, there am I; and I am in all places, and in every thing; and wheresoever thou wilt, thou shalt find me, and in finding me, thou findest thyself.' Behold the doctrine of devils."—46. 47.

Other pretended quotations are made from this gospel, which can scarcely be given in English.[2]

(1.) In Epist. &c. p. 117.

(2.) See the Greek text of Epiphanius, adv. Hær. ch. 26, sec. 2, 3, and 5.

Baring-Gould dignifies this doubtful production, with a place among his Pauline gospels.[1] He thinks it was used by Marcus the Valentinian, and says it contained the Alpha Beta story of the childhood of Christ, to be found in some of the extant gospels.

Gospel of Matthias.—There are no fragments of the Gospel of Matthias extant. It was well known by the ancients, having been referred to by Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome, and in some copies of the decree of Gelasius.

Origen calls it a gospel of the heretics.[2]

Jerome and Erasmus include it among those which they think were written before Luke. So also Origen. Venerable Bede was of the same opinion. Dr. Grabe and Dr. Mill think it the same as the Traditions of Matthias.

Gospel of Judas Iscariot.—Judas also, had his gospel. It is mentioned by Irenæus as follows:

"But there are other heretics who say Cain [was delivered] by a heavenly power, and who acknowledge Esau, Corah and the Sodomites, as their pattern; who, though they were fought against by the Creator, yet received no damage thereby; for Wisdom took from them whatever belonged to it. These things, they say, Judas, who betrayed Christ, carefully obtained the knowledge of; and as he was the only one of the apostles who knew the truth, he accomplished the mystery of betraying Christ. By him (Judas) they say, all things in heaven and earth were dissolved; and according to their views, they produce a certain forgery, which they call The Gospel of Judas."—*Adv. Hær.* 1. 31. 1.

Epiphanius says,

"They will have him to be their relation, and esteem him to have obtained extraordinary knowledge; inasmuch as they produce a certain book under his name, which they call the Gospel of Judas."—*Adv. Hær.* 38. 1.

Mr. Toland having spoken of the gospel with some respect, Jones becomes indignant, and calls those who

(1.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 287.
(2.) Homil. in Luc. 1. in init.

use it, "a set of impious, beastly, profane wretches." He must have accepted the statements of Epiphanius concerning them, which, by more moderate writers, are rejected as malicious slanders. Dr. Lardner refers to some of his stories concerning the heretics, as "fictions of Epiphanius." [1]

Theodoret speaks of this gospel. [2] Baring-Gould makes it a Pauline gospel. [3] He thinks it was composed by the Cainites.

Not a fragment has been preserved, outside of the writings of Irenæus and Epiphanius.

OTHER LOST GOSPELS.

The following, mentioned by various writers, are not included in the foregoing list, for reasons which will be given.

Gospel of Apelles.—This and some others will be treated of in connection with the persons to whom they are attributed. [See Apelles.]

The Gospel of Barnabas, does not appear to belong to the second century.

It is first expressly mentioned, in the decree of Gelasius, A. D. 494. It has been supposed, however, by some, that Clement of Alexandria alluded to it, when, commenting on Psalms, 118. 19, 20, he says:

"Barnabas, expounding this saying of the prophet, thus reasons:

" 'Although there are many gates opened, righteousness is the gate, which is in Christ, at which all they that enter shall be blessed.' "—*Stromata*, 6. 8.

But as this passage is not in the Epistle of Barnabas, but is in the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, it has been thought by Dr. Grabe and others, that Clement of Alexandria made a mistake in the

(1.) Vol. 4, p. 397.
(2.) Lib. 1, Hær. F. c. 15.
(3.) Page 305.

citation. Either that, or both Clements took the passage from the Gospel of Barnabas.

Dr. Grabe found also in an ancient manuscript, another citation, as follows:

"Barnabas the apostle saith, 'He who prevails in unlawful contests, is so much the more unhappy, because he goes away, having more sin.' "

Dr. Grabe was inclined to think this came from the Gospel of Barnabas. Others were of the opinion that it was in the lost portion of the Epistle of Barnabas. Since the discovery of the entire manuscript of the Epistle by Tischendorff, as it is found not to contain this passage, more weight is now to be given to the conjecture of Dr. Grabe.

Mr. Toland, in the "Nazarenes," says that he saw this passage in substance, in an Italian manuscript, in Holland, entitled "The True Gospel of Jesus called Christ, a new Prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of Barnabas the Apostle." This is supposed to have been a Mohammedan imposture, as Mohammed is, in several places, expressly named as the Paraclete, or promised Comforter.

There is a hypothetical history of the Gospel of Barnabas, which may be worthy of attention.

It is related by Theodorus Lector, Suidas, Nicephorus and others, that, in the reign of the Emperor Zeno, the remains of Barnabas, the apostle and companion of Paul, were found in Cyprus, under a tree, and upon the breast the Gospel of Matthew in Barnabas' own handwriting. The book was carried to the emperor, and was very highly esteemed by him, and put under a crown in his palace. There is a historical incident connected with this story, which gives it an air of probability. It is stated that on account of the honor which attached to Cyprus, by virtue of this discovery, the inhabitants, by means of it, prevailed in their contest with the

Bishop of Antioch, so that their metropolis had an independent bishop, not subject to the jurisdiction of Antioch.

The hypothesis was, that this book, thus found on the breast of Barnabas, was an interpolated and corrupted Gospel of Matthew, and was henceforth called the Gospel of Barnabas.

According to this, one of the gospels became so corrupted and interpolated by being copied by an apostle, that it became necessary for the head of the church to pronounce it apocryphal.

Gospel or Harmony of Basilides.—[See Basilides.]

The Clementine Gospel occupies a conspicuous place in the work of Baring-Gould. He appears to be the only writer who has given this name to the gospel or gospels used in the Clementines. It is commonly supposed that the principal gospel made use of in these works, was that of the Hebrews.

Gospel of Cerinthus.—[See Cerinthus.]

Accounts or Genealogies of the Desposyni.—The Desposyni is the term made use of by Eusebius, to designate those relations of Christ, who were supposed to keep family records and genealogies. Fabricius has the above title in his list of gospels.

Descent from the Cross, by John.—One of the many apocryphal writings of uncertain origin, sometimes classed among the gospels.

Gospel of the Encratites.—Fabricius and others have inferred that Epiphanius ascribed a gospel to the sect of the Encratites. It is more probable, however, that he referred to the Gospel of Tatian.[1]

The Eternal Gospel.—The idea of an Eternal Gospel, was taken from Revelation, 14. 6. It was thought

(1.) See Epiph. Hæres. bk. 30, 13. also bks. 46 and 47.

John had promised an eternal gospel; and none having appeared, one was accordingly brought to light, as late as the 13th contury; attributed by some, to John of Parma.

Gospel of the Gnostics, is a term sometimes used. The Gnostics had various gospels. Epiphanius speaks of their writing "The Revelations of Adam, and other false gospels."

False Gospels of Hesychius.—This phrase is found in the decree of Pope Gelasius, wherein certain gospels are condemned by that title. What they were, is uncertain. Jerome speaks of "those books which go under the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and are esteemed through the perverse humors of some."[1]

The Book of the Helkesaites, is spoken of, by Epiphanius and Eusebius. The Helkesaites affirmed, that the book had fallen down from heaven; and that they who believed and observed it, should obtain the pardon of their sins.

Epiphanius says, it described Christ as a power, whose height was twenty-four schænia, or Egyptian leagues, or about sixty-six miles; his breadth twenty-four miles, and his thickness in proportion. His limbs and feet were correspondingly large. Also, that according to this book, the Holy Ghost was of the female sex, and like Christ, reaching above the clouds, and standing between two mountains.

Gospel of Justin.—Renan employs this term in referring to the gospel principally used by Justin Martyr. This is supposed to have been the Gospel of the Hebrews, or the Gospel of Peter, which may have been nearly the same.

Gospel of James the Less.—This is spoken of by

(1.) Praefat. in Ev. ad. Damas.

some writers, but appears to be none other than the Protevangelion, which will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter.

Gospel of Jude.—The same as the Gospel of Judas Iscariot.

Gospel of the Lord.—One of the Lost Gospels of Rev. S. Baring-Gould. He says the Gospel of the Lord was used by Marcion, and apparently before him by Cerdo. It may however, be affirmed with much confidence, that Marcion's Gospel was not used before his time; since Marcion is universally conceded to have been the author or compiler of it. But as this consisted of a collection of numerous manuscripts, it is possible that Cerdo may have used a collection, consisting of a portion of the same manuscripts.

Gospel of Lucius.—Such a title is to be seen in the list of Fabricius, but it appears to be one of the books designated as the

False Gospels of Lucianus.—These were pronounced apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius; but as in the case of the False Gospels of Hesychius, they are not described with sufficient certainty, to enable us to identify them.

Gospel of Life.—This is mentioned by Fabricius, citing Photius, Cod. 85; also Timotheus, Presb. C., Politanus, in Epist. &c., p. 117, who says: "The impious Manichæans, following him, [Manes], and inspired by the devil, make new books, such as, (1.) Evangelium Vivum," &c.

The Legal Priesthood of Christ, is an obscure book, sometimes spoken of as a gospel. But little is known of its contents.

Gospel of Longinus.—Nothing definitely known concerning it. Probably not of the second century.

Gospel of Manes.—[See Manes.]

GOSPEL OF MARCION.—[See Marcion.]

MEMORABILIA OF JUSTIN.—No gospel, though sometimes alluded to as such. Same as the "Memoirs," so often referred to by Justin.

MIDWIFE OF OUR SAVIOR.—Condemned by Gelasius, which appears to be all that is known of it.

MANICHEE GOSPEL.—[See Manes.]

GOSPEL OF MERINTHUS.—Merinthus was only another name for Cerinthus.

PASSING OF ST. MARY, by St. John. In the list of Fabricius. But little is known of it.

PERSIAN HISTORY OF CHRIST.—Written bv Jerome Xaverius, from the Persian, A. D. 1600.

GOSPEL OF SCYTHIANUS.—Nothing known relating to it.

GOSPEL OF SIMONIDES, or of the Simonians.—[See Simon Magus.]

GOSPEL OF THADDÆUS.—Rejected by Gelasius.

GOSPEL OF TATIAN.—[See TATIAN.]

GOSPEL OF TRUTH.—[See Valentinus.]

OTHER UNCANONICAL WRITINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

Besides the foregoing gospels, there appeared in the second century, a large number of other writings, relating to Christ and his apostles; Acts, Epistles, Revelations, &c. Fabricius gives a list, alphabetically arranged, of Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 36 in number; among which are the Acts of Peter, Acts of Peter and Andrew, Acts of John, Acts of St. Mary, &c.

Then there was the Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalypse of John, (another), Apocalypse of Paul, Bartholomew &c.

These were subsequently called apocryphal; a term, meaning, at first, only hidden; but which, afterward, when the books had been for some time laid aside and disused, came to be looked upon as a term of reproach.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.

Apollonius of Tyana.

Apollonius Tyaneus, one of the most remarkable characters of history, was born two years before the commencement of the Christian era. He lived a hundred years, witnessed the reign of a dozen Roman emperors, and during his long and brilliant career, sustained the role of a philosopher, teacher, traveler, religious reformer and worker of miracles.

The most of our information concerning him, is derived from his biography, written in Greek, by Flavius Philostratus, in the year 210. It was composed at the request of the beautiful and gifted Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

As soon as Julia was made empress, she gathered around her the finest intellects and the greatest orators of the day. Among them were Dion Cassius, the historian, the eminent lawyers, Paulus, Papinian and Ulpian, and the learned sophist and scholar, Philostratus. It was under such auspices, that the life of Apollonius was written. The work has attracted much

attention, and has been translated into various languages.

In England, in 1680, Charles Blount, the deist, commenced a translation, and had proceeded as far as the first two books, which he published with extensive notes, when he seems to have become alarmed at the opposition of the ecclesiastics of his day, and did not further prosecute the work.

In his preface, Blount refers, in his quaint manner, to the supposed opposition of the book of Philostratus, to the Christian Scriptures. "Philostratus does not," says he, "any where so much as mention the name of Christ; and if one heathen writer, Hierocles, did make an ill use of this history, by comparing Apollonius to Christ, What is that to Philostratus? Now as to myself," he continues, "I am so far from comparing him to our blessed Savior, or from giving credit to any new miracles, that my daily request of God is, to give me faith enough to believe the old."

In the year 1809, the Rev. Edward Berwick, Vicar of Leixslip, in Ireland, translated the whole eight books of Philostratus; the celebrated Dr. Lardner having in the mean time given his opinion, that the work was not intended to antagonize the New Testament.

Let us now open this celebrated book of Philostratus, and take a brief survey of its contents.

He commences by giving an account of the materials from which the work was composed; stating that he obtained them from the different cities and temples, from tradition, and from the epistles of Apollonius, "addressed to kings, and sophists, and phlosophers; to Elians, Delphians, Indians and Egyptians." Also that he had made use of the book of Maximus the Ægæan, the biography written by Damis the Assyrian, who had

accompanied Apollonius in his travels, and a work written by one Meragenes.

The following is an epitome of the biography, as given by Philostratus:

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS.

Apollonius was born at Tyana, a town founded by Greeks, in Cappadocia.

Before his birth, Proteus, an Egyptian god, appeared to his mother. She asked the god, whom she should bring forth. To which he replied, "Thou shalt bring forth me." Apollonius was born in a meadow, under a temple since dedicated to him. When his mother was near the time of her delivery, she was warned in a dream to go and gather flowers in a meadow. When she came there, while her maidens were dispersed up and down, employed in their several amusements, she fell asleep on the grass. While thus situated, a flock of swans that was feeding in the meadow, formed a chorus around her, and clapping their wings as their custom is, sung in unison, while the air was fanned by a gentle zephyr. At the same time, her son was born. The natives of the place affirm that at the instant of his birth, a thunderbolt, which seemed ready to fall upon the ground, rose aloft, and suddenly disappeared.

All the people of the country said he was the son of Jupiter; but he constantly called himself the son of Apollonius.

As he grew up, he gave signs of great strength of memory, and persevering application.

The eyes of all were attracted by his beauty.

His youth was spent, partly in Tarsus, and partly in Ægæ, where he enjoyed the conversation of the disciples of Plato, Chrysippus and Aristotle. He was an enthusiastic admirer and devoted follower of Pythagoras. He declined eating any thing that had life, living exclusively on fruits, and other productions of the earth. His fame was spread far and near. While in his youth, he lost his parents, and buried them in his native town, Tyana. He resolved never to marry.

As a true disciple of Pythagoras, he maintains silence for five years. Opposes hot baths. Wherever he goes, he reforms religious worship.

His probationary term of silence having expired, he resolves to travel to India, and visit the Brahmins and Germanes, and converse with the magi inhabiting Babylon and Susa; saying it was his duty to go where wisdom and his guardian

angel led him. While on this journey, he acquired from the Arabians a knowledge of the language of animals; an art for which others of the ancients were celebrated; Melampus, Teresius, and Thales Milesius.

Entering the territories of Babylon, he had an interview with the satrap. He continued his journey, interpreting to Damis, his companion, dreams and visions, by the way. Then we have an account of Babylon; with its royal mansions, covered with brass, and the apartments and porticos, adorned with silver, with tapestry of gold, and with beaten gold.

Apollonius enters the king's palace, conversing with Damis, and not noticing at all, the splendid things surrounding him. He was received with honor by the king, Bardanes, who invited him to join in the sacrifice he was then preparing, of a white horse from the Nisæan plains, to be offered to the sun, adorned, as if in a solemn procession. Apollonius declined; but sacrificed to the sun with frankincense, and then retired; lest he should be made a partaker in the shedding of blood.

He visits India, and is well received by Phraotes, the king. He is offered money by both these kings, but refuses to receive it.

We must not omit to mention, that while on this journey to India, Damis the companion of Apollonius, saw, on Mt. Caucasus, the very chains with which Prometheus had been bound.

They arrive at the wonderful hill occupied by the Brahmins. The sages communicate freely with Apollonius, who participates in their ablutions and ceremonies. Philostratus relates, that when, with staves uplifted, the Brahmins struck the earth all together, they made it heave and swell like the waves of the sea, and they themselves were elevated to the height of almost two cubits above it. There they would dance awhile in chorus, and then descend together. Iarchus, the chief of the Brahmins, declares that Apollonius was, in a previous life, a pilot of an Egyptian vessel. Apollonius admits it to be true, and gives some account of his life as a pilot.

Then comes a feast, given by the king and Brahmins. Four Pythian tripods, like those described in Homer, came forward of their own accord. Then advanced cup-bearers of black brass, like the Ganymedes and Pelops of the Greeks. The earth strewed under them herbs, softer than beds. Bread and fruits, and the vegetables of the season, together with the dainties used at second courses, came of themselves, each in order, better dressed than they could be by our cooks. The cup-bearers of brass, mixed the wine and the

water for the company, which they presented, in small cups, to every guest.

Iarchus cures the lame, and the blind, and performs many other miracles.

Apollonius returns home by going south to the sea, thence by vessel, up the Euphrates to Babylon, thence by way of Antioch, to Cyprus and Paphos.

He goes to Ephesus. People flock about him. Certain prophecies from the oracles at Colyphon, Didyme and Pergamos, in his favor, spread abroad. Embassadors come to him from several cities. He predicts the plague, and tells what is going on at a distance.

The plague raging at Ephesus, ambassadors were sent to him at Smyrna, entreating him to come to their assistance. Apollonius said, "I think the journey is not to be delayed.' No sooner had he uttered these words, than he was at Ephesus. There he put an end to the plague, by having the people stone a demon, which took various forms.

He travels through Greece. At Athens, casts out an evil spirit from a youth. As soon as Apollonius fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into the most angry and horrid expressions, and then swore he would depart out of the youth. Apollonius rebuked him, commanded him to come out, and told him to give a visible sign. Immediately the demon cried out, "I will make that statue tremble;" to which he pointed, standing in a royal portico. Whereupon the statue first began to shake, then totter, and finally tumbled down.

Apollonius visits the temples of Greece, and reforms their religious rites and ceremonies.

At Corinth, Menippus, one of his disciples, a young Lycian, was in love with a beautiful and intelligent woman, whom he was soon to marry. Apollonius goes as a guest to the wedding. When everything is ready, Apollonius announces that the woman is one of the Empusæ, who pass under the name of Lamiæ and Larvæ. Upon this announcement, everything vanished into thin air; the gold and silver vessels, cup-bearers and cooks, and the whole domestic apparatus. Whereupon the phantom, appearing as if in tears, begged not to be tormented, nor forced to make a confession. But Apollonius was peremptory, and she confessed to being Empusa, and that she had pampered Menippus with rich dainties, for the express purpose of devouring him. Philostratus says, "I have been necessarily induced to mention this transaction, as it was one of the most celebrated performances by Apollonius, and as it happened in the center of Greece, many were acquainted with it."

Having traveled all over Greece, he next went to Rome. As Nero was per-

secuting philosophers, his companions became frightened, and nearly all left him. At Rome, he was accused of treason. The accuser came forward, holding in his hand a roll, on which had been written the accusation. When the roll was unfolded, lo and behold, neither letter nor character was to be seen.

A girl, when about to be married, "seemingly died," says the biographer, and the funeral procession was on its way to bury her. She was of a consular family, and all Rome condoled with the young husband. Apollonius meeting the procession, said to the attendants, "Set down the bier, and I will dry up the tears which you are shedding for the maid." He touched the young woman, and uttering a few words over her, in a low tone of voice, he wakened her from that death, with which she seemed to be overcome. The relatives of the girl presented him with a hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which he settled upon the bride, as a marriage portion.

"It is difficult to me," adds Philostratus, "as it was to all who were present, to ascertain whether Apollonius discovered the vital spark, which had escaped the faculty, (for it was raining at the time, which caused a vapor to rise from her face), or whether he cherished and brought back her soul, which to all appearance was extinct."

Apollonius visits Spain and Africa, and thence returns to Italy and Sicily. At Syracuse, he makes a prediction, concerning the three emperors which Rome was soon to have, which was fully verified in Galba, Vitellius and Otho. He again travels through Greece. Leaving one vessel, and taking another, the one he leaves is shipwrecked. He goes to Egypt. Arriving at Alexandria, he declares a convicted man innocent. A further examination proves him to be so, and his life is saved.

At Alexandria, he has an interview with Vespasian, who, on his way to Rome from Judæa, where he had been carrying on the Jewish war, goes to Egypt, on purpose to visit Apollonius.

While Apollonius was in this part of Egypt, a tame lion coming up to him, and paying him special attention, Apollonius stated to the people, that the lion wanted him to tell them by what human soul he was inhabited. He tells them it is the soul of Amasis, who was formerly king of Egypt, in the district of Sais. The moment the lion heard this, he roared in a piteous strain, crouching on his knees, and at the same time, bursting into tears. The lion was then dressed in collars and garlands, and sent into the interior parts of Egypt, accompanied all the way, with the sound of flutes, and the singing of hymns.

Journeying into the interior of Ethiopia, Apollonius visits the gymnosophists. To show they could perform wonders as well as the Brahmins, Thespesion their leader, said to an elm tree near the one under which they were sitting, "Salute Apollonius, O tree." No sooner were the words uttered, than the tree saluted him; speaking in a voice which was articulate, and resembling that of a woman.

Titus, having been declared emperor of Rome, requested Apollonius to meet him at Argos. On his arrival, Titus embraced him, and said he had a letter from his father, Vespasian, wherein he said, he considered that Apollonius was his benefactor, to whom they were under many obligations.

Apollonius again travels through Greece and Italy. In the Hellespont, he drove out the wandering Egyptians and Chaldæans, who, for their own gain, operating on the fears of the people, who were dreading earthquakes, were collecting money, on pretence of making costly sacrifices.

He now took up his residence at the grove of Smyrna, on the banks of the Meles, where he discoursed of fate and necessity. Knowing that Nerva was to succeed Domitian, he spoke of it as a matter of public notoriety; and showed that tyrants themselves were unable to resist the decrees of fate.

Some of his expressions having been repeated to Domitian, Apollonius was cited to appear before him. Before receiving the summons, however, he was apprised of it by his guardian spirit, and started at once for Italy. Arriving at Rome, he is brought before the emperor, and is accused with great violence, of being an enchanter. Is taken to prison. Discourses encouragingly to his fellow prisoners.

Being brought before the emperor, he talks with so much boldness, that Domitian orders his hair and beard to be cut off, and that he be sent back to prison, loaded with chains, and be cast among the vilest felons. He was now nearly a hundred years old.

Damis, who was also in prison, asked him when he would be at liberty. "To-morrow," answered Apollonius, "if it depends on the judge; this instant, if it depends on myself." Saying this, he drew his leg out of the fetters, and said to Damis, "You see the liberty I enjoy." He then put his leg in the fetters again.

He goes to the tribunal, to make his defense. Domitian perused the indictment, sometimes in great wrath, sometimes with more composure. "I think," says Philostratus, "we may represent Domitian to our minds, as a man highly

incensed at the laws, for ever having suffered such things as tribunals to be constructed. Apollonius was required to enter the tribunal, free from amulet, book or charm, or any writing whatever. As he went into the room, he did not once look at the emperor. He was commanded to look at Domitian, as the god of men. Apollonius lifted his eyes to the vaulted arch of the court, and by his gesture showed that they were turned to Jupiter. The water was then measured into the clepsydra, the dropping from which, was to measure the time of his defense.

There were four articles of accusation.

The accuser thus began: "What is the reason, Apollonius, you do not wear the same kind of garments, as other men?"

"Because," replied he, "the earth, which supplies me with food, supplies me also with raiment; and by wearing garments derived from it, I offer no injury to miserable animals."

2. "Why do men call you a god?"

"Because" said he, "every man that is good, is entitled to the appellation."

3. How could he foretell the plague at Ephesus? Answer, "By living on a lighter diet than other men."

4. "Tell me Apollonius," said the accuser, "on whose account you sacrificed a boy on the day you left your house and went into the country?" "If it can be proved," replied Apollonius, "that I left my house on the day alluded to, I will grant my being in the country, and offering the sacrifice in question; but it shall require persons of both credit and character, to substantiate the fact." Thereupon a shout of applause arose from the spectators; and Domitian himself, being affected by the strength and ingenuity of his answers, said, "I acquit you of the crimes laid to your charge; but here you shall stay until I have had some private conversation with you."

Apollonius replied, "You can detain my body, but not my soul; and I will add, not even my body; for as Homer says,

> 'Not even thy deadly spear can slay me,
> Because I am not mortal.' "

While uttering these words, he vanished from the tribunal.

Damis had gone to Puteoli, where he and Demetrius the philosopher, a friend of Apollonius, were on that day, musing and walking together, on the seashore, celebrated by the story of Calypso.

They had little or no hopes of ever seeing Apollonius again. Tired with their walk, they sat down in a Nymphæum, a building adorned with statues of

the nymphs, wherein was a cistern of white marble, containing a living spring of water, which never rose above, and was never drawn below its margin. They were talking listlessly, while sorrow filled their hearts, when suddenly Apollonius appeared before them. It was on the same day of the trial, though Puteoli was more than three days journey from Rome. Demetrius wished to know if he was alive. Apollonius stretched out his hand, and commanded him to take it, to assure himself that he was still living.

He returned to Greece, and traveled through all the cities, teaching the crowds who flocked to see him.

While Domitian was being assassinated at Rome, by Stephanus, Apollonius was walking and talking, disputing among the trees, in one of the xystas of Ephesus. It was about mid-day. Suddenly Apollonius let his voice fall, as if alarmed at something. He then went on, conversing in a lower tone. Then became quite silent. Soon after, fixing his eyes steadfastly on the earth, and advancing three or four steps, he cried out, "Strike the tyrant; strike;" as if actually witnessing some occurrence.

All Ephesus was astonished at what was heard, there being a large concourse present. But Apollonius, after stopping some time, cried out, "Keep up your spirits, O Ephesians, for this day the tyrant is killed. And why do I say this day? At this very moment, while the words are in my mouth, I swear it by Minerva, the deed is done." Then he remained silent.

This is the account of Philostratus. The same transaction is related by Dion Cassius, with such variation of details, as is supposed to strengthen statements of that kind. That author's account is as follows:

On the very day—nay, the moment Domitian was assassinated, as it was afterward known upon a most exact search into the matter, Apollonius Tyaneus got up, whether it was in the city of Ephesus or elsewhere, upon a very high stone, and calling the people together, cried out with a loud voice, "Courage, Stephanus, courage! strike the murderer. Thou hast struck him; thou hast wounded him; thou hast killed him." "As incredible as this fact seems to be," says the historian, "it is no less true."—*Manning's Dion Cassius, vol.* 2, *p.* 92.

This testimony of Dion Cassius is more important from the fact that he was no admirer of Apollonius, but in another part of his history, puts him down as an impostor and a magician. He complains of Caracalla, that he was such a favorer of impostors and magicians, that he paid great honors to the mem-

ory of Apollonius, of Cappadocia, and raised a monument to him.—*Dion Cassius, vol.* 2, *p.* 327.

Baronius supposes the assassination of Domitian, to have been communicated to Apollonius, by a demon.

The time was now approaching, which was to terminate the career of this remarkable man. Nerva having sent a letter to the philosopher, requesting him to come to Rome and give him his advice, Apollonius replied as follows:

"We will converse together, O emperor, during a long time, where we will neither command others, nor will others command us."

This letter was afterward construed to mean, that Apollonius was about to leave this world, and that Nerva's reign was to be short.

"Here," says Philostratus, "ends the history of Apollonius the Tyanean, as written by Damis the Assyrian. Concerning the manner of his death," he continues, "if he did die," various are the accounts.

"Some say he died at Ephesus, waited on by two handmaids, to one of whom he gave her freedom, foreseeing it would be better for the other, to remain where she was.

"Some say he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus, and there disappeared.

Others affirm that his exit was made at Crete, in a still more extraordinary way. The temple of Dictyma, at Crete, was under the protection of dogs, who took care of the riches laid up in it. When Apollonius entered the temple, the dogs did not bark at him as they did at others, but received him with fawning affection. The priests who had the care of the temple, seeing this, seized Apollonius, and bound him; thinking him a magician, or a robber. About midnight, he freed himself from his chains, and called the priests, to show that he did nothing in secret. Then, going to the gates of the temple, he found them open. As soon as he entered them, they shut of themselves, as they had been before, and the temple resounded with the singing of many virgins; the burden of whose song was, "Leave the earth; come to heaven; come, come!"

After his death, he appeared at Tyana, to a young man who had doubted the immortality of the soul, and discoursed with him upon the subject. The young man cried out, "I believe you now." He had often requested Apollonius to appear to him, and he finally did so.

Here ends the history by Philostratus. Suidas and Eudocia inform us that a life of Apollonius was writ-

ten also, by one Soterichus Oasites.

For several centuries after his death, Apollonius was worshiped as a god, in many parts of the world. Not only did Caracalla build him a temple, but Alexander Severus held him in such esteem, that he had his statue in his private closet. On account of Apollonius, Tyana was held sacred, and exempted from the jurisdiction of governors sent from Rome.

Roman Emperors have not refused him the same honors as were paid to themselves; and Gibbon relates that when Aurelian took the town of Tyana, "a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher."

M. Bayle remarks that Apollonius was worshiped in the beginning of the fourth century, under the name of Hercules, and refers to Vopiscus, Eusebius and Marcellinus, to show that the people of Tyana had not left off the worship of Apollonius in the beginning of the fourth century. His image was set up in many temples. Roman emperors encouraged it.

Lampridius states that Christ was really worshiped by some of the later heathen emperors, together with Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius; these being all looked upon as holy men, and tutelary genii.[1]

Albert Reville says, "The universal respect in which he was held by the whole pagan world, testified to the deep impression which the life of this supernatural being had left indelibly fixed in their minds; an impression which caused one of his contemporaries to exclaim, "We have a god living among us."—"*Pagan Christ,*" *&c., by Albert Reville, London,* 1866, *p.* 39.

Eunapius, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, says of him, that he was not so much of a

(1.) Lamp. Life of Alex. Severus.

philosopher, as something between a god and a man, and that Philostratus ought to have entitled his history, "The Descent of a God upon Earth."[1]

Sidonius Apollinaris, [A. D. 475], praises the morals and philosophy of Apollonius, without speaking of his miracles. In the 8th book, 3d epistle to Leon, counselor of the king of the Goths, he delivers a glowing eulogium upon Apollonius; speaks of his disdain for riches and ostentatious display; of his love for science, his frugality, his gravity, sincerity and uprightness of character, his abstinence from animal food, &c., and closes as follows: "In one word, to say the truth, I do not know as there is, in all antiquity, the life of a philosopher equal to this one; and I am very certain that such a one cannot be found in this age."[2]

Notwithstanding all this evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the ancients, the historian Froude, on the strength of a sentence or two of Lucian, in a letter to Celsus, would place him on a level with the impostor, Alexander Abonoticus, of the second century.

That such a classification would do great injustice to Apollonius, is manifest from his epistles, which are still extant.[3]

They are addressed to individuals, to societies, to philosophers, to kings and emperors.

These writings show him to have been a man of learning, with a consummate knowledge of human nature, embued with the noblest sentiments, and with the principles of a profound philosophy.

In his letter to Hestiæus, he says:

"The truth is not concealed from us, how beautiful it is to have all the earth

(1.) Life of Apollonius, by M. le Nain de Tillemont, p. 42.
(2.) History of Apollonius, by Du Pin, Paris, 1705, Pref. p. 16.
(3.) They may be seen in the original Greek, in the Library of Congress.

for one's country, and all men for brothers and friends; and that those who derive their origin from God, are all endowed with one and the same nature, and with a community of reason and affections; and that wheresoever any one may be, or in whatever manner born, whether barbarian or Greek, he is still a man. But the claims of kindred cannot be evaded, and one recalls to himself, whatever is properly his own. Thus the Ulysses of Homer, as they say, did not prefer immortality, even when offered by the goddess."

In the epistle to Valerius, we have the doctrine of the indestructibility of matter:

"There is no death of any thing, except in appearance; and so, also, there is no birth of any thing, except in appearance. That which passes over from essence into nature, seems to be birth, and what passes over from nature into essence, seems, in like manner, to be death; though nothing really is originated, and nothing ever perishes; but only now comes into sight, and now vanishes. It appears, by reason of the density of matter, and disappears by reason of the tenuity of essence; but is always the same, differing only in motion and condition."

In the next paragraph, enlarging upon the same idea, he closes by saying, "no thing is ever created or destroyed." Again:

"By what other name, then, than First Essence, shall this rightly be called? These things are done and permitted by the Eternal God, who becomes all, in all, and through all, and who, *if he were to clothe himself in names and forms, would suffer loss and damage in his own nature.*"

To a brother, who had lost his wife, he writes:

"It is destined, that whatever has come to perfection, must pass away. Let not, therefore, the loss of your wife, in the ripeness of age, shock you, and not, because something is called death, consider life better than it, since life is considered inferior, by every wise person.

"If there had been any thing to be reprehended in your late wife, you might reasonably be cast down. But she was always esteemed by us, was always loving to her husband, and every thing to be desired."

He closes the letter, with these affecting words:

For tears have I not been able to write more, and more than this I have not thought necessary."

As to the miracles ascribed to Apollonius, the most of them were probably the invention of the second century. There is little doubt, however, that he pos-

sessed some extraordinary faculty, which he exercised in such a way as to establish and maintain an influence over his fellow men, beyond what he could otherwise attain.

Perhaps the highest tribute paid to Apollonius, was by the emperor Titus. The philosopher having written him, soon after his accession, counseling moderation in his government, Titus replied as follows:

"In my own name, and in the name of my country, I give you thanks; and will be mindful of those things. I have indeed, taken Jerusalem, but you have captured me."

The miracles of Apollonius were extensively believed in the second century, and for hundreds of years afterward; and by Christians as well as others. As late as the fourth century, when Hierocles had drawn a parallel between Apollonius and Christ, Eusebius, who thought it necessary to make an elaborate reply, did not deny the performance of miracles by Apollonius, but attributed them to sorcery.

Tillemont thought he had the assistance of Satan. "The devil" said he, "may know the history of past ages," &c., "and he may know what men are doing, in very distant places. And what he knew, he might discover to Apollonius." Reville is of the opinion, that Apollonius practiced what this writer calls "theurgy;" a sort of compromise between imposture and the display of miraculous power.

The difficulty in placing a proper estimate upon such a character, at this distance of time, is great. But it may safely be asserted, that Apollonius was a man, possessed of many elements of greatness; that he was a man of much learning and great ability; and whatever may have been his weaknesses, he was endowed with a certain grandeur of soul, which at once commands our respect and admiration.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.—Continued.

SIMON MAGUS.

Simon Magus was another miracle worker, who lived in the first, and whose miracles were written up in the second century.

Simon was the prince of heretics. His miracles were notorious, and admitted by all. By orthodox Christians, they were attributed to magic, or to the machinations of Satan. At a later day, it has been supposed they might be accounted for on scientific principles.

Dr. Westcott says, "It would be interesting to inquire how far the magic arts universally attributed to Simon and his followers, admit of a physical explanation. In his school, if any where, we should look for an advanced knowledge of nature.[1]

Mosheim is not willing to class Simon among the heretics, since that would be impliedly admitting that he was a Christian; but he concedes that "nearly all the ancient and modern writers make him to have been the

(1.) History of the Canon, p. 249, Note.

head, the father and the ringleader of the whole heretical camp."[1]

This conspicuous position makes his opinions of some importance.

Theodoret, (A. D. 430), says that he denied that there was but one principle. He asserted two, and held that there was another maker of this world. This was the Demi-Ourgos, who was under the control of the Supreme God, who presided over the whole universe.[2]—This doctrine was extensively believed in by the Gnostics of the second century.[3] In his system, the third power in the trinity was a woman.[4] For this his followers had the authority of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Simon held that matter was eternal, and that an evil deity presided over it.[5] He was educated at Alexandria.[6] His followers became so numerous that they were spread over the whole world, and in Rome, in the reign of Claudius, a statue was erected in his honor.[7]

In the 8th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we have a glimpse of Simon, who had bewitched the people, insomuch that they all gave him heed, "from the least to the greatest, saying, 'This man is the great power of God.'" [Acts, 8. 9, 10.]

In the Recognitions, attributed to Clement of Rome, and a portion of which, at least, was written about the same time with the Acts, there is a fuller account of this wonderful man. As in the Acts of the Apostles, so in the Recognitions, he appears as the great antagonist of Peter.

(1.) Mosheim, vol. 1, p. 92.
(2.) Hæret. Fab. 4. 188.
(3.) See Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 511.
(4.) Fabricius, Codex Apoc. vol. 1, p. 362. Note.
(5.) Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 93.
(6.) Clementine Homilies, 2. 22.
(7.) Justin Martyr, 1st Apology, 26. 56; Irenæus, v. Hær. 1. 23.

The reader may be introduced to Peter at Cæsarea, where he is preparing for a discussion with Simon Magus.

"When the day dawned, which had been fixed for the discussion with Simon, Peter, rising at the first cock-crowing, aroused us also; for we were sleeping in the same apartment, thirteen of us all; of whom, next to Peter, Zaccheus was first, then Sophronius, &c. After these, I [Clement] and Nicodemus, then Niceta and Aquila, who had formerly been disciples of Simon, and were converted to Christ, under the teachings of Zaccheus. Of the women, there was no one present."—*Recognitions, book* 2, *chapter* 1.

Peter then tells them that he has formed the habit of waking in the middle of the night, and lying awake till morning, recalling and arranging in his memory, the words of the Lord.

The conversation turning on the coming discussion, Peter wishes to know what kind of a person Simon is. Niceta thinks he will prove to be a formidable antagonist. Aquila gives a full history of Simon, from which it appears, that his father was Antonius, and his mother Rachel. By nation he was a Samaritan, of the village of the Gettones. His profession was that of a magician, yet exceedingly well trained in Greek literature; desirous of glory, and boasting above all the human race.

"So that he wishes to be an exalted person, who is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called 'the Standing one.' He uses this name, as implying that he can never be dissolved; asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity."—*Ibid. chs.* 3 *to* 7.

Simon had been a disciple of Dositheus, and became one of the thirty. Aquila proceeds with his story:

"But not long after, he fell in love with that woman whom they call Luna, and he confided all things to us as his friends; how he was a magician, and how he loved Luna, and how, being desirous of glory, he was unwilling to obtain her ingloriously;" but was waiting patiently, when he could have her honorably.

"Yet so if we also would conspire with him, in the accomplishment of his desires.

"Meantime, at the outset, as soon as he was reckoned among the thirty dis-

ciples of Dositheus, he began to depreciate Dositheus himself, saying that he did not teach purely or perfectly, and that this was the result, not of ill intention, but of ignorance. But Dositheus, when he saw that Simon was depreciating him, fearing lest his reputation among men might become obscured, (for he himself was supposed to be the Standing One), moved with rage, when they met as usual at the school, seized a rod and began to beat Simon; but suddenly the rod seemed to pass through his body, as if it had been smoke. On which Dositheus, being astonished, said to him, 'Tell me if thou art the Standing One; that I may adore thee.' And when Simon assured him that he was, then Dositheus, perceiving that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped him, and gave up his own place as chief to Simon, ordering all the rank of thirty men to obey him; himself taking the inferior place which Simon formerly occupied. Not long after this he died.

"After the death of Dositheus, Simon took Luna to himself, and with her he still goes about, as you see, deceiving multitudes, and asserting that he himself is a certain power, which is above God, the Creator, while Luna, who is with him, has been brought down from the higher heavens. That she is Wisdom, the mother of all things; 'for whom,' says he, 'the Greeks and barbarians, contending, were able in some measure, to see an image of her; but of herself, as the dweller with the first and only God, they were wholly ignorant."

He then proceeds to relate a miracle which he (Aquila) once saw; Luna being in a tower, and looking out of all the windows of the tower at the same time.

Peter evidently believes what Aquila has related, for he says, "It has been permitted to the wicked one, to use those arts by which the affections of every one toward the true father may be proved."—[Bk. 2, chs. 9–18.]

THE DISCUSSION.

CHAPTER 19.—Zaccheus enters, saying it is time the disputation commenced, for a great crowd, collected in the court of the house, was awaiting him. Then Peter, having prayed with the brethren, went forth to the court of the house, and when he saw the multitude all looking intently on him, in profound silence, and Simon, "standing like a standard bearer in the midst of them," he commenced:

First, he invoked a peaceable discussion. But Simon at once retorted, that Christ said, he came, not to send peace, but a sword. Peter replies in the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the peace-makers." Simon continues to comment upon the inconsistency of Christ, if he came not to bring peace, enjoining upon others to keep it.—[Chs. 19 to 27.]

Simon announces his position. "I say," said he, "that there are many gods, and that there is one, incomprehensible and unknown to all; that he is the God of all these gods. He then argues for polytheism; saying to Peter, that he will prove it from his own scriptures. He cites Genesis, 3. 5: "On the day ye eat of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, ye shall be as gods." Also, Gen. 3. 22: "Behold, Adam is become as one of us." Also, Gen. 1. 26: "Let us make man, after our image and likeness;" and Gen. 3. 22: "Let us drive him out." Also, Gen. 11. 7: "Come, let us go down, and confound their language;" and Exodus, 22, 28: "Thou shalt not curse the gods," &c. "One of these," says Simon, "was chosen by lot, that he might be the god of the Jews."

"But" says he, "it is not of him that I speak; but of that God who is also his God, whom even the Jews themselves do not know. For he is not their God, but the God of those who know him."

Peter has a long disquisition on God, to which Simon replies, that he would refute him from the words of his master, who said, no one knew the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son should reveal him. Yet the god of the Jews was known to Adam, to Enoch, to Noah, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and to Moses.—[Chs. 38 to 47.]

"Remember," Simon urges, "that you said that God has a Son; which is doing him wrong; for how can he have a Son, unless he is subject to passions, like men or animals? My opinion is, that there is a certain power of the Universe, an ineffable light, whose greatness is to be held to be incomprehensible; of which power, even the maker of the world is ignorant, and Moses the lawgiver, and Jesus, your master."—[Ch. 49.]

The reasoning of Simon: That there is one God, who is better than all, from whom all that is, took its beginning; that he must be perfect. That the god who created the world, shows many signs of imperfection. There must, therefore, be a God over him. He argues the imperfection of the god who made the world and men, thus: The many evils in the world which are not corrected, show that its creator is powerless, if he cannot correct what is done amiss; or else, if he does not wish to remove the evils, then he is himself evil; but if he neither can nor will, then he is neither powerful nor good.—[Chs. 53, 54.]

The disputation is closed for the day.

The audience, of whom there were about 3000, divided, about one-third going away with Simon, and the rest, staying with Peter.

Book 3. The debate is re-commenced next day, and is continued two days longer.—*Chs.* 1 *to* 69. *Ante-Nic. Ch. Lib. vol.* 3, *pp.* 240 *to* 265.

The second day, there is some acrimony in the discussion, and some difference as to the questions to be debated.

They discuss the nature of evil, free will, the power of God, &c.

CH. 23.—Simon says, "What I wish to know is this: If what God wishes to be, is; and what He does not wish to be, is not?" The purport of the answer of Peter is, that some actions depend upon the will of man.

The discussion closed for the day; Simon calling upon Peter each day to show him whether the soul was immortal.

Third day. Simon pressing for evidence of the immortality of the soul, Peter argues in favor of it, because of the necessity of having a day of judgment; since men do not get their deserts in this world.

Simon claims that Peter cannot assert that the soul is immortal, and that he knows if it be proved to be mortal, his religion will fall.

"But Peter, when he heard him speaking thus, grinding his teeth, and rubbing his forehead with his hand, and sighing with a profound grief, said: 'Armed with the cunning of the old serpent, you stand forth to deceive souls.' "—[Ch. 42.]

CH. 44.—Peter having offered to prove to Simon, in one sentence, that the soul is immortal, asks him, which is the best evidence, hearing or seeing? Simon answers, seeing. Peter then tells him to go to his [Simon's] own house, and entering the inner bed-chamber, he would see an image, containing the figure of a murdered boy, clothed in purple.

Simon hearing this, was smitten in his conscience, changed color, and became bloodless. He then proposed to become a convert; thinking Peter possessed the power of divination. But Peter disabused him, and admitted that he had only stated what he had been informed of, and spake "what he knew, and not what he foreknew."

Thereupon Simon, seeing himself betrayed, went from one extreme to the other, and becoming fairly furious with anger, burst forth as follows:

"I stood by and spoke with you in my goodness, and bore patiently with you. But now, I shall show you the power of my divinity, so that you shall quickly fall down and worship me. I am the first power, who am always, and without beginning. But having entered the womb of Rachel, I was born of her as a man, that I might be visible to men. I have flown through the air; I have mixed with fire, and been made one body with it; I have made statues to

move; I have animated lifeless things; I have made stones bread; I have flown from mountain to mountain; I have moved from place to place, upheld by angels' hands, and have lighted on the earth. Not only have I done these things, but even now I am able to do them; that by facts I may prove to all, that I am the Son of God, enduring to eternity, and that I can make those who believe on me, endure in like manner forever. But your words are all vain; nor can you perform any real works. (Such as I have mentioned.) He also who sent you is a magician, who yet could not deliver himself from the suffering of the cross."

To this speech, Peter answered:

"Do not meddle with the things that belong to others; for that you are a magician, you have confessed and made manifest, by the deeds that you have done."

At this point in the proceedings, the historian relates, that Simon endeavored to make a riot, and the people, in indignation, cast him from the court, and drove him forth from the gate of the house. It does not appear, however, that Peter denied the truth of what Simon asserted, or that he challenged him to a proof of his miraculous powers.

After Simon and his friends had gone, Peter explained to those remaining, his reference to the image of the murdered boy: Simon had been deluded by demons, and he had persuaded himself, that he had the soul of a murdered boy, ministering to him, in whatever office he pleased to employ it.

Peter then pronounced a benediction, and dismissed the multitude, and thus ended this most remarkable discussion.—[Chs. 48 to 50.]

The next morning, Niceta said to Peter, he desired to learn how Simon, who was the enemy of God, was able to do such wonderful things. "For indeed," says Niceta, "he told no lie in his declaration of what he had done." (Niceta had been one of Simon's disciples.) Peter undertakes to explain how Simon "is able to do so great marvels." Simon, he said, was a magician.

Niceta asked, "In what respect do they sin, who believe Simon, since they see him do so great marvels? Or is it not marvelous to fly through the air, to be so mixed with fire as to become one body with it, to make

statues walk, &c. Yea," says Niceta, "he has also been seen to make bread of stones. But if he sins who believes those who do signs, how shall it appear that he also does not sin, who has believed our Lord, for his signs and works of power?"—[Chs. 52 to 57.]

Peter replies, that if a man believes him who comes first, showing signs, he must of necessity, for the same reason, believe him who comes second. When he believes the second one, he will learn from him that he ought not to believe the first, who comes of evil.—[Chs. 58 to 62.]

After the discussion, Simon sets out for Rome, and Peter resolves to follow him.—[Chs. 63 to 65.]

Following Simon Magus to Rome, we learn that he there lost his life. In the Encyclopedia Americana it is stated that he perished in an aeronautic expedition; giving as authority, Eusebius and Suetonius. Suetonius, in relating the cruel sports and games which Nero instituted for his own diversion, merely says, "Icarus fell, splashed with blood." From which the reader may infer, only, that Nero had compelled some one to attempt the flight of Icarus. The story is to be traced to "THE ACTS OF PETER AND PAUL."

From that book, we take the following:

"When, consequently, the people were making a seditious murmuring, Simon, moved with zeal, roused himself, and began to say many evil things about Peter; saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed Simon, wondering at his miracles. For he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh, and move themselves, and himself to run, and suddenly to be raised into the air. As a set-off to this, Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, and put demons to flight by a command. Sometimes, he even raised the dead. Those who adhered to Simon, strongly affirmed Peter to be a magian."

The matter coming to the ears of Nero, he ordered Simon the Magian to be brought before him.

"And he, coming in, stood before him, and began suddenly to assume dif-

ferent forms; so that on a sudden he became a child, and after a little an old man, and at other times, a young man. For he changed himself both in face and stature, into different forms, and was in a frenzy, having the devil as his servant.

"And Nero, beholding this, supposed him to be truly the Son of God. But the apostle Peter showed him to be both a liar and a wizard."

After considerable conversation, Nero says:

"Art thou not afraid, Peter, of Simon, who confirms his godhead by his deeds?"

Peter replies, that Simon does not know the hidden thoughts of men.

Nero said, "Do you mean me to believe, that Simon does not know those things, who both raised a dead man, and presented himself the third day after he had been beheaded, and who has done whatever he said he would do?"

Peter said, "But he did not do it before me." Nero said, "But he did all these things before me. For assuredly, he ordered angels to come to him, and they came." Peter still demanded, that Simon should tell what was in his thoughts. Simon made the same challenge to Peter. Peter then demanded of Simon, to know what he, Peter, had just done in secret. For, having taken a barley-loaf, he had broken it, and hid it in his sleeves.

"Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the apostle, cried out, saying: 'Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up, before Cæsar.' And suddenly there appeared great dogs, who rushed at Peter. But he, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf which he had blessed, and the dogs, seeing it, no longer appeared."

"Simon said, 'Dost thou believe, O Good Emperor, that I, who was dead and rose again, am a magician?' "

[The writer of the Acts of Peter and Paul here explains how Nero had been deceived by Simon; stating, that as Simon was to be beheaded, he had requested that it be done in a dark place; and when the executioner came, and was about to strike the blow, Simon turned himself into a ram. He so remained until the ram's head was taken off, when he became himself again. On the third day, he appeared, as if risen from the dead.]

Then followed a conversation in which Nero, Simon, Peter, and Paul also, who was present, participated.

Nero, not being able to satisfy himself, says: "The three of you show that your reasoning is uncertain; and thus in all things you have made me doubt, so that I find I can give credit to none of you."

Simon now proposes to Nero, that if he will build a high wooden tower, he will go to the top, and thence fly through the air, attended by his angels; and thus give open evidence of his divinity.

Nero agrees to the proposal, and the next day builds the tower. Simon goes upon it, and commences flying in the air, attended by his angels. Peter, looking steadfastly at him, prays to the Lord to stop him. His prayer is answered, and Simon falls headlong, in a place called Sacra Via, or Holy Way, and perishes.[1]

This, no doubt, was the aeronautic expedition, alluded to by the encyclopedic compiler, and to which he supposed Suetonius to refer, when "Icarus fell splashed with blood."

(1.) Ante Nicene Ch. Lib. vol. 16, pp. 263 to 273.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.—Concluded.

Other Miracles and Miracle-Workers.

Alexander Abonotichus—Apuleius—Antinous—Jewish Superstitions—Miracles of the Fathers—The Thundering Legion—Change of Water into Oil, &c.—The Miracles of the New Testament.

Alexander Abonotichus.—The satirist, Lucian, at the request of Celsus, wrote an account of this celebrated impostor. The following is a condensed statement of it, as reproduced by the historian, Froude:

Alexander was born at Abonotichus, a small town on the south shore of the Black Sea, early in the second century. The boy was of unusual beauty. He was taken up by a doctor, who had been a disciple of Apollonius. Alexander's master was a magician, and he himself became an apt pupil.

At the age of twenty, when his master died, he set up for himself. He started for Byzantium, the great mart of ancient commerce. Here he became acquainted with one Cocconas, by whom he was introduced to a wealthy Macedonian lady. She fell in love with him, and took him and his friend with her, to her country seat at Pella. Here the two friends laid plans for the future. They purchased a large, tame snake; took it with them when they left Pella, and by the aid of the serpent, made a business of fortune-telling.

They repaired to Abonotichus. From Chalcedon they brought some brass plates, which had been discovered buried, and which bore an inscription, that

Apollo and Esculapius were about to appear at Pontus. The people of Abonotichus commenced building a temple for Alexander, who now soon acquired great reputation and renown.

Lucian describes him as he then appeared; tall, majestic, extremely handsome—hair long and flowing, complexion fair, a moderate beard, partly his own and partly false, but the imitation excellent; eyes large and lustrous, and voice sweet and limped. "As to his character," says he, "God grant that I may never meet with such another. His cunning was wonderful, his dexterity matchless. His eagerness for knowledge, his capacity for learning and power of memory, were equally extraordinary."

He made for the serpent a human face, of linen, which was painted in an ingenious manner, and so arranged that the mouth would open and shut, and this was the face of Esculapius. From it he delivered oracles and spoke in unknown tongues.

The temple was finished, the god was formally established in it, and the oracles became a permanent institution. People flocked from all parts of Asia Minor, to consult them. Immense treasures flowed into the coffers of Alexander.

"The air was full of miracles. The sick were healed; the dead were raised to life." The Christians considered him a missionary of the devil.

Among his dupes was Rutelian, a senator, in high favor with the emperor.

There was a girl, said to be the daughter of Selene, the moon, and Alexander. She is declared to be destined for Rutelian, and the marriage is celebrated with great pomp and splendor.

Lucian himself visited Alexander and endeavored to expose him. He frankly admits that the attempt was a complete failure. When the prophet gave him his hand to kiss, Lucian bit it to the bone. For this, he came near paying the forfeit of his life. Alexander, concealing his pain and mortification, treated Lucian with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and gave him a vessel for his return home. The commander was secretly instructed to throw him overboard. This he was too humane to do, but told Lucian, he should be obliged to put him ashore, which he did; and Lucian found himself in Bithynia, a long way from home.

He returned, a wiser man, and the prophet continued to flourish. The emperor bestowed distinctions upon him. He lived to be an old man, and died in the acme of his fame.

Apuleius.—Some of the early writers speak of Apuleius as a worker of miracles. He was a pagan philosopher of the Platonic school, born at Madaura, in Africa.

He lived about A. D. 150. He was distinguished for his eloquence, and stood high as a Latin writer. Having married a rich widow at Tripoli, he was prosecuted by his relations, on a charge that he had, in his courtship, made use of magical arts. He defended himself, on that occasion, by an "apology," which is still extant. There has also come down to us, another of his works, entitled, "Metamorphosis, or the Golden Ass;" supposed to have been a satire on the wealthy debauchees of his time. Lactantius, referring to what Hierocles had asserted, that Apollonius was greater than Christ, because he rescued himself from Domitian, while Christ was put to death, says it is somewhat strange that writers should pass over Apuleius, "of whom many wonderful things are commonly said."[1]

Antinous was a beautiful youth, a favorite of the Emperor Hadrian. He was born in Bithynia. He accompanied Hadrian to Egypt, and was drowned in the Nile, A. D. 132. A city called Antino-opolis, was built by the emperor, near the spot where he perished, and countless statues were erected in his honor. Some of them still exist, and are remarkable for their beauty.

Justin Martyr says he was worshipped as a god.[2]

Origen says there were miracles wrought in many places,[3] and Celsus mentions, as miracle-workers, Esculapius, Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Cleomedes of Astypalæa.

(1.) Lact. Inst. lib. 5, ch. 3.
(2.) 1st Apology, ch. 29.
(3.) Contra Celsum, 3. 3.

JEWISH SUPERSTITIONS.

The Jews were ever exceedingly superstitious. The miracles of the Old Testament are familiar to the reader. These were supplemented by an innumerable multitude of angels and demons of every description. .

The casting out of demons was familiar to the Jews, long before the coming of Christ. In the Book of Tobit, the angel Raphael directs fumigation with the heart and liver of a fish, in order to drive a demon out of a man or woman, so that it will never return. The demon Asmodeus was in love with Sara, the daughter of Raguel, and had strangled seven men who were going to marry her; but by the process mentioned above, he was driven out, and flew into Egypt, where he was bound by the angel.—*Book of Tobit*, 6. 7; 3. 7; 6. 14, *&c.*

In the Book of Enoch, the names of twenty-one angels are given, who had fallen. through love for the daughters of men. The offspring of these were giants, whose height was 3,000 ells. From these come the evil demons of earth.

Raphael was the angel who presided over the spirits of men. Uriel was the angel of thunder, earthquakes, &c. There were spirits controlling the winds and the lightning, others over the seas, and still others over hail, snow, frost, &c, &c.—*Book of Enoch, ch.* 69; *chs.* 7, 8, 9, 34, *&c.*

The Jews believed the stars were animated beings.—*Gfrorer, das Yahr des Heils*, 1, *p.* 362.

Enoch saw seven stars bound together, and he enquired of the angel, on account of what sin they were bound. Uriel replied, they were stars which had transgressed the commands of the highest God, and they were thus bound till ten thousand worlds, the number of days of their transgression, should be accomplished.—[Chs. 21 and 18.]

The targums are full of similar views, concerning the stars and other heavenly bodies.

The multitude of angels was innumerable.

Each angel had a particular duty to perform. Michael was angel over water, Jehuel over fire, Jechiel over wild beasts, and Anpiel over birds. Hariel was appointed over cattle, Messannahel over reptiles, Deliel over fish, and Samniel over created things moving in the waters, and over the face of the earth. Ruchiel was set over the winds, Gabriel over thunder and fire, and over the ripening of fruit. Nuriel over hail, Makturiel over rocks, Alpiel over

fruit-bearing trees, Saroel over those which do not bear fruit, and Sandalfon over the human race. Under each of these were subordinate angels.—*Sanhed.* 95. 2; *Eisenmenger, Entd. Jud.* 2. 378. *Sup. Relig. vol.* 1, *p.* 108.

The demons were equally as numerous. They were in the air, on earth, in the bodies of men and animals, and even at the bottom of the sea. They were the offspring of the fallen angels who loved the daughters of men.—*Eisenmenger, Ent. Jud.* 1. 380; 2. 437.

"Their number is infinite. The earth is so full of them, that if man had power to see, he could not exist, on account of them. There are more demons than men, and they are about as close as the earth thrown up out of a newly made grave."

It was stated that each man had 10,000 demons at his right hand, and 1,000 on his left. "He who wishes to discover these spirits, must take sifted ashes, and strew them about his bed, and in the morning he will perceive their footprints upon them, like a cock's tread. If any one wishes to see them, he must take the afterbirth of a black cat, which has been littered by a first born black cat, whose mother was also a first birth, burn and reduce it to powder, and put some of it in his eyes, and he will see them."—*Bab. Beracoth.* 6. 1.

The casting out of demons, was an important feature in the Jewish theological system. Dr Lightfoot says, "There was hardly any people in the whole world, that more used, or were more fond of amulets, charms, mutterings, exorcisms, and all kinds of enchantments."—*Lightfoot, Horæ Heb. et Talm. Works*, 11. *p.* 299.

Josephus states, that among other gifts, God gave to Solomon knowledge of the way to expel demons. He himself had seen a countryman of his own, named Eleazar, release people possessed of devils, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, and his sons, and of his army. He put a ring, containing one of the roots prescribed by Solomon, to the nose of the demoniac, and drew the demon out by his nostrils, and in the name of Solomon, and reciting one of his incantations, he adjured him to return no more.—*Antiquities of the Jews, bk.* 8, *ch.* 2, *sec.* 5.

Miracles of the Fathers.—These commence about the middle of the second century. More than a hundred years ago, Rev. Dr. Middleton, in his 'Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Christian church,' called attention to the fact, that in the writings of the

apostolic fathers, [referring to those who had written previous to about A. D. 150,] there was not the least pretense to the possession of extraordinary gifts, nor to any standing power of working miracles; and showed that the claim in the second century, was first set up about the time of Justin Martyr.

"Here then," said he, "we have an interval of about half a century, the earliest and purest of all Christian antiquity, after the days of the apostles, in which we find not the least reference to any standing power of working miracles." [1]

In the writings of Justin Martyr, [A. D. 150 to 160], the claim to miraculous power was put forth with much distinctness. He says:

"There are prophetical gifts among us at this day, and both men and women are endued with extraordinary powers by the spirit of God." [2]

He frequently appeals to what he says every one might see with his own eyes, in every part of the world, and particularly in Rome, in the case of persons possessed with devils, "who were cured and set free, and the devils themselves baffled and driven away, by the Christians adjuring and exorcising them in the name of Jesus, when all other exorcists and enchanters had tried in vain to help them." [3]

Justin says the angels to whom God had committed the care of mankind, had been led away by love of the daughters of men, and begat children, who are the demons, who have corrupted the human race. [4]

He thinks demoniacs are possessed and tortured by the souls of the wicked dead. [5]

(1.) Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. 1, p. 8.
(2.) Dialogue, chapter 88. (3.) Apology, 2. 6.
(4.) Apol. 2. 5. Ibid. 1. 5, 14. (5.) Ibid. 1. 18.

Irenæus [A. D. 190 to 200], affirms, that "all who are truly disciples of Jesus, receiving grace from him, wrought miracles in his name, for the good of mankind, according to the gift which each man had received. Some cast out devils, so that those from whom they were ejected, often turned believers, and continued in the church. Others had the knowledge of future events, visions, and prophetical sayings. Others healed the sick by the imposition of hands. Even the dead had been raised, and lived afterward many years among them. It was impossible to reckon up all the mighty works which the church performed, every day, to the benefit of nations."—*Adv. Hœr. lib.* 2, *ch.* 32.

And in regard to raising from the dead, he declares it to have been "frequently performed on necessary occasions, when by great fasting, and the joint supplication of the church of that place, the spirit of the dead person returned into him, and the man was given back to the prayers of the saints."—*Adv. Hœr.* 2. 31.

Again: "We have many," says he, "in the church, endued with prophetic gifts; speaking with all kinds of tongues, laying open the secrets of men, for the public good."—*Ibid.* 5. 6.

Clement of Alexandria [A. D. 200], says presiding angels were distributed over nations and cities. That the Son gave philosophy to the Greeks, by means of the inferior angels, and argued that it was absurd to attribute it to the devil.[1]

Tertullian [A. D. 200 to 210], calls upon the heathen magistrates to "summon before their tribunal any person possessed with a devil; and if the evil spirit, when exorcised by any Christian whatsoever, did not own himself to be a devil, as truly, as in other places he would falsely call himself a god, not daring to tell a lie to a Christian, that then they should take the life of that Christian."—*Apology, ch.* 23.

Again: "There is a sister among us, endued with the gifts of revelations, which she suffers in the church, during the time of divine service, by an ecstasy, in the spirit. She converses with angels, and sometimes also with the Lord; sees and hears mysteries; and knows the hearts of some, and prescribes medicines to those who want them."—*De Anima, sec.* 9.

He has a disquisition concerning angels and demons, in which he enters into minute details.[2]

He gives the case of a woman who went to a theater, and came back possessed by a demon; and on being cast out, the evil spirit said he had a right to act

(1.) Stromata, 6. 17.
(2.) Apol. sec. 22; Ad. Scapulam, sec. 2.

as he did, having found her within his limits.[1]

Origen, [A. D. 230], was of the opinion, that certain demons, offspring of the Titans or giants, who haunt the grosser parts of bodies, and the unclean places of the earth, had the power of divining the future.[2]

After fully discussing the question, and citing many passages of scripture, he comes to the conclusion, that the sun, moon and stars are living, rational beings.[3]

He says many could heal the sick, by invoking the name of God over them, and of Jesus, with a recital of some story of his life. "I myself," says he, "have seen many so healed in difficult cases; loss of senses, madness, and innumerable other evils, which neither men nor devils could cure."[4]

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch [A. D. 180], says that evil and seducing spirits were exorcised, and cast out in his day.[5]

Minucius Felix, [3d century], addressing himself to his heathen friend, in his Dialogue of "Octavius", says, "The greatest part of you know what confessions the demons make, concerning themselves, as oft as they are expelled by us, out of the bodies of men, by the torture of our words, and the fire of our speech. Saturn himself, and Serapis, and Jupiter, and the rest of them, whom you worship, constrained by the pain which they feel, confess what they are."—*Minuc. Octav. p.* 23, *ch.* 27.

Cyprian [A. D. 250], Arnobius [A. D. 303], and Lactantius [A. D. 310], all give testimony, in similar language, to the casting out of devils, and evil spirits, by the Christians.[6]

Eusebius had similar views.[7]

(1.) De Spectaculis, sec. 26.
(2.) Contra Celsum, 4. 92; 8. 11.
(3.) De Principiis, 1. 7, sec. 3; Contra Cels. 5. 10, 11.
(4.) Ibid. lib. 3, ch. 24.
(5.) Ad Autolycum.
(6.) Cyprian, Epist.; Arnobius, lib. 1, 46; Lactantius, Divin. Inst. l. 2, c. 16.
(7.) Præp. Evang. 5. 2.

Tertullian relates that a woman, whom he knew, a member of the church, after having died, when the presbyter was praying for her, removed her hands from her sides, and folded them in the attitude of supplication.[1]

Even the great Augustine relates a number of most astounding miracles, which were performed in the church, in his immediate neighborhood.[2]

THE THUNDERING LEGION.—Eusebius quotes from a lost work of Claudius Apollinaris, his account of a remarkable answer to prayer, received, about A. D. 175, by the Christian soldiers of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in his war with the Quadri. Tertullian, writing about A. D. 200, in a public apology, also urges the same fact.

The incident referred to was this:

"It is said, that when Marcus Aurelius Cæsar was forming his troops in order of battle, against the Germans and Sarmatians, he was reduced to extremities, by a failure of water."

Thereupon, in answer to the prayers of the Christian soldiers of the Melitine Legion, so called, there came thunderbolts, which caused the enemy's flight and overthrow. And upon the emperor's army, a rain, "which restored it entirely, when it was all but perishing by thirst."—*Euseb. Ecc. Hist.* 5. 5.

This circumstance we mention, not because there is any miracle connected with it, even in appearance; since there is nothing miraculous in a sudden shower, or in a superstitious people being frightened by thunderbolts; but because of the great prominence which has been given to it, in what might be called miraculous literature.

Much has been written upon it. Dion Cassius attributes the occurrence and the preservation of the army to an Egyptian magician, by the name of Amuphis. Julius Capitolinus attributes it to the emperor's prayers.

(1.) De Anima, sec. 51. (2.) De Civ. Dei, 22. 8.

Themistius the same. Baronius, Moyle, Scaliger, Valesius and others have written about it; and more lately, Dr. John Henry Newman has devoted fourteen pages to it, at the close of which, he concludes it to have been a very noted miracle.[1]

There was no doubt, an occurrence of the kind; the army, when in dire extremity, having been relieved by a sudden fall of rain. This we learn from Dion Cassius and other heathen writers, and from a sculpture on the celebrated Antonine Column at Rome, where is a figure of Jupiter Pluvius, scattering lightning and rain, the enemy and their horses lying prostrate, and the Romans, sword in hand, rushing upon them.

We hear nothing of any connection of Christians in the transaction, except from Tertullian and Eusebius, and those who copied from them.

As to the Christian legion, called, according to Eusebius, the Melitine Legion, which he represents as afterward remaining intact, Moyle says there were few or no Christians in the army; and adds, "I would as soon believe my Lord Marlborough had a whole regiment of Quakers in his army, as that Antoninus had a whole legion of Christians in his.[2]

Then, as to the name "Thundering," applied to the Melitine Legion, which Eusebius makes Apollinaris say, the emperor gave to it on account of this transaction, the fact is, that one of the Roman Legions had that name, from the time of Augustus Cæsar.

Turning Water into Oil.—Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, when oil failed for lamps, at the vigil of Easter, sent the persons who had the care of them, to the

(1.) Two Essays on Scripture Miracles, &c., London, 1870, 2d Edn. pp. 240 to 254.

(2.) Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. 2, pp. 84, 85.

neighboring well for water. When they brought it, he prayed over it, and it was changed into oil. At least, so says Eusebius.[1] Narcissus was made bishop about 180.

This reported miracle has been the occasion of learned disquisitions by Dodwell, Jortin and many others. Newman devotes several pages to it, and closes by saying, that while he cannot say positively that he believes it, yet he has no doubt about it.[2]

From the list of noted miracles discussed by Dr. Newman, these two have been mentioned, because they are said to have occurred in the second century.

It is a significant fact, that they both come, either originally, or with important accessions, from Eusebius.

APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

From the middle of the second century, and even earlier, the Christian world was flooded with anonymous writings of a religious character, filled with miracles of every description. There was a morbid demand for that kind of literature. At a later day, these writings were styled apocryphal.

There were gospels, acts, revelations, epistles, &c. &c.

The Revelation of Moses, gives a long history of Adam and Eve. The Revelation of Esdra, resembles somewhat the Apocalypse of John. The Revelation of Paul is of the same sort, relating at great length, the wonderful things revealed to Paul, when he went up to the third heaven, and was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words. [2d Cor. 12. 4.] There is another Revelation of John, the Book of John concerning the Falling Asleep of Mary, the Passing [Translation] of Mary, &c.

The Acts of Peter and Paul, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the story of Perpetua, have been already mentioned.

The Acts of Barnabas relate the journeyings, the miracles and martyrdom of that apostle.

Finding a town, called Curium, was very wicked, he rebuked it, and the western part fell, "so that many were wounded, and many of them also died."

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 6. 9. (2.) Essays on Miracles, p. 259.

THE ACTS OF PHILIP.—Nicanora, wife of the proconsul of Hierapolis, having been converted and healed of her sickness by the preaching of Philip, her husband was so enraged, that he caused them both, with Bartholomew, to be scourged, and the two apostles to be hanged, Philip head downward. In this position, Philip has a long conversation with Bartholomew, and preaches a discourse to those standing about. When Mariamne was stripped, her body was changed, and became a glass chest filled with light.

THE ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF ANDREW.—Andrew has a discussion with Ægeates, the proconsul. Ægeates, becoming very angry, has Andrew crucified. Afterward, he was himself tormented by the devil, and came to a violent death.

Besides these, there were the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, in the City of the Man-Eater, the Acts of Peter and Andrew, the Acts and Martyrdom of St. Matthew, the Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas, and many others.—Fabricius has a list of Apocryphal Acts, 36 in number. Some of them are written very much in the style of the Acts of the Apostles.

THE MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

When we turn to the miracles of the New Testament, we instinctively feel like making them an exception to the mass of wonders of that age. How much of this feeling may be owing to education and association, we will not stop to enquire; and perhaps it would not be found easy to determine.

The fact, however, cannot be ignored, that there is no evidence showing that either of the five books in which these miracles are recorded, was written until nearly one hundred and fifty years after the transactions are said to have occurred. How much earlier the manuscripts existed from which these books were compiled, is not known. None of them can be clearly traced to the first century.

Other facts will bear consideration. A large number of these miracles consist in casting out demons from human beings. But the doctrine of demons, is a doctrine of the past. It is now recognized and admitted, that from the beginning, the demons have existed only subjectively, as forms of doctrine and belief. What then becomes of this class of miracles?

If, without irreverence, we carefully examine even the most imposing class of New Testament miracles, looking upon them at the same time as violations of known laws of nature, (without which, a miracle loses its force and meaning), we meet with very serious obstacles, in the way of giving them implicit credence.

In the case of Jairus' daughter, we have but to take the explicit language of Jesus himself, "The maid is not dead, but sleepeth."

There are two other reported cases of raising from the dead, in the canonical gospels. The raising of the son of the widow of Nain, is found only in the compilation of Luke. The authorship of the manuscript containing it and the time when it was written, are involved in obscurity.

The raising of Lazarus, and the turning of water into wine, the two transactions most plainly contravening the laws of nature, are only related in the Gospel of John; the author of that work having probably taken them from the Acts of Pilate.

Why do the other canonical gospels contain no mention of those stupendous miracles?

How can the belief in miracles, be of any importance, in the Christian system? If the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, are adapted to the nature of man, and in harmony with the divine economy of the universe, they will stand, through all time. If not, they will fall. The changing of one element or substance into another, or even the raising of a person from the dead, cannot make wrong right, or change the truth into a falsehood.

This great truth was all but comprehended by Tertullian, intellectually the most vigorous of all the early fathers. He declared that the proof of the Christian religion by miracles, was inconclusive; "because," said he, "Jesus Christ has assured his disciples, that some would arise, who should work false miracles."—*Adv. Marcion*, 3. 3.

Archbishop Trench falls into the same line of argument:

"A miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being *good*, and only then can the miracle seal it as *divine*."—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, 8*th Edn.* 1866, *p.* 25.

The same view is taken by Mozly and others. But if the doctrine has received the sanction of the conscience as good, is it not already divine? And what need of the miracle afterward?

We gladly accept the views of these eminent divines, and hail them as a long step forward, in that progress which will bring science and religion into harmony, as but different phases of universal law.

THIRD PERIOD. A. D. 120 TO A. D. 130.

THE THREE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER X.

EXTANT GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

THE PROTEVANGELION.

Of the extant gospels of the second century, the three most ancient are, the Protevangelion, or Book of James, the Gospel of the Infancy, and the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus.

The Protevangelion was attributed to the apostle James, and was called by Origen, 'The Book of James.' It is generally considered one of the oldest gospels of the second century; probably appearing about the third decade. The name, 'First Gospel,' would indicate it to be the first of certain writings of the kind.

The following is an abstract of its contents:

THE PROTEVANGELION.

CHAPTER 1.—An account ot Joachim, and of the refusal of his offerings, in the temple, which were despised, because he had no children.

CHAPS. 2 and 3.—Anna, the wife of Joachim, mourns her barrenness, and has a conversation upon the subject, with her maid, Judith.

CHAPS. 4 to 7.— The angel announces to Anna, that she is to have a child. She brings forth a daughter, and calls her name Mary.

When Mary was nine months old, she walked nine steps. When she was a year old, Joachim gave a great feast to the priests, scribes, elders, and all the people of Israel.

When she was three years old, they took her to the temple, accompanied by the daughters of the Hebrews, carrying lamps.

CHAPS. 8 and 9.—She continued in the temple, and received her food from the hand of an angel. When she was twelve years old, the priests met in consultation, to determine what to do with her. Zacharias, the high priest, consulting the Lord, was told to summon the widowers with their rods, &c. The priest took the rods, and went into the temple to pray. After finishing his prayer, he came out and distributed the rods.

"The last rod was taken by Joseph, and behold, a dove proceeded out of the rod, and flew upon the head of Joseph." The high priest then designated Joseph, as the one to take the virgin.

"But Joseph refused, saying: 'I am an old man, and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel.'" The priest insisting, Joseph took her to his house, and then went away, to mind his trade of building.

CHAP. 10.—Mary selected by the priests to spin the true purple, for a new veil for the temple.

CHAP. 11.—The announcement to Mary by the angel. Similar to Luke.

CHAP. 12.—Mary visits her cousin Elizabeth. Similar to the account in Luke. She is now 14 years old.

CHAPS. 13 and 14.—Joseph, returning from building houses abroad, found the virgin with child, and reproached her. Mary protested her innocence, saying, she knew not how it had occurred.

Joseph was about to put her away, when an angel appeared, and dissuaded him from it. Joseph then took the virgin, glorifying God.

CHAPS. 15 and 16.—Joseph and Mary were brought before the priest, accused of having violated her virginity; Joseph having taken her, merely to keep as a virgin.

Joseph was required to drink holy water, which he did, unharmed. He was then acquitted.

CHAPS. 17 and 18.—Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be taxed. As Mary's time drew near, they were obliged to stop, three miles from Bethlehem.

Mary was taken into a cave, and left, with Joseph's sons, while Joseph went to Bethlehem after a midwife. On the way, he saw various prodigies. Fowls of the air, stopping in the midst of their flight; people sitting before a table at dinner, their hands on the table motionless; sheep standing still, the shepherd with his hand raised to smite them, his hand remaining motionless; kids with their mouths to the water, but not drinking.

CHAPS. 19 and 20.—Joseph met a midwife. As they approached the cave, a bright cloud overshadowed it, and going in, they found Jesus was born. Salome came to the cave, and desiring proof that Mary was a virgin, proof was vouchsafed. But as a result, Salome's hand immediately withered. She prayed to the Lord; an angel appeared, and told her to take the child, and her hand would be restored. She took the child, and her hand was made whole.

CHAP. 21.—Wise men came from the east to Bethlehem, enquiring for the King of the Jews. The interview between Herod and the wise men. Similar to Matthew.

CHAPS. 22 to 24.—Herod, having issued his order for the slaughter of the children, "Mary, hearing that the children were to be killed, being under much fear, took the child, and wrapped him up in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in an ox-manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."

Elizabeth, hearing that her son John was to be searched for, took him, and went up into the mountains. There a mountain opened and received them. Zacharias, because he would not disclose the hiding place of his son John, was murdered in the entrance of the temple. When Zacharias was killed, "the roofs of the temple howled, and were rent from the top to the bottom, and his blood was congealed to stone."

CHAP. 25.—CONCLUSION. "I, James, wrote this history in Jerusalem; and when the disturbance was, I retired into a desert place, until the death of Herod. And the disturbance ceased at Jerusalem."

OPINIONS OF THE FATHERS.

The account in the Protevangelion, of the murder of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was generally accredited by the fathers. It is mentioned and endorsed by Tertullian,[1] by Origen,[2] by Epiphanius,[3] by Theophilact,[4] and others.

The Protevangelion says, Zacharias was killed at the entrance of the temple, and his blood was hardened into stone.—[Ch. 24.]

Tertullian says, Zacharias was killed between the altar and the temple, and the drops of his blood made indelible impressions on the stones.

(1.) Scorpiac. adv. Gnost. c. 8.
(2.) Hom. 26, in Matt. 23, fol. 49.
(3.) De Vit. Prophet. vol. 2, p. 250, (attributed to Epiphanius.)
(4.) In Matt.

As has been already mentioned, the circumstance of Joseph being an old man when Mary was betrothed to him, and having had children by a former wife, was accredited by the fathers generally. The Protevangelion was here supported by the Gospel of Peter.

Origen it is true, only refers to it as believed by some, but others adopt it implicitly. Eusebius says James was called the brother of Christ, because he was also called the son of Joseph.[1] Epiphanius says the same,[2] and in another place, that Joseph was about fourscore years old when he married Mary; and had six children before that time, by a former wife;[3] and again, writing against a sect which denied the perpetual virginity of Mary, he says:

"Joseph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower; that he was the brother of Clophas, the son of James, surnamed Panther; that he had his first wife of the tribe of Judah, and by her six children, to wit, four sons and two daughters. His eldest son was James, surnamed Oblias, (this probably taken from Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 2. 23), that he begat him when he was about forty years old; after him he had another son named Jose, then Simeon and Judas, and then his two daughters Mary and Salome: after his wife's death, he continued many years a widower, and about fourscore years old, married Mary."—*Epiph. Hæres.* 78. *sec.* 8.

So also was the account in the Protevangelion accepted as true by Hilary,[4] by Chrysostom, [A. D. 407], Cyril [A. D. 375], by Euthimius and Theophylact, and generally, as Bishop Pearson says,[5] by all the Latin fathers till Ambrose, [A. D, 390], and the Greek fathers afterward.

Epiphanius refers, also, to the death of Zacharias, but there is a wide departure from the account in the Protevangelion.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 2. 1. (2.) Hæres. 29; Naz. sec. 3, 4.
(3.) Hæres. 51; Alogor. sec. 10.
(4.) In Matth. 1. (5.) On the Creed, p. 175, Art. 3.

"It was" he says, "the occasion of the death of Zacharias in the temple, that when he had seen a vision, he through surprise was willing to disclose it, and his mouth was stopped. That which he saw, was at the time of offering incense; and it was a man standing in the form of an ass.

"When he had gone out, and had a mind to speak thus to the people, 'Wo unto you, whom do ye worship?' he who had appeared to him in the temple, took away the use of his speech. Afterwards, when he recovered it, and was able to speak, he declared this to the Jews, and they slew him. They add, that on this very account, the high priest was appointed by their lawgiver, to carry little bells, that whensoever he went into the temple to sacrifice, he whom they worshiped, hearing the noise of the bells, might have time enough to hide himself, and not be caught in that ugly shape and figure."—*Epiph. Hær.* 79. 5.

That Mary, at three years of age, was taken to the temple, and remained there eleven years, was received as true by Euodius, Gregory of Nyssen, [380], Damascene, [725], Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, Andreas Cretensis, [675], George bishop of Nicomedia and others.[1]

The Protevangelion was not condemned by the decree of Pope Gelasius.

Jones was mistaken in supposing that Epiphanius and Austin were the first writers who had recognized the Protevangelion.[2] Origen mentioned it as 'the Book of James;' Tertullian was acquainted with it, and still earlier, Justin Martyr.

The fact that Christ was born in a cave, is frequently alluded to in the writings of the fathers. Thus Gregory Nyssen [380], says:

"We are indeed, cheered by the gospel, when we revert to the speech at Bethlehem, and when we contemplate the divine mysteries in the cave." "ὁπηλαίῳ μυστήρια."—*Greg. Nys. Op. vol.* 3, *p.* 348. [See also, the chapter of this work entitled, 'Justin Martyr.']

(1.) See Baronius, [1588], Apparat. ad Annal. no. 48.
(2.) Jeremiah Jones, New Method, &c. vol. 2, p. 144.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTEVANGELION, AND THE GOSPELS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW.

THE PROTEVANGELION ONE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE COMPILATIONS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW—THE PROTEVANGELION AND THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW COMPARED.—WHICH WAS FIRST WRITTEN?

Dr. Frederick Schleiermacher, who is styled, in the Imperial Dictionary of Biography, "the most influential theologian of Protestant Germany, that has appeared during the present century," in an able essay, has shown, that the Gospel of Luke consists, almost entirely, of a compilation of manuscripts, older than the time of the compiler.

Speaking of the first and second chapters, he says:

"It is impossible, at the outset, to avoid observing the great difference of style, between the introductory passage, (ch. 1, vv. 1 to 4), and this section (balance of chs. 1 and 2); since from very tolerable and well constructed Greek, which even makes some attempts at elegance, we suddenly drop into the harshest Hebraistic phraseology; so that one is loth to attribute both to the same hand."—*Critical Essay on Luke, p.* 21, *Edn. London*, 1825.

Again:

"If we compare the end of the first chapter with the beginning of the second, we can scarcely remain in doubt, that the section from verse 5 to the end of the chapter, (ch. 1), was originally an independent whole. In the first place, the 80th verse is an evident form of conclusion. ....

"To this it may be added, that if it were the same narrator who is proceeding in the second chapter, many things ought to be differently stated."—*Ib. p.* 22.

"Thus then we begin, by detaching the first chapter as an originally independent composition. If we consider it in this light somewhat more closely we cannot resist the impression, that it was originally, rather a little poetical work, than a properly historical narrative. The latter supposition in its strictest sense, at all events, no one will adopt; or contend that the angel Gabriel announced the advent of the Messiah, in figures so purely Jewish, and in expressions taken mostly from the Old Testament; or the alternate song between Elizabeth and Mary actually took place in the manner described; or that Zachariah, at the instant of recovering his speech, made use of it to utter the hymn, without being disturbed by the joy and surprise of the company, by which the narrator himself allows his description to be interrupted.

"At all events then, we should be obliged to suppose that the author made additions of his own, and enriched the historical narrative by the lyrical effusions of his own genius. But even in the historical part, there is much that will not admit of being understood as literal narrative. In the first place, the whole chronology depends on the circumstance, which the author was desirous of introducing, that the child in Elizabeth's womb leaped for joy at Mary's approach. Mary is on this account, made to defer her visit till after the fifth month; and in order to leave no chasm in the whole, the angel, for the same reason, is made to come to her no sooner. Immediately after the annunciation, she sets out, and stays three months with her cousin;—a circumstance also very improbable, on account of her own approaching nuptials—in order that upon her return, the birth of Jesus might be immediately subjoined.

"Similar to this is the circumstance, that Zacharias is punished with dumbness for his unbelief, and thus contrasted with Mary, who breaks forth, under divine inspiration, into songs of praise; and yet that, although his unbelief must long before have ceased, he does not recover his speech till the instant, when, by confirming the name, he solemnly recognizes the angel's declaration of his son's calling.

"If to this we add the whole grouping, the angel coming to Zacharias, and announcing the last prophet of the old covenant in the temple, the same coming afterward to Mary, and announcing the advent of the Messiah in the despised Nazareth, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, the winding up of the whole by the restoration of Zacharias to speech, and his hymn, which form the conclusion, there naturally presents itself to us, a pleasing little composition, completely in the style and manner of several Jewish poems, *still extant among our apocryphal writings*; written in all probability, originally in Aramaic, by a Christian of the more liberal Judaizing school, and of the general style of which, a faithful image is conveyed in the early severe school of Christian painting.—*Essay on Luke, by Schleiermacher, pp.* 24 *to* 26.

The Protevangelion, which is one of the extant apocryphal writings alluded to, is in the Greek language, but is filled with Hebraisms, showing it to have been

written by a Hellenic Jew: and justifying the supposition of our author, that it was originally in the Aramaic tongue.

The following comparison of the two gospels, will, it is believed, sustain the inference of Schleiermacher, that the apocryphal gospel, so called, was first written:

[We have consulted the original Greek text, from the Orthodoxographa of Grynæus, p. 71, &c.]

The Protevangelion
Compared with Luke and Matthew.

Protevangelion, ch. 11.	Luke, ch. 1.
	v. 26. And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God, unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,
And she [Mary] took a pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And behold, a voice, saying: Hail, full of grace; the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women.	27. To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name (was) Mary.
	28. And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail (thou that art) highly favored, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.
And she looked around, to the right and to the left, to see whence this voice came. And trembling, she went into her house, and put down the pitcher, and taking the purple, she sat down in her seat, to work it. And behold the angel of the Lord [one version reads, "a young man of ineffable beauty,"] stood by her, and said: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favor with God.	29. And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.
	30. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favor with God.
	31. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.
	32. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.
When she heard this, she reasoned with herself, What sort of salutation is this to me? And the angel said unto her, The Lord is with thee, and thou shalt conceive. And shall I conceive, said she, by the living God, and bring forth as other women do?	33. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.
	34. Then said Mary unto the angel, how shall this be, seeing I know not a man?
The angel replied, Not so Mary, for the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also the holy	35. And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also, that holy thing which shall

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 11.	LUKE, ch. 1.
thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the living God.	be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.
And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.	
And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she has also conceived a son in her old age. And this is the sixth month with her who was called barren.	36. And behold, thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her who was called barren:
For nothing shall be impossible with God.	37. For with God nothing shall be impossible.
And Mary said, behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.	38. And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.
CHAPTER 12.	
And she wrought the purple, and took it to the high priest. And the high priest blessed her, saying: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth.	39. And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill-country with haste, into a city of Judæa,
Then Mary, filled with joy, went away to her cousin Elizabeth, and knocked at the door.	40. And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elizabeth.
When Elizabeth heard, she ran, and opened to her, and blessed her,	41. And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost.
	42. And she spake out with a loud voice, and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
And said: Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?	43. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?
For lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation came to my ears, that which is within me, leaped and blessed thee.	44. For lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.
But Mary, being ignorant of those mysterious things, which the archangel Gabriel had spoken to her, lifted up her eyes to heaven, and said: Lord, what am I, that all the generations of the earth should call me blessed?	45. And blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord.
	46. And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, [&c. See the song of Mary, Luke, ch. 1, vv. 46 to 55.]
But as day by day, she grew big, being afraid, she went to her home, and hid herself from the children of Israel.	56. And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned to her own house.
She was fourteen years old, when these mysteries happened.	

No one can doubt that one of the foregoing narratives was used in the composition of the other.

If, as Schleiermacher supposes, the author of Luke has inserted an entire manuscript, running from verses 5 to 80, then the author of that manuscript drew from the Protevangelion, or the author of the Protevangelion drew from the manuscript, either before or after it was placed in the gospel of Luke.

Grynæus, the author of the Orthodoxographa, believed that the Protevangelion was first written.[1]

If the foregoing parallel passages be carefully examined, in connection with the abstract in the previous chapter, it will be seen that the internal evidence favors the earlier composition of the passages from the Protevangelion. Those are in the midst of a much longer story, forming a natural and consistent part of it; while the account in Luke is a disjointed and unconnected narrative.

The variations in Luke, are evidently for a purpose.

For instance, in the 27th verse, it is stated that Joseph was of the house of David; and in the 32d verse, that Jesus should be given the throne of his father David; for neither of which is there any parallel in the Protevangelion. The earlier fathers, who followed this gospel, thought it sufficient to trace the descent of Mary from David. But the author of Luke desired to show that Joseph was descended from David; hence the change, which appears to have been made in support of his genealogy.

In pursuance of the same object, in the 4th verse of the 2d chapter, he represents that Joseph went up

(1.) He says: "Multa habet quae narrationibus quatuor evangelistarum pulchre consentiunt, plura autem quae ab illis velut parerga sunt prætermissa."

"It contains many things which perfectly agree with the accounts of the four evangelists, but more which are omitted by [from] them as needless."

from Galilee to Bethlehem, to be taxed "because he was of the house and lineage of David." The 17th chapter of the Protevangelion represents Joseph as going to Bethlehem to be taxed, but says nothing of his being of the house and lineage of David. If the Protevangelion had been last written, there is no reason why that circumstance, if true, should have been omitted; and especially if that was the reason why Joseph went to Bethlehem to be taxed. On the contrary, the author of the Protevangelion would have inserted the reference to David, as calculated to magnify the importance of Jesus, by showing his royal descent, on the male side of his ancestry.

Then the song of praise with which Mary breaks forth, has a theological look, being composed, almost entirely from passages in the Old Testament. This, also, is not in the Protevangelion. If, indeed, it was spoken by Mary herself, it may be looked upon as strong evidence of the truth of the statement, that Mary was brought up in the temple; since in no other way would she have been so conversant with the Jewish scriptures.

Passing on to the second chapter of Luke, Dr. Schleiermacher, commenting on verses 1 to 20, and suggesting that it appears like a separate narrative, says:

"We can recognize neither the same author, nor the prevalence of a poetical character, since this would necessarily have occasioned the introduction of more lyrical passages. Here, therefore, we must refer the main fact, at least, to an historical tradition. But upon this, if we seek grounds for an exact conclusion, there arises in the first place the question, from what source the narrative may be drawn. For two may be conceived, Joseph and Mary on the one side, the shepherds on the other."

After considering the circumstances, he inclines to the opinion, that the narrative came originally from the shepherds. He thinks the shepherds related what

occurred, and the affair became known in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. He concludes as follows:

"We must therefore suppose, that this story was only drawn forth from the dust of oblivion, by the recollection of individuals, after the fame of Jesus was already established, and therefore probably did not obtain further publicity until after his death."—*Essay on Luke, pp.* 32 to 35.

The following parallel may enable us to determine which of these gospels contains the earlier record of this story:

THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 17.	LUKE, ch. 2.
And it came to pass that there went forth a decree from the Emperor Augustus, that all the Jews should be taxed, [ἀπογραφεσθαι], who were of Bethlehem of Judæa.	And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.
	2. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.
	3. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.
	4. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David.)
	5. To be taxed with Mary, his espoused wife, being great with child.
	6. So it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.
And Joseph said, I will take care that my children shall be taxed; but what shall I do with this young woman? To have her taxed as my wife I am ashamed; But if as my daughter, all Israel knows she is not my daughter. The day itself of the Lord shall bring to pass what it will.	
And he saddled the ass, and placed her upon it. Joseph and Simeon followed, and arrived within three miles. [of Bethlehem.]	
(Here, as the time for Mary's deliverance approached, they stopped, and Mary was taken into a cave.)	
CHAPTER 18.	
And he found there a cave, and led her into it, and leaving her and his sons in the cave, he went forth to seek a Hebrew midwife in the country of Bethlehem.	
[On his way, Joseph sees the prodigies mentioned in last chapter.]	
[Ch. 19.—He meets a midwife coming down from the mountains. They return together, and find Jesus born, in the cave.	7. And she brought forth her first-born son,
In subsequent chapters, various remarkable events are related, including the visit of the wise men "to Bethlehem," and the order for the slaughter	

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 18.	LUKE, ch. 2.
of the children. The story proceeds as follows:]	
But Mary, hearing that the children were to be killed, being under much fear, took the child, and wrapped him up in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in an ox-manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.—[ch. 22.]	and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

The account of the vision to the shepherds, &c. does not appear in the Protevangelion; a circumstance which cannot well be accounted for, if Luke was first written. The author of the Protevangelion enlarges upon many unimportant circumstances, and is not in want of space. It is difficult to see why, if his work was last written, he should omit so interesting a portion of the story, as that concerning the shepherds; one too, which would have added so much to the importance of the transaction.

In a subsequent chapter, it will be seen that this account has a parallel in the Gospel of the Infancy. This gospel states also that Jesus was circumcised in the cave.

So with the presentation in the temple: 22d to 40th of 2d chapter of Luke, which, Schleiermacher thinks, was a separate narrative, from another manuscript. This, though not in the Protevangelion, is in the Gospel of the Infancy. The same may be said of the balance of the chapter, verses 41 to 52.

Of this portion of the narrative, Schleiermacher says:

"That the last piece of this division, too, Jesus' first visit to the temple, did not originally belong to the same context with what goes before, is rendered evident by a variety of marks. Verse 40, which some most strangely consider as the beginning of this last piece, against all analogy with 1st. 80, and 2d. 52, is a mere form of conclusion."—*Essay, p.* 41.

This learned writer sums up his view of the composition of the first two chapters of Luke, as follows:

"Thus, then, by an apparently gradual annexation of several detached narratives, committed to writing independently of each other, to a piece which was originally composed, not as an historical narrative, but as a poem, did the

first division of this gospel, according to these indications, take its rise.—*Essay, p.* 44.

The internal evidence going to show that this gospel was written before Luke, is supported by the historical fact, that Justin Martyr, [A. D. 150 to 160], who furnishes no evidence of having seen the Gospel of Luke, was acquainted with the Protevangelion history, and received it as true. He refers to Christ being born in a cave, and to various other incidents of the narrative, not found in the canonical gospels.

Let us now pass on, to the Gospel of Matthew:

JOSEPH AND THE ANGEL.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 13.

And when her sixth month was come, Joseph, returning from his building houses, and entering into his house, found the virgin grown big with child.

CHAPTER 14.

Then Joseph was exceedingly afraid, and went away from her, considering what he should do with her: and he thus reasoned with himself: If I conceal her crime, I shall be found guilty, by the Law of the Lord; and if I discover her to the children of Israel, I fear lest, she being with child by an angel, I shall be found to betray the life of an innocent person. What therefore, shall I do? I will privily put her away.

And night came upon him, and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying: Be not afraid to take the young woman, for that which is within her, is of the Holy Ghost.

And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

MATTHEW, ch. 1.

v. 18. Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child, of the Holy Ghost.

19. Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily.

20. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

21. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

22. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying:

23. Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 14.	MATTHEW, ch. 1.
Then Joseph arose from his sleep, and glorified the God of Israel, who had shown him such grace, and he kept the maiden.	24. Then Joseph, being raised from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife.

Here again, the later, and more theological character of the composition, is apparent in Matthew.

Not only does the angel address Joseph as the son of David, which form of address is not in the Protevangelion, but verses 22 and 23 are injected into the Protevangelion history, for the purpose of making the account fit in with a certain prophecy of the Old Testament. Those verses are, however, no improvement upon the Protevangelion. When that prophecy is examined, it is found not to relate to Christ at all.

The passage is in the 7th chapter of Isaiah.

In the days of Ahaz, King of Judah, the kings of Syria and Israel went up to Jerusalem, and made war against it. Then the Lord sent Isaiah forth with instructions, to meet Ahaz, and to bid him be quiet, and fear not. He was instructed to assure Ahaz, that within three-score and five years, Ephraim should be broken. The Lord then bid Ahaz ask for a sign. But Ahaz replied, he would not ask, neither would he tempt the Lord. Then the Lord (through Isaiah) said:

"Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest, shall be forsaken of both her kings."—*Isaiah*, 7. 14, 16.

The 8th chapter proceeds as follows:

"Moreover, the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare a son.

Then said the Lord to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. (In making speed to the spoil, he hasteneth the prey.) For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.—[Isa. 8, 1-4.]

It is only necessary to read the passage, in connection with the context, to see that it had no reference to Christ whatever. The language does not profess to be prophetic, beyond sixty-five years. Otherwise, it is historical, throughout, and the history needs no interpretation.

VISIT OF THE MAGI, AND SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 21.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
Then Joseph was preparing to go away. For there was a great commotion in Bethlehem, by the coming of wise men from the East, saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.	Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, 2. Saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.
When Herod heard this, he was exceedingly troubled; and having sent messengers to the wise men and the priests, he enquired of them in the prætorium, saying to them, Where is it written among you, of Christ the king, that he should be born?	3. When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. 4. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born?
Then they say unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa; for thus it is written; And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a governor, who shall rule my people Israel.	5. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa; for thus it is written by the prophet; 6. And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a governor, who shall rule my people Israel.
And having sent away the chief priests, he enquired of the wise men in the prætorium, and said unto them: What sign was it ye saw concerning the king that is born? They answered, We saw an extraordinary large star, shining among the stars of heaven, and it so outshined all the other stars, that they became not visible; and we know that a great king has come in Israel, and therefore have come to worship him.	7. Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared?

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 21.

Then said Herod to them, Go and make diligent inquiry, and if ye find him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

So the wise men went forth, and behold the star which they saw in the east went before them, till it came and stood over the cave where the young child was, with Mary his mother.

Then they brought forth out of their treasures, and offered unto him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

And being warned in a dream by an angel, that they should not return to Herod, through Judæa, they departed into their own country, another way.

CHAPTER 22.

Then Herod, when he perceived that he was mocked by the wise men, being very angry, sent murderers, commanding them to slay all the children, from two years old and under.

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

8. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child, and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9. When they had heard the king, they departed; and lo, the star which they saw in the east, went before them till it came and stood over where the young child was.

10. When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshiped him; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

12. And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country, another way.

[The warning to Joseph, and the flight to Egypt, not in the Protevangelion. They are however, in the Gospel of the Infancy.]

16. Then Herod, when he saw he was mocked by the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

17. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying:

18. In Rama there was a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

Here is another prophecy, not alluded to in the Protevangelion.

In this case as in the other, it is only necessary to read the prophecy, in its connection with the context, in order to determine whether its application here is legitimate.

In the 30th and 31st chapters of Jeremiah, the prophet predicts the return of the children of Israel from

their captivity. The revelation was, it appears, communicated to him in a dream; for in the 26th verse of the 31st chapter, he says, "Upon this I awaked, and beheld; and my sleep was sweet unto me."

The 30th chapter commences thus:

"The word that came to Jeremiah, from the Lord, saying:

Verse 3. "For lo, the days are come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it."

v. 5. "For thus saith the Lord: We have heard a voice of trembling, of fear, and not of peace."

v. 10. ...."And Jacob shall return, and shall be in rest, and be quiet, and none shall make him afraid."

v. 18. "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents," &c.

v. 20. "Their children also shall be as aforetime," &c.

Ch. 31, v. 8. "Behold, I will bring them from the north country." &c.

v. 9. "They shall come with weeping," &c.

Then, soon after, with nothing intervening, to change the subject matter, comes the following:

v. 15. "Thus saith the Lord, A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping: Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.

v. 16. "Thus saith the Lord; Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.

v. 17. "And there is hope in thine end, saith the Lord, that thy children shall come again, to their own border."

It needs no argument or construction to show that the children of Israel are the children referred to in this chapter, and that it had no more reference to the infant children of Bethlehem to be slain by Herod, than it had to the children of Chicago.

It is only by applying a principle known to theologians as "accommodation," that any such application of the language can be made. But by the method of accommodation, any conceivable proposition can be proven from any chapter of the bible.

The reference to the prophecy of Micah, "And thou, Bethlehem," &c. is only in some copies of the Protevangelion. It is not in the Ante-Nicene version, and was probably an interpolation.

From the subsequent verses of the 5th chapter of Micah, it appears that the prophecy related to a ruler of Israel, who should be able to cope successfully with the king of Assyria.

If the prophecy related to Christ, then it was necessary he should be born in the village of Bethlehem. But all the copies of the Protevangelion, represent that he was born in a cave three miles from Bethlehem. So it is related in the Gospel of the Infancy, that Jesus was born in a cave, before his parents reached Bethlehem, though the distance is not stated. But Bethlehem being comparatively a small village, the prophecy would not thus be fulfilled. "For out of thee shall come," &c. Hence the probability that the reference to the prophecy in some copies of the Protevangelion, is an interpolation. Hence also the necessity, that in Matthew, where the verses relating to the prophecy stand on the same footing with the rest, Jesus should be born in the very village of Bethlehem.

If Matthew was first written, and was known to the authors of the other gospels, it is strange that they should have Jesus born outside of Bethlehem, at the risk of disconnecting the event from the prophecy. The authors of those gospels were disposed, neither to deny the Messiahship of Jesus, nor to deprive him of the benefit of any of the Jewish prophecies.

For the reasons given, and because in the Protevangelion, all the circumstances are simply and naturally related in their connection, as portions of a longer story, we conclude the Protevangelion was first written.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY.

DIFFERENT VERSIONS—SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS—TESTIMONIES AND CITATIONS OF THE FATHERS.

The complete Gospel of the Infancy of the Savior, first appeared in the Arabic language. It was translated into Latin, and was published by Mr. Sike, Professor of Oriental languages at Cambridge, England. It was published at Utrecht, in 1697.

Beside this, there is a fragment of what is thought to be a more ancient gospel, ascribed to the Apostle Thomas, and known as Thomas' Gospel of the Infancy.

It is published in the Ante-Nicene collection, in three forms: two being translations from the Greek, and one from the Latin. It is manifest that these, as well as the publication of Mr. Sike, are but different versions of the one Gospel of the Infancy.

The following is a synopsis of the complete gospel, as published by Mr. Sike:

CHAPTER 1.—"The following accounts we have found in the book of Joseph, the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ; and some say that he is Caiaphas. He has said that Jesus spoke, and indeed, that when he was lying

in his cradle, he said to his mother Mary, I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos whom thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world."

CHAPS. 2 & 3.—The decree for the taxing; the journey of Joseph and Mary; stopping at the cave; Joseph going after a midwife, and the birth of Jesus in the cave; the general tenor of the story being the same as in the Protevangelion, but the account being in a condensed form, and differing in some details.

CHS. 4, 5 & 6. The story of the shepherds, the circumcision in the cave, &c. Jesus brought to Jerusalem. Simeon, and Hannah.—[See next chapter of this work.]

CH. 7. The wise men came from the east, "according to the prophecy of Zoradascht," [Zoroaster], and brought offerings, gold, &c. The Lady Mary gave them one of the swaddling-clothes of Jesus, "which they received from her, as a most noble present." They followed the star back to their own country.

CH. 8. On their return to their own country, having made a fire and worshiped it, they cast in the swaddling-cloth, which remained unharmed by the fire.

CH. 9. Herod enquired concerning the wise men; whereupon Joseph, being warned by an angel, fled into Egypt.

CHS. 10 to 22.—[Here follows a series of most astounding miracles, performed by Jesus, while a baby, in Egypt:

Idols fall down at his approach—people possessed of devils, are cured by touching his swaddling-clothes; in one case, the devils coming out of the mouth of one who had put a swaddling-cloth on his head. A bride who had become dumb, recovers her speech, by taking the infant Jesus in her arms—a girl whose body was white with leprosy, is cured by "being sprinkled with water in which the Lord Jesus had been washed." Another is freed from Satan, who flees away in the form of a young man. A young man who had been changed into a mule, is re-transformed into his proper shape, by the boy Jesus having been placed on the mule's back; &c. &c.]

CH. 23.—In a desert country they met two robbers, named Titus and Dumachus. Titus having interested himself for the safety of the mother and child, St. Mary prophesied that the Lord God would receive him on his right hand, and grant him the pardon of his sins. Jesus also said to his mother, "When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two thieves shall be with me, at the same time, upon the cross, Titus on my right hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time, Titus shall go before me into paradise."

CH. 24.—In Matarea, the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth, in which St. Mary washed his coat.

CH. 25.—Thence they proceeded to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh. They abode three years; "And the Lord Jesus did very many miracles in Egypt,

which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy, nor in the Gospel of Perfection.."

[Mr. Ellicott, in his Essay on the Apocryphal Gospels, which will be noticed hereafter, very ingeniously supposes the writer of the Infancy, by the Gospel of Perfection, here to mean the four canonical gospels; though it is well understood, that one of the lost gospels of the second century was called "The Gospel of Perfection." See that title.]

Ch. 26. At the end of three years, they returned out of Egypt, and when they came near Judæa, Joseph was afraid of Archelaus. At the same time, he was warned by an angel, to go to Nazareth.

The writer then makes this pertinent remark:

"It is strange, indeed, that he who is the Lord of all countries, should be carried backward and forward, through so many countries."

Chs. 27 to 34. Here follows another series of miracles, similar to those performed in Egypt.

St. Mary had healed a sick boy, by giving his mother one of the swaddling cloths of the boy Jesus, in exchange for a handsome carpet. Another woman, who was envious, threw Caleb, [the boy who had been healed], into a hot oven. When his mother returned, she saw Caleb, lying in the middle of the oven, laughing. When the woman told her story, St. Mary replied, "Be quiet, for I am concerned, lest thou shouldst make this matter known." After this, the other woman threw Caleb into a well, but he sat upon the surface of the water, uninjured. The woman who had thrown him in, fell in herself and perished.

A boy whose eyes were closed in death, revived at the smell of the garments of the Lord Jesus.

A girl who was afflicted by Satan sucking her blood, put upon her head, as Satan approached her, one of the swaddling cloths of Jesus. Thereupon there issued forth from the cloth, flames and burning coals, which fell upon the dragon. Then the dragon cried out, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of Mary? Whither shall I flee from thee?" He then left the girl.

Ch. 35. A boy named Judas was possessed by Satan. Whenever Satan seized him, he wished to bite any one present. The mother of the miserable boy took him to St. Mary. In the mean time, James and Jose had taken away the infant Lord Jesus, to play, and were sitting down together. Judas came and sat down, at the right hand of Jesus, and tried to bite him. Because he could not do it, he struck Jesus in the right side, so that he cried out; and at the same moment, Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog. This boy was Judas Iscariot.

Ch. 36.—When the Lord Jesus was seven years old, he with other boys of about the same age, were making clay into the shape of asses, oxen, birds, &c. Jesus commanded his to move and walk, which they did. He also made figures of sparrows, and caused them to fly. The fathers of the other children told them Jesus was a sorcerer.

Chs. 37 to 39.—Other miracles. Jesus, playing with other boys, threw the clothes of a dyer into a furnace. When taken out, they were all dyed, with the desired colors. Jesus accompanied his father Joseph in his carpenter work, and whenever Joseph wanted any thing made longer or shorter, Jesus would stretch his hand toward it, and it became of the proper length. Joseph had spent two years making a throne for the king of Jerusalem. It was short on each side, two spans. Joseph was so afraid of the king's anger, that he went to bed without his supper. In the morning, Jesus took hold on one side, and Joseph on the other, and pulled, and the throne came to the right dimensions.

Ch. 40.—Jesus turned some boys into kids; saying to them, "Come hither, O ye kids, to your shepherd." The boys came forth like kids, and leaped about. He then turned the kids back into boys.

Ch. 41.—Jesus gathered the boys together, and ranked them as though he had been a king. They spread garments on the ground for him to sit upon, and crowned him with flowers.

Ch. 42.—In the mean time, a boy was brought along upon a couch. Having put his hand into a partridge's nest, to take out the eggs, he had been stung by a poisonous serpent. When they came to the place where the Lord Jesus was sitting, like a king, and the other boys standing round him like his ministers, Jesus enquired on what account they carried the boy? When they told him, he returned with them to the nest, and there caused the serpent to suck all the poison out again.

Ch. 43.—James the son of Joseph was bitten by a viper. Jesus blew upon it, and cured it instantly.

Ch. 44.—The Lord Jesus was playing with other boys upon a house top. One of them fell off and was killed. Jesus being accused of throwing him off, he stood over the dead boy, and said in a loud voice, "Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the house top?" Then the dead boy answered, "Thou didst not throw me down, but (such a one) did."

Ch. 45.—Jesus, being sent by his mother to the well for water, broke the pitcher. He thereupon gathered the water into his mantle, and brought it to his mother.

Ch. 46.—Jesus was with some other boys by a river, drawing water out of the river by little channels, and making fish pools. Jesus made twelve sparrows, and caused them to fly. The son of Hanani, a Jew, came by, and asked if they thus made figures on the sabbath? And he broke down their fish pools. Coming to the fish pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away; and the Lord Jesus said to him, "In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish." And presently the boy died.

Ch. 47.—"Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home, in the evening, with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down; to whom the Lord Jesus said, 'As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise!' And that moment, the boy fell down and died."

CHS. 48 and 49.—Jesus was sent to school to Zaccheus. The master told him to say Aleph, which he did. Then, to say Beth. "Then the Lord Jesus said to him, 'Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.'" Jesus explained the meaning of Aleph and Beth, and all the alphabet. He was taken to a more learned master. When the same scene was repeated, the master raised his hand to whip him, but his hand presently withered, and he died.

CH. 50.—Jesus with the doctors in the temple. [See next chapter of this work.]

CH. 51.—Jesus explains to an astronomer, "the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size, and several prognostications."

CH. 52.—He explains to a philosopher, physics and natural philosophy. "The things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers of the body; the numbers of its members, and bones, veins, arteries and nerves; how the soul operated on the body," &c. [The particulars of these explanations, are not given.]

CH. 53.—His parents find him among the doctors, in the temple.

CH. 54.—Jesus conceals his miracles and secret works, and devotes himself to the study of the law, till thirty years old. His acknowledgment by the Father, at the Jordan.

CH. 55. CONCLUSION.—"The end of the whole Gospel of the Infancy, by the assistance of the Supreme God, according to what we found in the original."

TESTIMONIES AND CITATIONS BY THE FATHERS.

1. Justin Martyr was acquainted with this gospel, A. D. 150 to 160. [See Justin Martyr.]

All the arguments, therefore, against its antiquity, drawn from internal evidence, if directed against the gospel as a whole, fall to the ground. Those arguments are based upon modes of expression which were thought not to prevail until the third or fourth century, or even later; such as "The Lord Christ," "The Lady St. Mary;" &c. also upon the veneration and devotion paid to Mary, and the efficacy ascribed to relics and emblems. Whatever force there may be in these objections, they can only apply to some portions of the gospel, and to some of its phraseology, which may have been introduced by a copyist or a translator.

2. It is referred to by Irenæus, [A. D. 190], in an unmistakable manner.

He claims it was a forgery of the Marcosians, of the second century, and relates with much particularity, the scene between Jesus and the school master.[1]

3. It is alluded to by Origen, [A. D. 230], as the Gospel of Thomas.[2] Also by Epiphanius, [385],[3] by Eusebius, [325],[4] by Cyril, [375],[5] and by Athanasius. [373.]

It is possible that some of the miracles in Egypt, may have been added by a later hand, to a changed version of the Gospel of Thomas. Epiphanius, however, refers to the miracles performed by Jesus in his childhood, and does not discredit them. He says:

"Christ wrought his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, the third day after he began to preach; for Christ is not said to have been at the marriage before his temptation. Nor did he work any miracles, or preach any sermons before that time, except some things which some say he did at play, when a child. And indeed it was fit some things should be done by him in his childhood, that there might not be any foundation for the assertion of those heretics, who say that Christ did not come upon him till he was baptized, in Jordan, in the form of a dove."—*Hær.* 51. 20.

Both Eusebius and Athanasius relate, that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt, they took up their abode in Hermopolis, a city of Thebais, in which was a superb temple of Serapis. When Joseph and Mary entered the temple, not only the great idol, but all the lesser gods fell down before them.[6]

It is agreed by Origen, Jerome and many others, that the Gospel of the Infancy, or the Gospel of Thomas, was one of "the many," referred to in Luke.

Jones, who has made an elaborate attack upon the Gospel of the Infancy, pronouncing its miracles absurd

(1.) Adv. Hær. 1. 20. (2.) In Luc. 1. 1.
(3.) Hær. 51. 20. (4.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 25.
(5.) Hier. Catech. 4, p. 38.
(6.) Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 6, c. 20; Athan. de Incarn. Verbi, p. 89.

and ridiculous, concedes, nevertheless, that the original of this gospel was written early in the second century.[1]

In the Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, one of the Greek fathers, who wrote A. D. 439, will be found the following reference to some of the incidents connected with the residence of Christ in Egypt.

"At Ermopolis in Thebais, is a tree called Persea, of which the branches, the leaves, and the least portion of the bark, are said to heal disease, when touched by the sick. It is related by the Egyptians, that when Joseph fled with Christ and Mary, the Holy Mother, from the wrath of Herod, they went to Ermopolis; and as they were entering the city, this tree bent down, and worshiped Christ. I relate precisely what I have heard, from many sources, concerning this tree. I think that this was the sign of the presence of God, in the city; or perhaps, as seems most probable, it may have arisen from the fear of the demon, who had been worshiped in this large and beautiful tree, by the people of the country, for at the presence of Christ, the idols of Egypt were shaken, even as Isaiah the prophet had foretold. On the expulsion of the demon, the tree was permitted to remain as a monument to what had occurred, and was endued with the property of healing those who believed. The inhabitants of Egypt and of Palestine, [referring to another event which he had related, also], testify to the truth of these events which took place among themselves."—*Sozomen's Ecc. Hist. bk.* 5, *ch.* 21.

Such is the testimony, and such are the conclusions, of one of the more moderate of the ancient ecclesiastical historians. There were many miracles ascribed to Jesus, which were fully accredited by the fathers, for several centuries. Those not contained in the canonical gospels, became after a while, first doubted, then discredited; the miracles related in those gospels only, being considered finally worthy of belief.

(1.) Jones on the New Testament, vol. 2. p. 259.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, COMPARED WITH LUKE AND MATTHEW.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY ONE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE COMPILATIONS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW—THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF THOSE GOSPELS AND THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY COMPARED.

In regard to the taxing, &c., the parallel passage in the Protevangelion, has already been given. The following is the parallel with the Infancy:

THE TAXING, AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, ch. 2.	GOSPEL OF LUKE, ch. 2.
In the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, Augustus published a decree, that all persons should go to be taxed, into their own country.	And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.
Joseph therefore arose, and with	2. And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.
	3. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.
Mary his spouse, he went to Jerusalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed, in the city of his fathers.	4. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David.)
["When they came by the cave," they stopped, and there Jesus was born.]	5. To be taxed, with Mary, his espoused wife, being great with child. (Christ was then born in Bethlehem.)

This reference to "the cave," as something well understood, indicates that the writer of the Infancy was familiar with the Protevangelion.

VISION TO THE SHEPHERDS.

INFANCY, ch. 4.

After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were rejoicing exceedingly, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the Supreme God. As the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ.

LUKE, ch. 2.

8. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night.

9. And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them; and they were sore afraid.

10. And the angel said unto them, fear not; for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

11. For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Savior, who is Christ the Lord.

12. And this shall be a sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger.

13. And suddenly there was with the angel, a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying:

14. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, good will toward men.

15. And it came to pass as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known to us.

16. And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.

The account in the Gospel of the Infancy, though sufficiently marvelous, has much the more natural surroundings.

Mary, on her way to Bethlehem,not being able to continue the journey, stops at a cave, used by shepherds for herding cattle. Here Jesus is born. In the mean time, the shepherds, returning to the cave, build a fire, and as they come to understand the nature of the transaction, they unite in praises to God, in which they are joined by the heavenly host of angels.

In Luke, Jesus is born in Bethlehem, and the shepherds, who are in the field, are informed by an angel

of the birth of a Savior, and that he is lying in a manger; but they are left to find the place the best way they can. Then the heavenly host, instead of appearing where Jesus was, is made to appear to the shepherds in the field.

It is manifest that the story has been taken from its natural setting, in order that Jesus might be born at Bethlehem, in fulfillment of the prophecy of Micah.

THE CIRCUMCISION.

INFANCY, ch. 5.	LUKE, ch. 2.
And when the time of circumcision was come, viz. the eighth day, on which the law commanded that a boy should be circumcised. they circumcised him in the cave, &c.	21. And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

Here again, it may be well to note the remarks of Shleiermacher. He says:

"What we read from 22 to 40 in chapter 2, respecting the presentation of the child in the temple, which was combined with the purification of his mother, seems also to have been originally related and committed to writing, without connection with the preceding passage; for at the end, mention is made of the return to Nazareth, just as though the parents had come from that place to Jerusalem, without notice being taken by a single word, of their residence up to that time in Bethlehem, which would nevertheless have been so easy and natural. This narrative, therefore, knows nothing of that residence. Only I would not on that account understand the surprise of Mary at the language of Simeon, as implying that she herself did not know yet who her son was."—*Essay on Luke*, *p.* 39.

While the narrative of the vision to the shepherds, as contained in Luke, had a basis in the Gospel of the Infancy, there had been a wide departure from the story as there given, and much new matter introduced, showing that the whole account had been re-written.

In the following, however, it will not be difficult to perceive, that we have but different versions of the same narrative:

INFANCY, chs. 5 and 6.

Ten days having intervened, they brought him to Jerusalem; and on the fortieth day of his birth, they presented him in the temple before the Lord, making offerings for him, according to what is prescribed in the law of Moses, to wit: Every male who openeth the womb, shall be called the holy of God.

Then old Simeon saw him shining as a pillar of light, when the Lady Virgin Mary, his mother, was carrying him in her arms, and rejoicing exceedingly, over him. And angels, praising him, stood around him in a circle, like life-guards standing by a king.

Then Simeon, going up before Lady Mary, and stretching out his hands before her, said to the Lord Christ, Now, O my Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen thy mercy,

Which thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples.

A light to all nations, and a glory to thy people Israel.

Hannah, a prophetess, was also present, and drawing near, she gave

LUKE, ch. 2.

22. And when the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord.

23. (As it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb, shall be called holy to the Lord.)

24. And to offer a sacrifice, according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons.

25. And behold there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

26. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

27. And he came by the spirit into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law,

28. Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:

29. Lord now lettest thou thy servant go in peace, according to thy word.

30. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation

31. Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people.

32. A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

33. And Joseph and his mother marveled at those things which were spoken of him.

34. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set, &c.

35. Yea, a sword shall pierce, &c.

36. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser; she was of great age, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity.

37. And she was a widow of about four-score and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers, night and day.

INFANCY, ch. 6.

thanks to God, and celebrated the happiness of Lady Mary.

LUKE, ch. 2.

38. And she, coming in that instant, gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.

INFANCY, ch. 50.

And when he was twelve years old, they took him to Jerusalem, to the feast.

And when the feast was finished, they indeed returned, but the Lord Jesus remained behind, in the temple, among the doctors and elders, and learned men of the sons of Israel; to whom he put various questions in the sciences, and gave them answers in his turn.

[The balance of chapter 50 and the whole of chapters 51 and 52 are taken up with an account of this discussion. It is stated that Jesus explained the books of the law and the mysteries of the prophets; also the sciences of astronomy, philosophy, &c. But the particular explanations are not given.]

CHAPTER 53.

While they were speaking to each other these and other things, the Lady St. Mary came, after having been going about for three days, with Joseph, seeking for him. She therefore, seeing him sitting among the doctors, asking them questions, and answering in his turn, said to him, My son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, I and thy father have sought thee, with much trouble.

LUKE, ch. 2.

41. Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the passover.

42. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast.

43. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.

44. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance.

45. And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.

46. And it came to pass, that after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.

47. And all who heard him, were astonished at his understanding and answers.

48. And when they saw him, they were amazed; and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee, sorrowing.

INFANCY, ch. 53.	LUKE, ch. 2.
He replied, Wherefore did ye seek me? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's house? But they understood not the word which he spake unto them.	49. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not, that I must be about my father's business?
	50. And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.
Then the doctors asked Mary whether he was her son. And when she signified that he was, they said, O happy Mary, who hast brought forth such a son.	51. And he went down with them,
Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things; and his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.	and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them; but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.
And the Lord Jesus grew in stature and wisdom and in favor with God and man.	52. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.

The foregoing accounts are closely parallel, with no particular inference, as to which was first written.

The next chapter of the Infancy is as follows:

CH. 54. "But from this time, he began to conceal his miracles and secret works, and gave himself to the study of the law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year; at which time the Father publicly owned him at Jordan, sending down this voice from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; the Holy Ghost being also present, in the form of a dove."

Passing on to the Gospel of Matthew, the parallel commences with the 7th chapter of the Infancy, and the 2d chapter of Matthew, as follows:

VISIT OF THE MAGI.

INFANCY, ch. 7.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, in the time of Herod the King, behold, wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, as Zoradascht [in the Ante-Nicene copy, Zeraduscht], had predicted; and there were with	Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the King, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem,
	2. Saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.
	[Verses 3 to 10 have a parallel in the Protevangelion, which has been given.]

INFANCY, ch. 7.

them gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And they adored him, and presented to him their gifts.

Then the Lady Mary took one of those swaddling-clothes, (in which the infant was wrapped), and gave it to them instead of a blessing; which they received from her as a most noble present. And in the same hour, there appeared unto them an angel in the form of that star, which had before been their guide in their journey; and they went away, following the guidance of its light, till they returned into their own country.

[On their return, having made a fire and worshiped it, they cast in the swaddling-cloth, which remained unharmed by the fire.]

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshiped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh.

12. And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country, another way.

It will be noticed, that according to the Infancy Gospel, the visit of the magi was made in accordance with the prophecy of Zoradascht. (Zoroaster.)

The reference to the prophecy of Zoroaster cannot well be explained, except on the hypothesis, that the Gospel of the Infancy was first written.

THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT.

INFANCY, ch. 9.

But Herod, perceiving that the wise men did delay, and not return to him, called together the priests and wise men, and said, Tell me in what place, the Christ is to be born. And when they replied, In Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, he began to contrive in his mind, the death of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Then appeared an angel of the Lord to Joseph in his sleep, and said, Arise, take the boy and his mother and go into Egypt, at the crowing of the cock. So he arose and went.

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

13. And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying: Arise and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt; and be there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child, to destroy him.

14. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother, by night, and departed into Egypt.

[Here follows the passage of Hosea, ch. 11, v. 1, referring to the calling of Israel out of Egypt, which is applied, as a prophecy, to this transaction.]

In reply to the enquiry of Herod, as to the place where the Christ was to be born, the priests and wise men said, In Bethlehem. Yet, according to the Infancy Gospel, he was born on the road, before his parents reached Bethlehem. (According to the Protevangelion. three miles distant.) The author of Luke, perceiving this inconsistency, has Christ born in the village of Bethlehem. But in so doing, as has been seen, he is obliged to break up the consecutive incidents, and, in several respects, to reconstruct the narrative.

The slaughter of the children is mentioned in the Protevangelion, but not in the Infancy, in this connection.

In the twelfth chapter, there is a reference to it, as also, to the prophecy of Micah, thrown in, in the midst of the miracles wrought in Egypt. It is, doubtless, an interpolation.

Josephus, though he enlarges upon the cruelties of Herod, says nothing of the slaughter of the children.

The account can scarcely be considered historical. It must be looked upon as legendary, and probably first appeared in the Protevangelion.

THE RETURN FROM EGYPT.

INFANCY, ch. 26.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
	19. But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream, to Joseph in Egypt,
	20. Saying: Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead, who sought the young child's life.
At the end of three years, he returned out of Egypt; and when he came near to Judæa, Joseph was afraid to enter; for, hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son reigned in his stead, he was afraid; and when he went to Judæa, an angel	21. And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel.
	22. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither. Notwithstanding, being

INFANCY, ch. 26.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
of God appeared to him, and said: O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide. It is indeed wonderful, that the Lord of all countries should thus be carried about, through so many regions.	warned of God in a dream, he turned aside, into the parts of Galilee. 23. And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth.

In the foregoing comparisons, the reader must have noticed, that where, in the account of the birth and childhood of Jesus, as given in Luke and Matthew, there was no parallel in one of the apocryphal gospels, the history was, almost invariably, supplemented in the other. This will appear more plainly by the following arrangement, where the portions of each which contain parallel passages are indicated:

LUKE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT, AND THE VISIT TO ELIZABETH.

Protevangelion, chs. 11 and 12. — Luke, ch. 1, vv. 26 to 56.

THE TAXING, AND THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

Protevangelion, chs. 17 and 18. } Also, Infancy, chs. 2 and 3. } — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 1 to 7.

VISION TO THE SHEPHERDS.

Infancy, ch. 4. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 8 to 16.

CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS.

Infancy, ch. 5. — Luke, ch. 2, v. 21.

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

Infancy, chs. 5 and 6. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 22 to 38.

JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.

Infancy, chs. 50 to 53. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 41 to 52.

MATTHEW.

JOSEPH AND THE ANGEL.

Protevangelion, chs. 13 and 14. — Matthew, ch. 1, vv. 18 to 24.

VISIT OF THE MAGI, AND SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN

Protevangelion chs. 21 and 22. Also visit of the magi, Infancy, ch. 7.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 1 to 18.

FLIGHT TO EGYPT.

Infancy, ch. 7.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 13 to 15.

RETURN FROM EGYPT.

Infancy, ch. 26.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 19 to 23.

In considering the question of priority, it must be borne in mind, that these are, so far as is known, the only histories of the birth and childhood of Jesus, to be found in the ancient gospels. There was no such history, in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in the Gospel of Marcion, or in the Gospel of Tatian; nor have we any evidence that there was any such in the gospels still older, —those of the first century, or in any of the lost gospels of the second century.

On the hypothesis, that the Protevangelion and the Infancy were first written, it might be interesting to enquire, according to what rule or law, the selections were made by the authors of Luke and Matthew. Upon this point, we will venture to make a suggestion.

The Protevangelion and the Infancy were rude gospels. They were very inartificially constructed, and both of them contained accounts which were inconsistent and irreconcilable. They were inconsistent, not only with each other, but each with itself.

Looking at them together, we find, in endeavoring to trace the history of Jesus, that according to one account, he was taken from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, and publicly presented in the temple; thence to Nazareth, where he remained till his dispute with the doctors. The other account represented his parents fleeing with him, soon after his birth, from Bethlehem to Egypt, under a warning from an angel not to return by Jerusalem. These conflicting accounts, founded on different tra-

ditions, ran through the two gospels, indiscriminately.

Each of the compilers of Luke and Matthew, wishing to give, as a sort of preface to his gospel, a history of the birth and childhood of Christ, not too long, but one which would appear consistent in itself, selected, we may suppose, such portions of the other two gospels, as, in his judgment, would form such a history; the one adopting the theory of the presentation in the temple, and the other, the flight to Egypt. This would result in giving us, precisely what we have; two diverse, inconsistent, and utterly irreconcilable histories of the birth and childhood of Jesus.

"If we compare," says Schleiermacher, "without any prepossession, this (Luke, chs. 1 and 2), and the corresponding portion in Matthew, we have two parallel successions of narratives; parallel in the stricter sense of the word, inasmuch as they have no single point, that is, in this case, no entire fact, in common. They are not at all supplemental to each other, but on the contrary, the corresponding members of the two successions, almost entirely exclude each other. Hence, then, if in any one point, the narrative of the one evangelist is correct, that of the other, so far as it relates to the same epoch, cannot be so."—*Essay on Luke, pp.* 44, 45.

Again: "All attempts to reconcile these two contradictory statements, seem only elaborate efforts of art, to which one should not needlessly resort; or indeed, should rather give no explanation at all."—*Ibid.* p. 48.

Conceding them to be irreconcilable, he undertakes, by an ingenious process, to pick out the truth, a little here from Luke, and a little there from Matthew.

He thinks the accounts rest upon "a totally different tradition, one from the other."—[p. 48.]

In the Protevangelion and in the Infancy, the traditions are grouped together. In Luke and Matthew, they are separated.

In the next chapter, we shall endeavor to trace the origin and history of these traditions, and in so doing, some further light may be thrown upon the question of priority as between the two apocryphal and the two canonical gospels.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY.

We are now to search for the origin of the legendary accounts of the conception, birth and childhood of Jesus.

For the purpose of this investigation, the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Infancy may be considered together, as Gospels of the Infancy.

While in the subsequent history of the childhood of Christ, there are incidents which may be traced to other countries, there are certain leading features in the first part of the narrative, which stamp it as of Persian derivation. These are, the visit of the magi, guided by a star, and the fact that the visit was made in accordance with the prophecy of Zeraduscht, or Zoroaster.

This prophecy will be found in the life of Zoroaster, in Du Perron's translation of the Zend-Avesta.

Faber thinks the materials from which the Zend-Avesta was composed, were taken from heathen, rather than from Jewish sources, giving many reasons, based upon the peculiar construction of the legends of the Zend-Avesta. One of these peculiarities consists in the

association of a star with the deluge; a circumstance not to be found in the Mosaic account of the flood.

Taschter, the second man bull, of the creation, to whom was committed the charge of bringing on the deluge, was said to be a star, and his light is spoken of, as shining on high, during thirty days and thirty nights, while the waters of the deluge were increasing.

The star may be found in the mythology of other nations. Astarte consecrated at Tyre, a star, which she found falling from the sky. Electra, the mother of Dardanus, was one of the seven stars of the Pleiades, and was saved from a deluge, both in Arcadia and Samothrace.

The star is older, even than Zoroaster, and according to Faber, older than Hebrew tradition.

There were two Zoroasters. The first, spoken of by Greek writers, flourished, according to these authors, several thousand years before Christ. Pliny speaks of him as thousands of years before Moses; and from that writer and Aristotle, it may be concluded that he lived some six thousand years before Christ. Hermodorus, Hermippus, and Plutarch concur in dating him five thousand years before the siege of Troy.

The other Zoroaster flourished, according to Dr. Prideaux, in the time of Darius Hystaspes.[1] Sir William Jones agrees in assigning him to that period.

It was the opinion of the learned Mr. Faber, that there were two Zeraduschts, or Zoroasters, and that the primeval Zoroaster was none other, than Menu or Mahabad, or Buddha. He traces many analogies and resemblances between the ancient religions and mythologies of the Persians and the Hindoos, and thinks the Zend-Avesta a modern compilation, founded upon re-

(1.) Prideaux's Connect. pt. 1, b. 4, p. 219.

ligious books compiled by the second Zeraduscht; and those again, based upon more ancient legends, which were substantially identical with the older mythology of India.

He ably antagonizes the theory of Dr. Prideaux, that the accounts of the Zend-Avesta concerning the deluge and the ante-deluvial age, were taken from the Mosaic history.[1]

Malcolm, in his history of Persia, states that Zoroaster first introduced the worship of fire.

In the Recognitions, may be found an interesting tradition upon this subject.

Peter states that Zoroaster, being frequently intent upon the stars, and wishing to be esteemed a god among them, began to draw forth sparks from the stars, that he might astonish, as with a miracle, rude and ignorant men. That he attempted those things again and again, until he was set on fire, "and consumed by the demon himself, whom he accosted with too great importunity." That the men of his day, after this, extolled him all the more; raised a monument to his honor, and adored him as a friend of God, and one who had been removed to heaven, in a chariot of lightning. They then worshiped him as a living star; which, says the author of the Recognitions, is the meaning of the name; from 'zoe,' life, and 'aster,' star.

The star, which had previously been an object of worship, now became associated with Zoroaster.

But what about the prophecy, upon which was founded the legend of the magi?

In the life of Zoroaster, as given by Du Perron, in his translation of the Zend-Avesta, is an account of

(1.) Origin of Pagan Idolatry, by George Stanley Faber, B. D., Rector of Long-Newton, London, 1816, vol. 2, pp. 58 to 73.

the three prophetic sons of Zoroaster, who were to appear, according to the Pehlvian and Parsian books of the Persians, at successive periods of time. They were to be the result of immaculate conceptions, caused by the washing of virgins in the water, in which the wife of Zoroaster had bathed.

"The first is named Oschederbami. He will appear in the last millennium of the world. He will stop the sun for ten days and ten nights, and the second part of the human race will embrace the law, of which he will bring the 22nd portion.

"The second posthumous son of Zoroaster, is Oschedermah. He will appear 400 years after Oschederbami. He will stop the sun twenty days and twenty nights, and he will bring the 23rd part of the law, and the third part of the world will be converted."

This is somewhat different from the prophecy as given by Hyde, in his work on the religion of the ancient Persians. But the Oschedermah and the Oschederbami of Du Perron, are doubtless the same as the Oshanderbega and the Osiderbega of Hyde.[1]

Then follows, in Du Perron, this remarkable prophecy:[2]

"The third is named Sosiosch. He will be born at the end of the ages. He will bring the 24th part of the law; he will stay the sun thirty days and thirty nights, and the whole earth will embrace the law of Zoroaster. *After him will be the resurrection.* Behold what the books of the Parsees apprise us of the family of the legislator."—"*Vie de Zoroastre,*" *in the French translation of the Zend-Avesta, by Du Perron, Paris,* 1771, *vol.* 1, *pt.* 2, *p.* 45.

From Abulpharagius, we learn that the prophecy was connected with the appearance of a star, and the visit of magi.

(1.) See his work, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c. 31.

(2.) The following is the text of Du Perron:

"Le troisiéme est nommé Sosiosch. Il naitra a la fin des siécles, apportera le 24 Nosk de la Loi, arrêtera le Soleil trente jours, et trente nuits; & toute la terre embrassera la Loi de Zoroastre. Après lui se sera la résurrection. Voilà ce que les Livres des Parses nous apprennent de la famille de ce Législateur."

Zoroaster declared, says this writer, that in the latter days, a pure virgin would conceive, and that as soon as the child should be born, a star would appear, blazing even at noonday, with undiminished lustre.

"You my sons," exclaimed the seer, "will perceive its rising before any other nation. As soon, therefore, as you shall behold the star, follow it, whithersoever it shall lead you; and adore that mysterious child, offering your gifts to him, with profound humility. He is the Almighty Word, which created the heavens."—*Abulpharagius, according to Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c.* 3.

Here, from a writer vouched for by Faber, as high authority, we have, not only the immaculate conception, the star and the magi of Matthew, but also the Logos of John. The Rev. Mr. Faber considers thoroughly the question, whether this remarkable prediction was before or after the birth of Christ; and concludes it was a long time before. One reason why he rejects the idea of its being a subsequent forgery, is, that in the old Irish history, there was a Zeraduscht, associated with a similar prophecy, which was first delivered by a Daru or Druid of Bokhara.[1]

The same prophecy was, in the East, ascribed by Abulpharagius to a Zeraduscht who was actually a Daru or Druid of Bokhara. This coincidence is so singular, that Faber thinks it can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of an ancient emigration from Persia to Ireland, by the north-west passage, which carried the legend with it.[2]

Thus, in the prophecy of Zoroaster, we have the origin of the legend of the star and the magi, which appeared early in the second century, in the Infancy gospels, and thence became incorporated into the prefa-

(1.) As authority, see Vallancey's Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland, Collect. de Reb. Hibern. vol. 4, p. 202. (Chicago Library.)

tory chapters of Luke and Matthew. To which may be added, that there was a Christian sect called Prodiceans, whose leader, Prodicus, [about A. D. 120], boasted that they had the secret books of Zoroaster.[1]

Having traced to their source, the legends connected with the conception and birth of Jesus, and having found them associated with the central figure of Persian mythology, let us now go farther south, and see what light may be thrown upon the subsequent history, as given in the gospels of the Infancy; portions of which also, are to be found in Luke and Matthew; not forgetting, as we proceed, the intimate connection which existed between the ancient religions of Persia and India.

CHRISHNA.

In the history of Hindostan, by Rev. Thomas Maurice, vol. 2, will be found a complete history of Chrishna, the eighth incarnation of the Hindoo God Vishnu; translated by Mr. Maurice from the Bhagavat Purana, one of the sacred books of India.

Chrishna, according to Col. Todd, was born 1156 years before Christ.[2]

There are many other traditions, that might be collected from different writers, and thrown together, which would show a still closer resemblance between the narratives. But without going into these, except Baldæus, taking the translation of Mr. Maurice from the sacred Hindoo scriptures, we have the following parallel between Chrishna and Christ:

(1.) Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, bk. 1, ch. 15.
(2.) Annals and Antiquities of Rajust'han, vol. 1, p. 37.

CHRISHNA AND CHRIST.

BHAGAVAT PURANA.	GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY.
CHRISHNA	CHRIST
Was believed to be God incarnate, by a miraculous conception.	Was believed to be God incarnate, by an immaculate conception.
Was born in a dungeon.	Was born in a cave.
At the time of his birth, the walls of his chamber were illuminated.	The cave was filled with a great light, and seemed like a glorious temple.
At the time of his birth, a chorus of devatas, or angels, saluted the new-born infant.	At the time of his birth, a chorus of angels saluted the new-born infant.
Of royal descent.	Of royal descent.
As soon as born, had the power of speech. (According to Baldæus, Chrishna, immediately when born, conversed with his mother, soothing and comforting her.)	As soon as born, spoke to his mother, informing her of his divine character, his origin and destiny.
Cradled among shepherds.	Cradled among shepherds.
Cansa, the ruler of the country, fears the loss of his kingdom, and seeks the life of the infant.	Herod, the ruler of the country, fears the loss of his kingdom, and seeks the life of the infant.
The child is carried away by night, and concealed in a remote region.	The child is carried away by night, and concealed in a remote region.
Cansa is wroth, and issues an order for the slaughter of all the young children, throughout his kingdom.	Herod is wroth, and issues an order, for the slaughter of all the children of Bethlehem, from two years old, and under.
Has a combat with, and subdues a huge serpent, in his infancy.	Has several combats with serpents; overcomes them, and drives them out of persons possessed.
The serpent vomits streams of fire from his mouth and nostrils.	In one case, there issued forth, from one of his swaddling-clothes, flames and burning coals, and fell on the head of the serpent.
Performs many miracles in his infancy and boyhood.	Performs many miracles in his infancy and boyhood.
While a boy, raises the dead to life.	While a boy, raises the dead to life.
While a boy, strikes dead, persons who have offended him.	While a boy, strikes dead, persons who have offended him.
Was preceded by his elder brother, Ram, who was his associate in the work of purification, and was hurried away as soon as born, to escape the decree of Cansa.	Was preceded by John the Baptist, who was sent into the wilderness, to escape the decree of Herod.
Lived at Mathurea.	On his visit to Egypt, in his childhood, stopped at a place called Maturea. This name it afterward retained.
One of his first miracles, was curing a leper.	Among the first miracles, was the curing of lepers.
While a boy, is chosen by the other boys as their king.—[Baldæus.]	While a boy, is chosen by the other boys as their king.
Learns all the sciences, in one day and night.	While a boy, teaches the doctors and philosophers in the temple, the whole circle of the sciences.

This remarkable parallel, which leaves no room for doubt, that one of the narratives was drawn upon in the construction of the other, raises at once the question, which was first written? A question of the utmost importance; since if the Bhagavat Purana preceded the gospels of the Infancy, it could hardly be contended, at the same time, that it was subsequent to to Luke and Matthew.

It is considered, by evangelical writers, that the Infancy gospels were composed early in the second century, and the same writers do not now claim that the canonical gospels appeared much sooner. If, therefore, the Hindoo production was long anterior to that time, the only question remaining would be, whether the parallelisms between the life of Chrishna, and that of Christ as recorded in Luke and Matthew, were taken direct from the Bhagavat Purana, or through the medium of the Infancy gospels.

The Rev. Mr. Maurice, who fully appreciated the importance of the question, and saw that in discussing it, the gospels must all be considered together, would have his readers believe, that the Bhagavat Purana was interpolated, "both from the real and the spurious gospels." [1]

In advocating this theory, however, he found himself embarrassed by the fact, that in various places in this and others of his works, he had contended for the great antiquity of the Hindoo books, and had repeatedly hinted at the absurdity of supposing that the Brahmins would ever "descend so far from the conscious superiority of mental distinction" to which they laid claim, as to receive instruction, either in regard

(1.) Volume 2, p. 320.

to the rites of religion, or the principles of science, from aliens.

But while he did not entertain for a moment, the idea, that the Indian philosophers had taken any thing from Greece or Arabia, from a mythology much akin to their own; and while he believed many of the Indian legends to be older than the oldest of Greece, he found no difficulty in supposing that eastern magi would travel a year or more, in search of a king of the Jews; would fall down and worship him, and on their return, would incorporate accounts concerning him, into their own sacred scriptures.

He overlooked the fact, that the prophecy of Zoroaster, in which the magi had been instructed, had no reference to a Jewish king, or to the Jewish people.

What are the facts, upon which an intelligent opinion upon the subject, is to be based? The original Gospel of the Infancy was attributed to the apostle and evangelist, Thomas. In this connection, we cannot ignore the ancient tradition of the church, that Thomas was a missionary to Parthia, and to India. According to that tradition, and the testimony of the fathers, when the distribution was made by the apostles, of the several regions of the Gentile world, in which they were respectively to preach the gospel, the vast district of Parthia, and the more eastern empires of Asia, were allotted to Thomas. He visited the various countries then constituting the Parthian empire: that is, Media, Persia, Carmania, Hyrcania and Bactria. The capital of Bactria was Balkh, the ancient residence of the magi. Here, according to eastern tradition, he had an interview with the sages, and the tradition does not fail to say, he converted them.[1]

(1.) See a work entitled, 'Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum,' hom. 2. This "Imperfect Commentary on Matthew," was written about A. D. 560.

From Parthia, St. Thomas is said to have visited India. It is not claimed that he converted the Brahmins, but it is thought the Brahmins may have profited by his visit, to interpolate their sacred books, from his instructions!

But how did it happen, that after St. Thomas returned, there appeared among the Christians of Palestine, and countries west of it, a Gospel of Thomas, full of stories so closely resembling the legends of the Bhagavat Purana? If the interpolations were made by the Brahmins, how was it, that this gospel appeared after the interpolations, and not before?

In confirmation of the visit of Thomas to India, it is related by Maffæus, that at Cranganor, on the Malabar coast, St. Thomas instituted an order of Christians, still known by his name, and which boasts to retain the records of their institution, and a grant of land to St. Thomas, their pastor, from the reigning king of India.[1]

The records and grant were engraved on tablets of brass, which had been lost for centuries, but were dug up, during the vice-royalty of Don Alfonsa Sonsa, one of the early governors of Portuguese India.

Thomas is said to have been murdered at Meliapoor; from which circumstance, it was afterward called St. Thome.

The conclusion must be, that while for some of the salient points of the Gospels of the Infancy, the authors were indebted to Zoroaster, and the legends of Persia, the outline of the story was largely filled up from the history of Chrishna, as sent back to Palestine, by the Apostle Thomas, from the land of the Brahmins.

(1.) History of India, l. 2, p. 85.

As to the slaughtered infants, there was discovered, in a cavern at Elephanta, in India, a sculptured representation, of great antiquity, of a huge and ferocious figure, bearing a drawn sword, and surrounded by slaughtered infants, while mothers were weeping for their slain.[1]

Antiquity of the Bhagavat Purana.

The Puranas are eighteen in number. The fifth, which was translated by Maurice, is the Bhagavata. The legends concerning Chrishna appear, in substantially the same form, in several of the others.

Those who may wish to examine further as to the antiquity of these books, will find the whole subject thoroughly and ably discussed, in a correspondence between Col. Vans Kennedy, and Prof. Horace H. Wilson, author of a translation of the Vishnu Purana.

The correspondence is in the form of five letters from Col. Kennedy, the reply of Prof. Wilson, and rejoinder of Kennedy. It was published originally, in the London Asiatic Journal, for 1840 and 1841, and was republished in the Appendix to the 5th volume of the work of Prof. Wilson.[2]

This writer inclines to the opinion, that the Puranas, in their present form, are modern compilations; and gives some countenance to the theory, though he does not fully endorse it, that the Bhagavata was written by one Bopadeva, as late as the twelfth century.

This position is opposed, with great ability, by Col. Kennedy, who reminds the learned author of the

(1.) See Forbe's Oriental Memoirs.

(2.) The Vishnu Purana: A System of Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanscrit, by Horace Hayman Wilson, F. R. S. &c., London, 1864.

'Vishnu Purana,' that he had himself, in his Preface to that work, stated, that there is "abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they [the Puranas] teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era." [1]

This concession, Col. Kennedy thinks, leaves it comparatively unimportant when the Puranas assumed the exact form they now have. The word 'Purana' itself signifies 'old,' thus indicating the character of the contents. He maintains, however, that they are now essentially the same that they were two thousand years ago.

"It is unquestionable," says Col. Kennedy, "that certain works called Puranas, have been immemorially considered by the Hindus, as sacred books. They inculcated the doctrines of the Hindu religion."

And proceeding to consider the theory which had been advanced as to the authorship of the Bhagavata Purana, he says:

"If the Bhagavata was written by Bopadeva, at Doulutabad, in the twelfth century, was the original Bhagavata then in existence or not? If it was, what reason, consistent with probability, can be assigned, for supposing that the Brahmins of all India would have suppressed one of their sacred books, to which they ascribed a divine origin, and received, as entitled to the same reverence, the acknowledged composition of an obscure grammarian? The supposition is evidently absurd."—*Appendix to vol.* 5, *of Vish. Pur. by Wilson, p.* 278.

He concludes, "that the present Puranas are, in fact, in all essential respects, the same works which were current, under that name, in India, in the century prior to the Christian era."

(1.) Vishnu Purana, &c., by H. H. Wilson, Pref. p. 99.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

It has been supposed that Pilate made a report to Tiberius Cæsar, of the crucifixion of Christ, and of the circumstances attending it.

Frequent references to such a report, were made by early Christian writers, who called it "The Acts of Pilate." That Justin Martyr [A. D. 150], made frequent allusions to a book or writing of some sort, entitled "The Acts of Pilate," will be seen in a subsequent chapter. [See Justin Martyr.]

Some writers have thought that he alluded to the original report, supposed to have been made to Cæsar. It will be seen however, that he must have alluded to a gospel then in circulation, entitled "The Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus:" since his citations not only were in that gospel, but were such as would not have been in any report made by Pontius Pilate himself. It is possible, that he was not able to distinguish between them, or did not care to do so. He was not a critical writer.

The fact that one of the early gospels was confounded by the Christians themselves, with the report of Pi-

late, renders the existence of such a report, somewhat problematical; although it would have been in accordance with the mode of procedure in such cases, that a report should have been made.

Tertullian, some sixty years later than Justin, refers to it several times; but not in a manner sufficiently definite, to determine whether or not, he distinguishes it from the gospel. He says:

"Tiberius, accordingly, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine, of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favor of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Cæsar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians."—*Apology, ch.* 5, *Ante-Nicene, vol.* 11, *p.* 63.

Speaking of the darkness at the time of the crucifixion, he says:

"You yourselves have the account of the world portent, still in your archives."—*Apol. ch.* 21; *Ant. Nic. vol.* 11, *p.* 94.

The account of the darkness at the crucifixion, was in the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate. Whether Tertullian, like Justin Martyr, alluded to this, assuming that it was the same as the Romans had in their archives, or whether he referred to another document, it is impossible to determine. Again, he says:

"All these things Pilate did to Christ; and now in fact a Christian in his own conviction, he sent word of him to the reigning Caesar, who was at the time, Tiberius."—*Ibid. ch.* 21, *p.* 95.

It would be very important to ascertain, whether there was any report of Pilate. That there was such a report, was the general opinion of the fathers; Eusebius, Jerome and others. Also of Grotius, Bishop Pearson, Spanheim, Fabricius, and modern writers generally. But these opinions are all founded upon the testimony of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. The writings

of these fathers throw no light upon the subject; every thing referred to by them being contained in the gospel. The report, if any ever existed, could not have contained much in common with the gospel. For instance, would Pilate, in describing the crucifixion, have quoted from the Jewish scriptures, and said, "Upon his vesture they cast lots?"

Le Clerk, Jones and others conclude, with good reason, that if there was such a report, neither Justin or Tertullian had ever seen it, nor any subsequent Christian writer.

Eusebius supposes the heathens forged Acts of Pilate to bring the Christian religion into disrepute; a thing in the highest degree improbable.

An attempt has lately been made, to reproduce the original Report of Pilate. This will be considered in another chapter.

The Acts of Pilate—Abstract of Contents.

Chapter 1.—Annas and Caiaphas, and eight others, who are named, went to Pilate, accusing Jesus of many crimes; declaring they were satisfied that he was the son of Joseph the carpenter, and that he declared himself the Son of God, and a king. Also that he attempted a dissolution of the sabbath, and of the laws of their fathers.

Pilate enquired what Jesus had done?

The Jews replied, that he worked cures on the sabbath, contrary to their law; that he cured the lame and the deaf, those afflicted with the palsy, the blind, the lepers, and demoniacs; by wicked methods.

Pilate sent a messenger after Christ. When the messenger met him, he worshiped him, and spread his cloak for Jesus to walk upon. The Jews complained of this act of the messenger. When Pilate asked him why he had done it, he replied, "When thou sentest me from Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw Jesus, sitting in a mean figure, upon a she-ass, and the children of the Hebrews cried out, 'Hosanna;' holding boughs in their hands; others spread their garments in the way, and said, 'Save us, thou who art in heaven; blessed

is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.' " The messenger was again sent, and did as before. "And as Jesus was going in by the ensigns who carried the standards, the tops of them bowed down, and worshiped Jesus." This was repeated, in the presence of Pilate.

CH. 2.—Pilate's wife sent to him, saying: "Have nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered much concerning him in a vision, this night."

Pilate, then calling Jesus, said: "Hast thou heard what they testify against thee, and makest no answer?" Jesus replied, "If they had not the power of speaking, they would not have spoken; but because every one has the command of his own tongue, to speak both good and bad, let them see to it."

The elders of the Jews charged him with being born through fornication; also that on account of his birth, the infants were slain in Bethlehem, and his father and mother fled into Egypt, because they could not trust the people. Others of the Jews spoke more favorably, among whom a number are named, including James and Judas. (These are the only names that correspond with those of the twelve apostles.) Then Pilate ordered all to go out, except the twelve, and Jesus to withdraw. He then asked the twelve, why the Jews wished to kill Jesus. They replied, that they were angry, because he wrought cures on the sabbath.

CH. 3.—Scenes between Jesus and Pilate. [See next chapter of this work.] The closing conversation is as follows:

"Pilate saith to him, 'What is truth?' Jesus said, 'Truth is from heaven.' Pilate said, 'Truth, therefore, is not on earth?' Jesus replied, 'Believe that truth is on earth, among those who, when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form their judgment aright.' "

CH. 4.—Scenes between Pilate and the Jews. Pilate finding no fault in Jesus—the report of the Jews as to what Jesus had said about the temple—Pilate declaring himself innocent of the blood of Jesus, &c.

"Then the governor again commanded the Jews to depart out of the hall; and calling Jesus, said to him, 'What am I to do with thee?' Jesus answered him, 'According as it is written.' Pilate said to him, 'How is it written?' Jesus answered, 'Moses and the prophets made known beforehand, concerning my suffering and resurrection.'

The Jews, hearing this, were enraged, and said to Pilate, "Why will you longer listen to his blasphemy?" Pilate said to them, "If these words seem to you blasphemous, take him, bring him before your synagogue, and try him

according to your law." The Jews said to Pilate, "It is contained in our law, that if one man has sinned against another, he is worthy of nine and thirty stripes; but when he has blasphemed in this manner, against the Lord, he is to be stoned."

Pilate replied, "If this speech is blasphemy, then judge him according to your law." The Jews said, "Our law commands us not to put any one to death. [The preceding sentence in some copies, only.] We desire that he may be crucified, because he is worthy of the death of the cross." Pilate said to them, "It is not proper to crucify him. Let him be whipped and sent away."

"The governor, looking upon the people, and upon the Jews standing around, saw many of the Jews in tears; and said to the foremost of the Jewish priests, 'Not all of the multitude wish him to die.' The Jewish elders said to Pilate, 'We and the whole multitude came hither for this purpose, that he should die.' Pilate said to them, 'Wherefore should he die?' They replied, 'Because he declares himself the Son of God, and a king.'"

Ch. 5.—But Nicodemus, a certain Jew, stood before the governor, and said: "I entreat thee, O merciful Judge, that thou wouldst deign to hear me a few words." Pilate said to him, "Speak on."

Nicodemus said, "I have spoken to the elders of the Jews, and the scribes, the priests and the Levites, and to the whole multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, and have asked them what they would do with this man? He is a man who has done many useful and glorious signs and wonders, such as no man on earth has done, or can do. Dismiss him, and do him no harm. If he is from God, his wonderful works will stand. But if from men, they will come to naught. Thus Moses," &c. [Alluding to the miracles wrought in Egypt, by Jannes, Jambres, &c.]

The Jews became angry at Nicodemus for interfering. Colloquy between them and Nicodemus.

Ch. 6.—"Another certain one of the Jews, rising up, asked the Governor, that he would hear him a word. The governor said, 'Whatever thou hast to say, say.'" [Here follows an account of the miracle at the sheep-pool. See next chapter.]

And another certain Jew, coming forth, said: "I was blind," &c. [See next chapter.]

"And another Jew, starting forth, said: 'I was a leper,' &c. [See next ch.]

"And another Jew came forth and said, 'I was crooked, and he made me straight by his word.'"

CH. 7.—"And a certain woman named Veronica," &c. (See next chapter.)

Then follows from another Jew, the account of the turning of water into wine; from another, the casting out of a devil at Capernaum.

"The following things were also said by a Pharisee:

"'I saw that a great company came to Jesus, from Galilee and Judea, and the sea coast, and many countries about Jordan; and many infirm persons came to him, and he healed them all. And I heard the unclean spirits crying out and saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' And Jesus strictly charged them that they should not make him known.'"

CH. 8.—"After this, another person, whose name was Centurio, said," &c. (See next chapter.)

"And many others, also, from the Jews, both men and women, cried out, saying:

"'He is truly the Son of God, who cures all diseases, only by his word; and to whom all the demons are subjected.' Some from among them said, 'This power is only from God.'

"Others said to Pilate, that he restored Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in the tomb."

"The governor, hearing these things, trembling, said to the multitude of the Jews, 'What will it profit you, to shed innocent blood?'"

Chapters 9, 10 & 11 give an account of the sentence of Jesus, and of the circumstances attending his crucifixion. [See next chapter.]

CH. 12.—The Jews, having heard that Joseph had begged and buried the body of Jesus, sought for Joseph and others, his companions and accomplices. They concealed themselves, all but Nicodemus. He showed himself boldly, and disputed with the Jews. Joseph also, afterward appeared, and expostulated with them. The elders of the Jews were enraged, "and seizing Joseph, they put him into a chamber, where was no window. They fastened the door, and put a seal upon the lock." They also placed a guard about it.

CH. 13.—When he was ordered brought forth, they found the same seal on the lock of the chamber, but could not find Joseph. While they were all wondering at this, one of the soldiers who had guarded the sepulcher, entered, and

reported, that while they were guarding the sepulcher, &c. [See next ch.]

"Then the Jews called together all the soldiers who kept the sepulcher of Jesus, and said to them, 'Who were those to whom the angel spoke? Why did ye not seize them?' The soldiers answering said, 'We know not who the women were; besides, we became as dead persons, through fear of the angel; and how could we seize the women?'"

The Jews do not believe the soldiers, and an altercation ensues between them. The soldiers say, "Do ye produce Joseph, whom ye put under guard in your chamber, and we will produce Jesus, whom we guarded in the sepulcher." The Jews gathered a large sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, &c. [See next chapter.]

Ch. 14.—Three persons came from Galilee to Jerusalem, and reported that they had seen Jesus in Galilee, talking with his eleven disciples, &c. [See next ch.] The chief priests gave these persons a large sum of money, and had them take oath not to declare what they had seen, and sent them back to their own country. The Jews were now in great consternation.

"But Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, saying: 'Why should we believe the soldiers?'" &c. [See next ch.]

Ch. 15.—On the advice of Nicodemus, men were sent into the mountains, to search for Jesus. They could not find him, but found Joseph. They induced him to return. He related his marvelous escape. Jesus had appeared to him in the room, and having liberated him, had shown him the tomb in which he had been laid, &c.

Ch. 16.—The Jews were astonished. They said, they knew the father and mother of Jesus. A certain Levite said, he knew his relations, &c.

Ch. 17.—Joseph related to the Jews, that the two sons of Simeon had risen from the dead, and were at Arimathea. He suggested visiting them, for the purpose of ascertaining some of the mysteries of their resurrection. Five persons then visited their graves, and found them open. They found them in the village, and brought them to Jerusalem, to the synagogue. They took the book of the law of the Lord, and swore them by the God Adonai, and the God of Israel, to tell them how they were raised from the dead, and what they had seen.

Charinus and Lenthius, the two sons of Simeon, called for paper, and wrote down the mysteries which they had experienced.

Gospel of Nicodemus. Part 2. The Descent into Hell. [Hades.]—This part of the gospel consists of the story thus written down, which is, briefly, as follows:

When they were in the depths of hell, suddenly there was a golden light, as of the sun. Adam then rejoiced; also Isaiah the prophet,' &c. Then their father Simeon came, and quoted what he said, when he took Jesus in his arms; the saints in hell then rejoiced; then came John the Baptist, like a little hermit. Seth appeared, and repeated a long speech of Michael. Then Satan, the prince and captain of death, announced to the prince of hell that Jesus was coming. The prince of hell and Satan made long speeches. While they were discoursing, there was heard a voice as of thunder. "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and the King of Glory shall come in."

The prince of hell prepared to resist, but the sound was repeated, and the mighty Lord appeared in the form of a man, lighting up the darkness. The King of Glory tramples upon death; seizes the prince of hell, and takes father Adam and the saints with him to glory. In exchange for the loss of Adam and his righteous sons, he gives Satan over to Beelzebub, the prince of hell, to be subject to his dominion forever.

Ch. 27.—"These are the divine and sacred mysteries, which we saw and heard." Thus say Charinus and Lenthius.

They, having written this all down, gave one copy to the Jewish priests, and one copy to Nicodemus and Joseph; "and immediately they were exchanged into exceeding white forms, and were seen no more."

"But immediately, all these things, which were related by the Jews in their synagogue, concerning Jesus, were directly told to the governor, by Joseph and Nicodemus, and Pilate wrote down all the transactions, and placed them all in the public records of the prætorium."

Ch. 28.—Pilate went to the temple, and calling together the rulers, and the scribes, and the doctors of the law, he stated that he had heard they had a large book in the temple, and he desired it to be brought.

When the great book, carried by four ministers of the temple, and adorned with gold and precious stones, was brought, Pilate adjured them to tell him, if they had found any thing in the scriptures, about Jesus coming for the salvation of the human race; and at what time of the world he should have come. Annas and Caiaphas being sworn, declared that they had found, in the first of the seventy books, where Michael the archangel, gave to the third son of Adam, an account concerning the appearance of Christ after 5500 years.

Here follows, in the copy of the gospel which we have adhered to, taken from the Orthodoxographa, vol. 1, tom. 2, p. 643, a list of chronological periods, footing up 4964 years. But in the Latin form of the gospel, published in the 16th volume of the Ante-Nicene collection, is a list of dates, which, after a slight correction, foots up, 5500 years.

The copy from the Orthodoxographa, closes with a formal ending, stating that these Acts of Christ were found, in the 19th year of Tiberius Cæsar, by the Emperor, Theodosius the Great, in Jerusalem, in the prætorium of Pontius Pilate, among the public records. That it was in the 17th year of Herod the Tetrarch, and in the 102d Olympiad. That the history was written in Hebrew, by Nicodemus.[1]

(1.) In the preface to the Latin form, it is stated, that the Acts were translated by Æneas, from the Hebrew, into the language of the Gentiles, in the 17th consulship of Theodosius, and the 5th consulship of Valentinian. That they had been written by Nicodemus, in Hebrew, in the 19th year of Tiberius.

The same copy closes by saying, that Pilate laid up a statement of the Acts of Christ in the public records of the prætorium, and wrote a letter to Claudius, stating that Jesus had been crucified, and referring to the miracles which he had wrought. Also, that he rose again the third day, while the soldiers were keeping guard.

CHAPTER XVI.

ACTS OF PILATE AND THE CANONICAL GOSPELS COMPARED.

Before instituting a comparison of these gospels, it will be necessary to consider more carefully, a custom which prevailed extensively in the first ages of the church, and especially in the first two centuries.

The prevailing religious excitement and enthusiasm, the trusting credulity and love of the marvelous, which were characteristic of the early Christians, led them to accept, unhesitatingly, what came to them, sanctioned by the authority of their bishops and teachers.

When the better educated among them were called upon to translate or to transcribe the religious writings of the day, they saw at a glance, what liberties had been taken with previous materials, and how readily the changes had been accepted. Accordingly, not with any improper motives, but for the purpose of edification, and of increasing, somewhat, the volume, not then very large, of current Christian literature, they made additions, more or less extensive, to the writings which they were copying or translating. This process, which may be termed literary accretion, prevailed so

extensively and universally, in those times, that it was the rule, rather than the exception; and must be constantly kept in view, in all investigations and discussions of Christian doctrine, as well as in the exegesis of the Christian scriptures.

This practice is well understood by ecclesiastical writers, as well as the disposition and habits of thought to which it is to be referred. "The ancient transcribers of the gospels," says Michaelis, "were always more inclined to insert new passages, than to erase what already exsisted." [1]

Many passages in the New Testament are thus to be accounted for; notably may be mentioned, the last twelve verses of the Gospel according to Mark; which are generally considered a later addition to the narrative. [2]

One of the most remarkable illustrations of the process of interpolation and accretion, is in the Ignatian Epistles. It is now established that the only genuine writings of Ignatius extant, are the Cureton Epistles. These consist of about twelve octavo pages. They were written, A. D. 115.

Twenty-five years later, these three epistles had increased from 12 pages to 20, while four new ones had appeared, making in all, 40 pages. Some time afterward, the 40 pages, which constituted the seven epistles, were found swollen to 60, while eight new epistles had appeared, adding 40 pages more, making 100 pages of the Epistles of Ignatius! These all

(1.) Volume 3, p. 169.

(2.) It is stated in the religious Encyclopedia of Mc Clintock and Strong, that one of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, the one called 'Codex Bezæ,' or the Cambridge manuscript, "is chiefly remarkable for its bold and extensive interpolations; amounting to some 600 in the Acts alone."—[Article 'Cambridge MS.']

passed as genuine, for hundreds of years. Here was a natural growth, from 12 pages to 100. They were all for edification. They all breathed the same spirit with the original epistles; some new doctrines had crept in; but no harm had been intended, and no great violence had been done to any thing but the truth of history.

While 88 pages had been added to the Ignatian Epistles, how many had been taken away? One half page, and that supposed to be by mistake, from the loss of the last half sheet of the MS.

Of the 150,000 various readings which Griesbach found in the manuscripts of the New Testament, probably 149,500 were additions and interpolations.

Prof. Abbott gives us a list of over 60 passages, in the New Testament, the genuineness of which the present Bible Revision Committee consider "more or less questionable." They include Mark, ch. 16, vv. 9 to 20, and John 8. 1 to 11; and if published together, would constitute, of themselves, a gospel of no mean dimensions. What part of the same space would be occupied by the portions which they will find to have been erased? Probably not one-hundredth.

In comparing the Gospels of the Infancy with Luke and Matthew, it was seen, that the changes were to be accounted for by other considerations.

Now, however, when we come to the miracles of Christ, which are given in the Acts of Pilate, on the one hand, and in the canonical gospels on the other, the principle is allowed full play, and can be applied, as internal evidence, tending to show which were first written.

The fact that in the Acts, the narratives are related to Pilate by Jews, testifying in behalf of their master, is no reason why the accounts should be shortened, but

rather the contrary. The witnesses would be anxious to have Pilate impressed with the details of the wonderful occurrences. If the writer of the Acts of Pilate, had before him the gospels containing these narratives, we may be assured he would have put into the mouths of the witnesses, every circumstance of an impressive character, contained in those accounts, and would probably have added others. Let us see if that was the case.

Some of the Miracles of Jesus.

TURNING WATER INTO WINE.

This miracle is related in only one of the four gospels; the Gospel according to John.

The comparison can be made between the Acts of Pilate, and the Gospel of John, with no disturbing forces from the other gospels, to be accounted for:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Gospel of John, ch. 2.
And after other things, a certain	And the third day, there was a marriage, in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there.
Jew said: I saw Jesus invited to a wedding with his disciples, and there	2. And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.
was a want of wine; in Cana of Galilee.	3. And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.
And when the wine was all drank, he commanded the servants, that they should fill six pots that were there,	4. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.
	5. His mother saith unto the servants Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.
	6. And there were set there, six water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece.
	7. Jesus saith unto them, fill the water-pots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.
with water; and they filled them up to the brim. And he blessed them, and turned the water into wine.	8. And he saith unto them, Draw out now and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.
And all the people drank, being surprised at this miracle.	9. When the ruler of the feast, had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was, (but the servants who drew the water knew), the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	John, ch. 2.
	10. And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now.
	11. This beginning of miracles did Jesus, in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him.

Which of the foregoing accounts was probably first written?

The process of accretion, which has been alluded to, has two modes of development. The one, by clothing the same facts in a more copious dress, the other, by the interpolation of additional facts.

Both these processes are here to be observed. Not only are the facts constituting the miracle, which, in the Acts of Pilate, are narrated in a plain, concise and impressive manner, enveloped in much additional and useless verbiage, in John, but also, two additional circumstances are inserted; the size of the water pots, and the fact, that the newly made wine was better than the other. If the author of the Acts had been acquainted with the Gospel of John, is it probable that he would have omitted these circumstances? Would they not have been mentioned, as calculated to impress Herod with the truth of the transaction?

The next miracle, also, is related only by John:

HEALING OF THE NOBLEMAN'S SON.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	John, 4. 46 to 54.
Then a certain nobleman said, I had a son at Capernaum, who lay at the point of death.	46. And there was a certain nobleman, whose son was sick at Capernaum.
And when I heard that Jesus was come into Galilee, I went and besought him, that he would come down to my house, and heal my son;	47. When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judæa into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down, and heal his son; for he was at the point of death.
For he was then about to die.	48. Then said Jesus unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.
	49. The nobleman saith unto him, Sir, come down, ere my child die.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	John, ch. 4.
He said to me, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And my son was cured, from that hour.	50. Jesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And the man believed the word that Jesus had spoken unto him, and he went his way.
	51. And as he was now going down, his servants met him, and told him, saying, Thy son liveth.
	52. Then enquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they said unto him, Yesterday, at the seventh hour, the fever left him.
	53. So the father knew that it was at the same hour in the which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth: and himself believed, and his whole house.
	54. This is again the second miracle that Jesus did, when he was come out of Judæa into Galilee.

The difference in the narrative consists, almost entirely, in the greater diffuseness of style and copiousness of detail, in John, with no new facts introduced of any importance. This difference indicates a later narrative in John. That the short paragraph in the Acts, should under the hand of the author of John, grow into the nine verses, would be in perfect accordance with the law of accretion, then prevailing.

The next miracle is related in Luke and Mark, but not in John or Matthew. The comparison will be made with the shorter narrative, in Luke.

CASTING OUT THE UNCLEAN DEVIL AT CAPERNAUM.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Luke, 4. 31 to 35.
And another Jew stood forth in the midst of them, and said:	31. And on the sabbath days, he taught them.
I saw Jesus in Capernaum, teaching in the synagogue; and there was in the synagogue, a certain man who had a devil.	32. And they were astonished at his doctrine; for his word was with power.
	33. And in the synagogue, there was a man who had a spirit of an unclean devil; and he cried out with a loud voice,
And he cried out, saying: Let me alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know that thou art the Holy One of God.	34. Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the Holy One of God.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Luke, 4. 31 to 35.
And Jesus rebuked him, and said to him, Hold thy peace unclean spirit, and come ont of the man. And presently he came out of him, and did not at all hurt him.	35. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

In the foregoing account, there is amplification in Luke. Not satisfied that the man should be possessed of a devil, the writer makes it "the spirit of an unclean devil;" and he has the devil, before leaving the man, "throw him in the midst." In Mark, where the narrative is longer, and the amplification still greater, the devil, when required to come out, is made to cry out with a loud voice.

HEALING OF THE LEPER.

The miracle is related in Luke, Mark and Matthew. The account in Matthew is almost exactly the same as that in Luke. Mark shows some evidence of additional accretion. The comparison will be continued with Luke:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	Luke, 5. 12, 13.
Another Jew, also coming forth, said:	12. And it came to pass when he was in a certain city, behold, a man full of leprosy; who seeing Jesus, fell on his face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.
I was a leper, and he cured me by his word only; saying, I will, be thou clean. And immediately I was cleansed from my leprosy.	13. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying: I will: be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

HEALING OF THE INFIRM MAN AT BETHESDA.

This miracle, again, is only related in John:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	John 5. 1 to 16.
Then another certain one of the Jews, rising up, desired of the governor, that he would hear him a word.	After this, there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.
The governor said, What thou wishest to say, say.	2. Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Bethesda; having five porches.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	John, 5. 1 to 16.
He said, I lay for thirty-eight years, by the sheep-pool at Jerusalem, suffering under a great infirmity. I was expecting a cure to come from the coming of an angel, who disturbed the water at a certain time. Whoever, after the troubling of the water, first descended into it, was made whole of every infirmity.	3. In these, lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water.
	4. For an angel went down at a certain season, into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first, after the troubling of the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.
	5. And a certain man was there who had an infirmity, thirty and eight years.
Jesus, finding me languishing there, said to me,	6. When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had been now a long time so, he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole?
Wilt thou be made whole? And I answered, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool.	7. The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool; but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me.
And he said unto me, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk.	8. Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed and walk.
And I was made whole, and immediately took up my bed, and walked.	9. And immediately, the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked.
[Here follows a colloquy concerning the sabbath, of the same general tenor as that in John, but much shorter.]	[Then follows a colloquy, concerning the sabbath, verses 10 to 16; varying in detail from that in the other gospel, and considerably longer.]

HEALING OF THE SERVANT OF CENTURIO, OR, THE SERVANT OF THE CENTURION.

The comparison will be made with Luke; the account in that gospel, being more nearly parallel. In Matthew, the narrative is somewhat shorter, but still twice as long, as in the Acts of Pilate.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Luke, ch. 7.
After this, a certain person whose	Now, when, [&c.], he entered into Capernaum.
name was Centurio, said:	2. And a certain centurion's servant,
I saw Jesus in Capernaum, and I entreated him, saying:	
Lord, my servant lieth at home, a paralytic.	who was dear unto him, was sick, and ready to die.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Luke, ch. 7.
And Jesus said to me, I will come and cure him. But I said,	3. And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him, that he would come, and heal his servant.
	4. And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly; saying that he was worthy, for whom he should do this.
	5. For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.
	6. Then Jesus went with them. And when he was not far from the house, the centurion sent friends unto him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself, for I am not worthy, that thou shouldst enter under my roof.
Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldst come under my roof; But only speak the word, and my servant shall be healed.	7. Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.
And Jesus said unto me, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.	8. For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers; and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
And the servant was healed, from that same hour.	9. When Jesus heard these things, he marveled at him, and turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.
	10. And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the servant whole, that had been sick.

Here, the account in Luke, is nearly three times as long as that in the other gospel.

It is manifest, also, that one of the historians made a mistake in the person upon whose servant the miracle was performed; a mistake arising from the use of the word Centurio, or centurion.

In which gospel, was the mistake probably made?

If the Acts of Pilate was written last, and the author had at first mistaken the word centurion for the name of the person, he would, as he proceeded with the nar-

rative, discover his mistake, by noticing the character of the person, and his military position, as a commander of men. On the other hand, if Luke was last written, it would be very natural for the author to suppose, inasmuch as Centurio was an unusual name, that centurion was intended. And having once made the change, either by mistake or otherwise, he would naturally, in the usual process of interpolation, make additions to the narrative, illustrative of the peculiar position occupied by the person upon whom the miracle was wrought, and of the willingness of Jesus to cure Gentiles as well as Jews.

THE HEALING OF VERONICA.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 7.	LUKE, 8. 43 to 48. [Shortest form.]
And a certain woman, Veronica by name, said:	43. And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, who had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed of any,
I was flowing with blood for twelve years; and I touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately the flowing of my blood stopped.	44. Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment: and immediately, her issue of blood stanched.
[Note. The name of the woman is not given, in the first Greek form of the Acts of Pilate, as published in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 16, pp. 125 to 148.]	[Then follow four verses, giving a conversation concerning the matter, between Jesus, the people and the woman.]

According to Eusebius, this woman erected a statue to the honor of Christ, on account of the miracle.[1]

The historian says, the woman lived at Cæsarea Philippi; that her house was to be seen in his time, and several monuments of the miracle. That near her house was a brazen statue of the woman, fixed on a pedestal of stone, in the posture of a suppliant, on bended knees, with outstretched hands. Opposite to it, made of the same metal, was the statue of a man, in a standing posture, with a cloak over his shoulders, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of

(1.) Ecclesiastical History, 7. 18.

this statue, at the very base of the column, grew a certain unknown herb, which, growing up to the hem of the garment, was a present remedy, so said Eusebius, for all sorts of distempers. This statue was said to be like Christ. "It continued," says Eusebius, "to my time, and I went to that city, and saw it myself."

Sozomen, the historian, [A. D. 439], mentions the same story, and says that Julian, the apostate, took down the statue, and placed his own in the room of it. He adds, that a fire from heaven smote the statue erected by Julian, and took off the head and neck, and fixed it in the earth; where it continued to his day, looking black, as if it had been burnt by lightning.[1]

The statue is also mentioned by the historian, Cassiodorus, [A. D. 550], by Theophylact, Epiphanius and Nicephorus. Also by Asterius, a writer of the fourth century, who says it was removed by the Emperor Maximus.[2]

Lubke, who was unacquainted with this tradition, or did not give credit to it, speaks of the first statue of Christ, as having been erected by Alexander Severus.[3]

It is said, also, that the second picture of Christ ever taken, (the first being the one sent by him to Abgarus, King of Edessa), was stamped or impressed upon the handkerchief of Veronica. That when Jesus was led to his crucifixion, Veronica, who followed him, put a handkerchief to his face, on which Christ impressed his picture. This is attested by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, [A. D. 300], Constantius Porphyrogenitus, and others.[4]

(1.) Sozomen's Ecc. History, 5. 21.
(2.) See Photius, Bib. Cod. 272, p. 1507.
(3.) History of Art, vol. 1, 3d Ed. p. 306.
(4.) See Durant, de Retib. Cath. Eccles. l. 1, c. 5:
"Altera Christi imago sudario Veronicæ impressa fuit: cum enim Christus ad crucifigedum duceretur, Veronica, quæ Christum sequebatur, faciei suda-

CURING BLIND BARTIMEUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	Luke, 18. 35 to 43.
And a certain other Jew, rising up,	35. And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side, begging:
said: I was blind; could hear sounds, but could see no one.	
And as Jesus was going along, I heard the multitude passing by, and I asked what was there? They told me	36. And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant.
	37. And they told him that Jesus of Nazareth passed by.
that Jesus was passing by. Then I cried out, saying: Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me.	38. And he cried, saying: Jesus thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
	39. And they who went before, rebuked him; that he should hold his peace; but he cried so much the more, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
And he, standing still, commanded me to be brought to him, and said to me, What wilt thou? I said, Lord,	40. And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and when he was come near, he asked him,
	41. Saying: What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.
that I may receive my sight.	
And he said to me, Receive thy sight.	42. And Jesus said unto him, receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee.
And immediately I saw, and followed him, rejoicing and giving thanks.	43. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God; and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

The author of Matthew has two blind men; and as Schleiermacher observes, has a habit of duplicating, in such cases.

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Gospel of John.
But others said to Pilate, that he raised Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in his grave.	The reader is familiar with the long account of this miracle, contained in the 11th chapter of John, consisting of 44 verses.

rium, admovit, in quo Christi effigiem, expressam retulit. Hujus rei, auctores sunt Methodius," &c.

Durant also refers to the image of Christ erected by the woman cured of the flowing of blood.

The foregoing are all of the gospel miracles, which are related in the Acts of Pilate. The result of the comparison may be stated thus:

In every instance, the account in the Acts of Pilate, is shorter than the shortest narrative in the canonical gospels.

In view of the practice of interpolation, which prevailed so extensively in the second century, it is for the reader to judge which were last written.

THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS.

The account of the crucifixion, as given in the Acts of Pilate, is undoubtedly the nearest historical, of any religious writings of the second century. As every thing connected with this event, is of absorbing interest, the subject cannot be approached with indifference.

Bishop Ellicott, in an able Essay on the Apocryphal Gospels, published in the Cambridge Essays, for 1856, admits that this account was used by the earlier fathers.

To show the value of this testimony, we will quote from his prefatory remarks, the contemptuous language which he employs, when speaking of the apocryphal gospels as a class:

"Their real demerits, their mendacities, their absurdities, their coarsenesses, the barbarities of their style, and the inconsequence of their narratives, have never been excused or condoned. It would be hard to find any competent writer, in any age of the church, who has been beguiled into saying any thing civil or commendatory."

And yet the writer who could not refrain from expressing himself thus strongly toward these unfortunate, bantling gospels, when he comes to consider the Acts of Pilate, feels compelled to speak in a more respectful manner. In commencing, he says:

"We pass onward, to a very important document, apparently of a very early date, the first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, or, as it is commonly called, the Acta Pilati.

"The question of real interest is this:

"Whether the present Acta Pilati are substantially the same with the very ancient document, referred to with such respect by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other early and reputable writers. It need scarcely be said, that these ancient Acta were not the real, judiciary acts of Pilate. The Acta noticed by Tertullian, was probably an account of our Savior's condemnation, written by some early Jewish-Christian, and derived from eye-witnesses, or from important oral traditions, which, in so short a time, and on such an event, could not have become seriously erroneous."

After stating that it would be liable to changes and interpolations, and that there is reason to think the apocryphal Acts of Pilate, was one of the interpolated manuscripts, he says:

"When, however, it is remembered that the quotations made by Tertullian and others from the ancient Acta, are all found in the present Acta, it seems fair to conclude, especially from the nature and length of the composition, that these changes or interpolations have not been very serious, and that we have, in this first part of this Gospel of Nicodemus, substantially, the very ancient and important Acta Pilati, of the second century."

Again: "If we strip off the obviously fabulous, it does seem that the writer has related some portions of the trial in a manner so very probable and plausible, that we may well pause, before we sweep away the whole as a mere party fiction. There is something very natural in the way in which the Jews heap up indiscriminate accusation; there is an eager ferocity on their part, met by a steady and almost indignant scorn on the part of the governor, that seems, at any rate, very happily depicted. The desire of the Jews, not only that Christ should die, but that he should be crucified, that he should die the death of a malefactor,— is brought out very distinctly.

"There are minor incidents, the weeping populace,— the appearance of witnesses in favor of the accused, (though here there is evidently much interpolated),— the steady defence of Nicodemus—the persecution of the pious Joseph, the cloth wound round the crucified Savior—the crown of thorns still retained on the brow—the account given by the centurion to Pilate, and the distress of that unjust man and his wife—which all tend to make us to regard these interpolated, but still very ancient records, with a greater interest than we can feel for any other member of the apocryphal family."

After so respectable a testimony for this gospel, from one who cannot be accused of any prejudice in its favor, we proceed to contrast its narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, with the parallel accounts in the canonical gospels:

THE PROPOSAL TO RELEASE A PRISONER.

This account is given in all four of the evangelical gospels. The narrative is, however, so divergent, that it can scarcely be considered parallel, except in Mark and Matthew. Of these, the comparison will be made with the shorter form:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 9.	Matthew, 27. 15 to 23.
Pilate, again calling the multitude, said to them, Since there is a custom among you, on the day of passover, that I should release to you one that is bound; I have a noted murderer, called Barabbas, also Jesus who is called Christ; in whom I find no cause of death.	15. Now at that feast, the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would.
	16. And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.
	17. Therefore, when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Christ?
	18. For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.
	19. [Omitted. Parallel in another part of the Acts of Pilate.]
	20. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude, that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.
Which, therefore, of these two, do you wish to have released? They all cried out, saying, Release unto us Barabbas.	21. The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.
Pilate saith unto them, What then shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.	22. Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.
	23. And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying: Let him be crucified.

The foregoing accounts are closely parallel. But the canonical gospel exhibits considerable accretion. There is some amplification of language, and the introduction of the dream of the wife of Pilate.

PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS OF THE BLOOD OF JESUS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 9.	MATTHEW, ch. 27.
Then Pilate, taking water, washed his hands before the people, saying:	24. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person, see ye to it.
I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it.	
The Jews answered, saying:	
His blood be upon us, and upon our children.	25. Then answered all the people, and said, his blood be on us, and on our children.

Not in either of the other gospels.

In the Acts of Pilate, Jesus is now sentenced, as follows:

"Then Pilate commanded Jesus to be brought before him, and spake to him the following words:

" 'Thy own nation hath charged thee, as making thyself a king. Wherefore, I, Herod, sentence thee to be whipped, according to the laws of former governors; and that thou be first bound, then hanged upon a cross, in that place where thou art now a prisoner; and also two criminals with thee; whose names are Demas and Gestas.' "

JESUS TAKEN TO EXECUTION.

As the account is less connected in the canonical gospels, we shall be obliged here, in order to preserve the parallel, to put several passages together:

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 10.	MATTHEW, ch. 27.
Then Jesus went out of the hall, and the two thieves with him. And when they were come to the place which is called Golgotha, they stripped him of his raiment, and girt him	26. And he delivered him to be crucified.
	33. When they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull,
	28. They stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe,
about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand.	29. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand.

PRAYING FOR HIS ENEMIES.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 10.	LUKE, 23. 34.
But Jesus said, My Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.	Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.

HIS GARMENTS ARE DIVIDED.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Mark, 15. 24.
And they divided his garments, and upon his vesture they cast lots.	And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take.
Luke, 23. 24.	Matthew, 27. 35.
And they parted his raiment, and cast lots.	And parted his garments, casting lots; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet: They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.

The law of accretion is well illustrated here, by comparing the short statements in Luke and the Acts of Pilate, on the one hand, with Mark and Matthew on the other. Luke being a compilation, this portion of it is probably from a manuscript older, even, than the Acts of Pilate.

In John, the account is extended, with the additional statement, that the garments were divided into four parts, to every soldier a part, and that lots were cast for the coat, which was without seam.

MOCKED BY THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND SOLDIERS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Mark, 15. 29 to 32, 36.
The people in the mean time stood by, and the chief priests and elders of the Jews mocked him, saying:	29. And they that passed by, railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying: Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days,
He saved others, let him now save himself if he can; if he be the Son of God, let him now come down from the cross.	30. Save thyself, and come down from the cross.
	31. Likewise, also, the chief priests mocking, said among themselves, with the scribes, He saved others, himself he cannot save.
	32. Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.
The soldiers also mocked him, and taking vinegar and gall, offered it to him to drink, and said to him: If thou art King of the Jews, deliver thyself.	36. And one ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

JESUS PIERCED IN THE SIDE.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 10.	JOHN, 19. 34.
Longinus, a soldier, taking a spear, pierced his side; and directly, there came forth blood and water.	But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.

THE TITLE UPON THE CROSS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 10.	JOHN, 19. 19, 20.
And Pilate wrote a title upon the cross, in Hebrew, Latin and Greek letters; to wit:	19. And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross. And the writing was,
'THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.'	'JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS.'
	20. This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified, was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.

In the synoptic gospels, it is not stated who wrote the title. In Luke, it is 'This is the king of the Jews.' In Mark, 'The King of the Jews.' In Matthew, 'This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.' In Luke, it is stated to have been in Greek, Latin and Hebrew.

THE THIEVES ON THE CROSS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 10.	LUKE, 23. 39 to 43.
But one of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus, whose name was Gestas, said to Jesus, If thou art the Christ, deliver thyself and us.	39. And one of the malefactors who were hanged, railed on him, saying: If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.
But the thief who was crucified on the right hand, whose name was Demas, answering, rebuked him, and said:	40. But the other answering rebuked him, saying: Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?
Dost not thou, who art condemned to this punishment, fear God? We, indeed, rightly and justly, according to what we have done, receive our reward. But this Jesus, what evil hath he done?	41. And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.
After this, groaning, he said to Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.	42. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom.
Jesus answering, said to him, Verily, I say unto thee, to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.	43. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

The account in the compilation of Luke, is the shortest, and indicates a manuscript of greater antiquity

than the Acts of Pilate. The accretion is in the latter gospel, which gives as additional circumstances, the names of the thieves; the crucifixion of Demas on the right hand and Gestas on the left hand of Jesus, and the groaning of Demas, before making his dying request.

In Mark and Matthew, both of the thieves revile Jesus.

Attention might here be called to the fact, that while there are older manuscripts concerning the crucifixion, &c., which found their way into the Gospel of Luke, the case is different with the miracles. The shortest, and as there is reason to believe, the earliest accounts of these, are in the Acts of Pilate.

THE DARKNESS AT THE CRUCIFIXION.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Luke, 23. 44, 45.
And it was about the sixth hour; and there was darkness over the whole earth until the ninth hour. And while the sun was eclipsed, &c.	44. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth, until the ninth hour. 45. And the sun was darkened, &c.

In Mark and Matthew, it is stated, "There was darkness over all the land, until the ninth hour."

RENDING OF THE VAIL OF THE TEMPLE.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Matthew, 27. 51.
Behold, the vail of the temple was rent from the top to the bottom; and the rocks also were rent.	And behold, the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent:

In Matthew, there is the work of a later hand, which interpolated the earthquake. In Luke and Mark, there is only the rending of the vail.

RISING OF THE SAINTS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Matthew, 27. 52, 53.
And the graves opened, and many bodies of saints who slept, arose.	52. And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints who slept, arose, 53. And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

No such account in any of the other gospels. The interpolation by the author of Matthew, of the Acts of Pilate or of some common manuscript, is manifest. The whole of the 53d verse is accretion; and by a strange anachronism, though the author of Matthew has the graves opened by the earthquake, at the time of the crucifixion, and manifestly intends to represent their inhabitants as coming forth, in consequence of that event, they do not arise, until several days afterward.

Michaelis, Farrer, Dean Milman and others, attribute this scene to the excited imaginations of some of the disciples.

THE DYING WORDS, AND DEATH OF JESUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Mark, 15. 34.
And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, Heli, Heli, lama, zabathani? Which interpreted, is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?	And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: Eloi, Eloi, lama, sabachthani? Which is, being interpreted, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?
	Luke, 23. 46.
And after these things, Jesus said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And having said this, he gave up the ghost.	And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands, I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

SCENES AT THE CROSS AFTERWARD.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Luke, 23. 47, 48.
The centurion, when he saw that Jesus, crying out, thus gave up the ghost, glorified God, and said: Of a truth, this was a just man. And all the people who stood by, were accordingly troubled at the sight, and reflecting upon what had passed, smote upon their breasts, and returned to the city of Jerusalem.	47. Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying: Certainly this was a righteous man. 48. And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned.

In one of the canonical gospels, the centurion is made to say, "Truly this was the Son of God;" and in another, "Truly this man was the Son of God."

THE WOMEN AT THE CRUCIFIXION.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

But all his acquaintances stood at a distance, as also the women who had followed him from Galilee; beholding these things.

LUKE, 23. 49.

And all his acquaintance, and the women who followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

And, behold,, a certain man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, came to the governor, and entreated the governor, that he would permit him to take the body of Jesus from the cross. And the governor permitted it.

JOHN, 19. 38.

And after this, Joseph of Arimathea, being a disciple of Jesus, (but secretly for fear of the Jews), besought Pilate, that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate gave him leave.

[Longer accounts in Luke and Mark.]

THE BURIAL OF JESUS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

And Nicodemus came, bringing with him a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight.

And with tears, they took down Jesus from the cross, and bound him in linen clothes, with spices, according to the custom of burying among the Jews, and placed him in a new tomb, which Joseph had built and had caused to be cut out of a rock; in which no man had yet been placed; and they rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher.

JOHN, 19. 39 to 41.

39. And there came also Nicodemus, (who, at the first, came to Jesus by night), and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds weight.

40. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

41. Now, in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid.

42. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulcher was nigh at hand.

MATTHEW, 27. 60.

And he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher, and departed.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 13.

And while they (the priests and rulers of the Jews assembled) were all wondering (at the miraculous escape of Joseph), behold, one of the soldiers

MATTHEW, 28. 1 to 7.

In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn, toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulcher.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 13.	Matthew, ch. 28.
who were guarding the sepulcher, (of Jesus), spake in the synagogue, and said:	
While we were guarding the sepulcher of Jesus, there was an earthquake; and we saw an angel of God, who rolled away the stone from the sepulcher, and sat upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and	2. And behold, there was a great earthquake; for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.
	3. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow.
his garment like snow; and we became through fear, as dead persons.	4. And for fear of him, the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.
And we heard the angel saying to the women at the sepulcher of Jesus, Fear not; I know that ye seek the	5. And the angel answered and said
	unto the women, Fear not ye; For I know that ye seek Jesus, who was crucified.
crucified Jesus. He has risen, as he foretold. Come and behold the place	6. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.
where he was laid; and go quickly, and say to his disciples, He has risen from the dead, and will go before you into Galilee. There ye shall see him, as he told you.	7. And go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead; and behold, he goeth before you unto Galilee. There shall ye see him; lo, I have told you.

BRIBING THE SOLDIERS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 13.	Matthew, 28. 11 to 15.
The Jews, hearing this, were afraid; and said among themselves, If by any means these things become public, everybody will believe in Jesus.	11. Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests, all the things that were done.
Then gathering a large sum of money, they gave it to the soldiers, saying: Tell the people, that while ye were sleeping, the disciples of Jesus came by night, and stole the body of Jesus. And if this should come to the ears	12. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,
	13. Saying: Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away, while we slept.
of Pilate the governor, we will satisfy him, and secure you.	14. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.
The soldiers, accordingly, receiving the money, said as they were instructed by the Jews. And their report was spread abroad, among all the people.	15. So they took the money, and did as they were taught. And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day.

The account in Matthew, which is most nearly parallel with the Acts of Pilate, differs from it in one very important feature. In the Acts of Pilate, the resurrec-

tion is only stated upon the report of the soldiers. In Matthew, it is related as a distinct narrative, on the authority of the historian himself; while the report of the soldiers is brought in afterward, as confirmatory testimony. But in the bribing of the soldiers, for the purpose of keeping the resurrection a secret, the narratives again run together.

The closing sentence in the Acts of Pilate, is,

"And their report was spread abroad, among all the people."

In Matthew it reads, "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

The language of Matthew appears to be that of the later document.

THE ASCENSION OF JESUS.

Acts of Pilate, and Appendix to Mark.

It is generally agreed, that the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark, are an interpolation; a sort of appendix to the gospel, added by some transcriber.

There is the following parallel between the Acts of Pilate and a portion of this appendix:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 14.	Mark, ch. 16.
But a certain priest named Phineas, Ada, a schoolmaster, and a Levite named Ageus, they three came from Galilee to Jerusalem, and told the chief priests and all who were in the synagogues, saying:	14. Afterward, he appeared unto the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen him after he was risen.
We have seen Jesus, whom you crucified, talking with his eleven disciples, and sitting in the midst of them on Mt. Olivet, and saying to them:	
Go ye into all the world; preach to all nations; baptizing them in the	15. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.
name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and he who shall believe and be baptized, will be saved.	16. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.
	17. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues;

Acts of Pilate, ch. 14.	Mark, ch. 16.
	18. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.
And when he had said these things to his disciples, we saw him ascending into heaven.	19. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

This parallel would indicate that the Acts of Pilate was antecedent to the gospel, since if it were subsequent, this portion of the Acts could not be accounted for; it not being in the original Gospel of Mark.

In the Acts of Pilate, the narrative is continued in the following manner:

The chief priests, being alarmed at the news of the resurrection of Jesus, and his appearance to the Galileans, gave them money, and sent them back.

The Jews then assembled in consultation, and Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, saying:

"Why should we believe the soldiers who guarded the sepulcher of Jesus, telling us that an angel rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? Perhaps his own disciples told them this, and gave them money, that they should declare these things; and that they, the disciples, might bear away the body of Jesus. Besides, consider this: That there is no credit to be given to the foreigners, because they also took a large sum from us, and have declared to all, according to the instructions we gave them. They have to maintain faith either to us, or to the disciples of Jesus."

The foregoing are all the parallels between the Acts of Pilate and the canonical gospels.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the narrative in the Acts of Pilate is more natural and consistent, and better sustained throughout.

In Luke, there is a preliminary trial before Herod; who has Jesus arrayed in a gorgeous robe, and sent back to Pilate. Then, after the trial, he is taken to execution, addressing the women by the way. After the mocking and deriding, the dividing of the raiment,

&c., and the inscription on the cross, the historian gives the prayer of Jesus for his enemies. Then the scene between the two thieves on the cross, and between one of them and Jesus. It is stated that the sun was darkened at the crucifixion. After describing the other scenes in a manner somewhat similar to the other synoptics, the author of this gospel states that on the first day of the week, early in the morning, the women who came with him from Galilee, came to the sepulcher, bringing spices, &c. for the purpose of embalming the body of Jesus. They found the stone rolled away, and the sepulcher empty. They then saw two men, clothed in shining garments, who told them Jesus had risen, and reminded them of his words, that he should rise the third day. Then Peter went, and saw the grave empty. Jesus afterward appeared to the two disciples, on their way to Emmaus, and to the eleven apostles, at Jerusalem. Then, leading them to Bethany, he blessed them, and ascended into heaven.

In MARK, Jesus is delivered to Pilate, directly, by the chief priests, who, after holding a consultation with the elders and scribes, and with the council, had apprehended and bound Jesus; nothing being said about the examination before Herod. Then follows the trial or examination, before Pilate—the clamor of the Jews—the show of resistance and final yielding by Pilate—scenes on the way to the crucifixion, and at the cross, differing from Luke, in various details, with which the reader is familiar. Then, after the death and burial of Jesus, when the sabbath was past, three women, whose names are mentioned, went with spices, to embalm him. They found the stone rolled away, and entering into the sepulcher, they saw a young man, sitting, clothed in a long white garment. He told them Jesus had gone into Galilee. Jesus then appeared, first to

Mary Magdalene, after that to the two disciples. Then to the eleven, as they sat at meat. Then follows the remainder of the spurious appendix.

In MATTHEW, the author relates nearly all the incidents given in Luke and Mark, concerning the crucifixion, and several of his own besides. He has two earthquakes, and many other incidents, unknown to the other synoptics. After the death and burial, the two Marys came to the sepulcher; there they saw one who is now represented, as the angel who had rolled away the stone from the sepulcher. He stated also, that Jesus had gone into Galilee. Jesus appeared to the women, as they were returning. He then appeared to the eleven, on a mountain in Galilee.

The narrative in JOHN, differs still, in many particulars, from all three of the synoptics; not only omitting many incidents, but adding important additional matter, not always consistent with the other accounts. Among such might be mentioned much that Jesus said to Pilate, sayings of Jesus on the cross, &c., the piercing of his side; the scene with Thomas after the resurrection; the appearance of Jesus, after that event, to the fishermen on the Sea of Tiberias, and the miraculous draft of fishes, which are manifestly confounded with scenes in Christ's ministry.

If we turn to the narrative of all these events, as found in the Acts of Pilate, while there is sufficient that is marvelous, there will be found, nevertheless, a degree of unity and consistency, which is wanting in the other gospels.

In the first place, there is the trial before Pilate; and in the language of Bishop Ellicott, the Jews "heaping up indiscriminate accusation;" "an eager ferocity on their part, met" at first, "by a steady and almost indignant scorn on the part of the governor." At the same

time, "the weeping populace; the appearance of witnesses in favor of the accused." These witnesses testify to many miracles that Jesus had wrought, hoping thereby to save his life.

All this having failed, Pilate, overborne by the Jews, passes sentence on Jesus; something quite natural, in a judicial proceeding, but which is entirely omitted in the other gospels, except that in Luke it is stated, that Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as the Jews required.

Then Jesus is taken to execution. The scenes at the cross are stated briefly, and in natural order.

Coming to the resurrection, we find it related on the report of the soldiers. The appearance of Jesus was to the Galileans and to Joseph of Arimathea.

When considered in reference to the length of the accounts, it will be found that the narratives in the Acts of Pilate are generally, though not invariably, shorter than those in the canonical gospels.

Upon the whole, we may reasonably conclude, that the older gospels—those of the first century—contained fragmentary accounts of the crucifixion; that these were first put together, in a connected form, in the Acts of Pilate, to which there was added, for the first time, the material resurrection. This event, at first stated at second hand, as coming from the soldiers, was afterward incorporated into the canonical gospels, as a part of the principal narrative.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER EXTANT GOSPELS.

History of Joseph the Carpenter—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea—Pseudo Matthew—The supposed Gospel of the Nativity of Mary—Letter of Pontius Pilate—Report of Pilate—The Giving up of Pontius Pilate—The Death of Pilate—Avenging of the Savior—The Newly-Discovered Acts of Pilate.

The remaining extant gospels must be considered very briefly; since none of them have fully established their claims to the great antiquity accorded to those which have been examined. As a part of the literature connected with the early history of the Christian religion, they cannot be passed unnoticed.

History of Joseph the Carpenter.—Tischendorff thinks this gospel was written in the fourth century. There is no reason for placing it earlier. The early fathers knew nothing of it.

It purports to be a discourse of Jesus Christ himself to his disciples, on the mount of Olives, in which he relates to them the history of his father Joseph.

He speaks of the former marriage of Joseph, and the death of his first wife; his marriage to the virgin Mary. Says she brought up James, one of the sons of Joseph's former wife; whence she was called the mother of James. Refers to the birth at Bethlehem, the flight to Egypt, and return. Joseph lived to be 111 years old.

A large part of the gospel is occupied in a minute and affecting account of the scenes attending the death of Joseph.

The last paragraph of the narrative, is as follows:

"Having thus spoken, I embraced the body of my father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of the tomb, and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob. And at the time when he fell asleep, he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years. Never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp, nor his body bent, nor his strength impaired: but he worked at his trade of a carpenter, to the very last day of his life; and that was the six-and-twentieth of the month of Ahib."

This having been related to the apostles, they rose up and prostrated themselves, making an address to Jesus, to which he replied, referring to the prophecies, and to the return into the world of Enoch and Elias, &c.

Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea.—The full title of the gospel is,

"*The Narratiive of Joseph of Arimathea, that begged the Lord's Body; in which also he brings in the Cases of the Two Robbers.*"

It is not known when it was written. It was popular in the middle ages.

It is based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate. The narrative in the Acts is closely followed. But Judas charges Jesus with stealing the law from the temple, and betrays him. Judas was son of the brother of Caiaphas the priest. Trial of Jesus, and crucifixion with the thieves.

In the incidents taken from the Acts of Pilate, there is the customary accretion. For instance, the thief says to Jesus,

"Before, then, O Lord, my spirit departs, order my sins to be washed away, and remember me, the sinner, in thy kingdom, when upon the great, most lofty throne, thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel."

This sentence is sufficient evidence, that the composition of the book was subsequent to the second century. The law of accretion is also aptly illustrated in the address of the other thief upon the cross:

"If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may believe in thee. But now I see thee perishing along with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast."

The gospel contains original matter, also, of a wonderful and startling character.

Pseudo Matthew.—A mere compilation of portions of the Gospel of the Infancy, with such accretions as might be expected after two hundred years.

There is reason to believe, it did not appear much before the time of Jerome. Some have thought it to have been the publication of Seleucas, alluded to in the correspondence between Jerome and the bishops. Others have thought it the translation which Jerome made at the request of the bishops. But that, as will be seen, was another document.

The supposed Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.—In all the collections of apocryphal gospels, will be found a Gospel of the Birth of Mary. It is sometimes spoken of as among the most ancient.

We are satisfied there was anciently no such gospel; that its supposed existence is based upon a misapprehension. The facts are these:

In the works of Jerome is found a correspondence between him and two bishops, named Chromatius and Heliodorus. The bishops, addressing their beloved brother and presbyter, Jerome, state that they had found in some apocryphal books, "an account of the birth of the Virgin Queen Mary, as also the birth and

infancy of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ;" in which they had observed many things contrary to their faith. They say they had heard that he (Jerome) had found a volume in Hebrew, written with St. Matthew the Evangelist's own hand; "in which was described the infant state of the Virgin Mary and our Savior." They therefore entreat him to translate it out of Hebrew into Latin; that they might know what the famous things concerning Christ were, and to refute the heretics, who had mixed other things "with the genuine history of the Savior's nativity."

Jerome replies, saying it was a difficult task which they had imposed on him,

"Because the holy apostle and evangelist Matthew did not himself wish to have it written for the public. [nec voluit in aperto conscribi.] For if it was not to have been a secret, he would certainly have annexed it to his own gospel which he published.

"But he composed this little book in Hebrew letters, [sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obsignatum], which he so published, in order that this book might be in the hands of religious men, written in his own hand, in Hebrew characters. [ex manu ipsius scriptus Hebraicis literis.] They have transmitted it from preceding to subsequent times. They have taken care, however, never to have it translated by any one, and have given different accounts of its contents. [tex ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt.]

"But the truth is, that the book was published by a certain Manichæan disciple, Seleucas by name, who also composed a false history of the Acts of the Apostles."

He speaks of the publication as injurious, and not to be listened to by the church. He then accedes to their request.

In another epistle, he says that he will translate it "as well as he can remember;" [in quantum recordari possum]; and notifies them, that not only will the translation not be literal, but that he will feel at liberty to wander considerably from the original. He says he will translate, following the meaning rather than the words, and saying nothing "which is not written, or

may be supposed consistently, to have been written;" [et non alia dicam, quam quae aut scripta sunt ibi, aut consequenter scribi potuerunt;] "sometimes walking in the same path with the author, though not in the same steps; and though sometimes turning a little one side, returning the same way again." [nunc eadem semita non iisdem vestigiis incedens, nunc quibusdam diverticulis, et eandem viam recurrens.]

It will be noticed that nowhere in the correspondence, is either the gospel which the bishops had seen, or the one which Jerome claimed to have seen in Matthew's handwriting, spoken of as a Gospel of the Birth or Nativity of Mary only, but in connection with the Infancy of the Savior.

Jerome proceeded to make his translation, but the publisher of his works, for some reason, omitted the last part, and published only that relating to the birth and infancy of Mary. This was placed after the correspondence, and the whole was entitled, "De Nativitate Mariæ:" indicating that all that followed, was concerning the nativity of Mary. The translation was only what Jerome remembered of the Gospels of the Infancy; he having probably seen a version purer than that published by Seleucas.

The translation, under the very wide latitude which the pious father had given himself, doubtless differed from any version of those gospels which had previously been seen. Hence it was thought to be a new gospel; an impression which was strengthened by the title placed by Jerome's publisher before the correspondence; "De Nativitæ Mariæ."

This view of the matter is confirmed by the historical evidence. The first writers who refer to this gospel, are Epiphanius and Gregory Nyssen, both of whom were contemporary with Jerome. Neither of these

writers speak of it as "the Gospel of the Birth of Mary," but as "De Nativitate Mariæ."[1]

Letter of Pontius Pilate.—This letter may be seen in translation from Latin and Greek manuscripts, the date of which is uncertain. The Greek text is given in "The Acts of Peter and Paul."

There is a discussion between the Emperor Nero, Peter, and Simon Magus. Peter appeals to the writings of Pontius Pilate, sent to Claudius. Nero orders them to be brought and read, which was done. The letter stated,

> That the fathers of the Jews had promised, that God would send Jesus from heaven, who should be their king; and he should come to earth, by means of a virgin. That he came into Judæa, and the Jews saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders. That the Jews seized him and delivered him up to Pilate, who, after scourging him, gave him up to their will. That they crucified him, but Jesus rose on the third day, while the soldiers of Pilate were guarding him. That the Jews bribed the soldiers. That the soldiers could not keep silence, and had testified that they had seen Jesus, after he was risen.

Another and probably older form of this letter is in one version of the Acts of Pilate. It is not materially different.

Report of Pilate.—There are two forms of this in the Greek. It is similar to the foregoing. It enlarges upon the miracles, and is written in a more fervid style.

It is possible that some ancient form of the Letter or Report, was the original from which the Acts of Pilate, or the first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus was constructed. In their present form the Letter and Report are manifestly of a later date.

(1.) See Epiphanius, Hæres. 26. Gnost. No. 12, and Hæres. 79. Collyr. No. 5. Also Gregory Nyssen, Hom. de Nativ. S. Mari. Vir. tom. 3. Opp. p. 346.

THE GIVING UP OF PONTIUS PILATE.—Cæsar, filled with rage at what had happened, sent soldiers, and ordered them to bring Pilate a prisoner. When brought to Rome, he was arraigned for what he had done.

While Cæsar was addressing Pilate, when he named the name of Christ, all the multitude of gods fell down in a body. Pilate making his defense, and throwing the blame on the Jews, Cæsar sent, and had "all the nation of the Jews" seized. He ordered Pilate to be beheaded. Pilate prayed to the Lord, and received assurances that he should be blessed, because, under him the prophecies had been fulfilled.

When he was beheaded, an angel of the Lord received his head. His wife Procla, seeing this, filled with joy, immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried with her husband.

THE DEATH OF PILATE.—A variation of the foregoing.

Tiberius Cæsar, emperor, had a disease, and sent for Jesus to come and cure him. The messenger, on arriving in Palestine, found that Christ had been crucified. But on his journey, he met Veronica, who lent him the cloth on which was impressed an image of the Savior, which, she said, would cure Cæsar.

"Cæsar therefore ordered the way to be strewn with silk cloths, and the picture to be presented to him. As soon as he had looked upon it, he regained his former health."

Pilate was brought to Rome, where the emperor was furious against him. But Pilate appearing before him in the seamless tunic which Jesus had worn, all the anger of Tiberius at once disappeared.

Having been condemned to a disgraceful death, Pilate killed himself with his own knife. His body was bound to a great mass, and sunk in the River Tiber.

"But malignant and filthy spirits, in his malignant and filthy body, all rejoicing together, kept moving themselves in the waters, and in a terrible manner, brought lightnings and tempests, thunders and hail-storms, in the air, so that all men were kept in horrible fear." Wherefore the Romans, driving him out of the Tiber, carried him to Vienna, and sunk him in the River Rhone. "But there evil spirits were present, working the same things in the same place. Those men therefore, not enduring such a visitation of demons, removed from themselves that vessel of malediction, and sent him to be buried in the territory of Losania. And they, seeing that they were troubled by the aforesaid visitations, removed him from themselves, and sunk him in a certain pit, surrounded by mountains; where, to this day, according to the account of some, certain diabolical machinations are said to bubble up."

THE AVENGING OF THE SAVIOR.—There are, in this document, two distinct legends; one of Veronica, the other, that of Nathan's embassy.

In the days of Tiberius Cæsar, Titus, a prince under Tiberius, in Equitania, was afflicted with a cancer in his face. And Tiberius was ill, and full of ulcers and fevers, having nine kinds of leprosy. Nathan was sent from Judæa, to carry a treaty to Rome. He tells about Christ, his miracles, his crucifixion and his resurrection. Titus addresses Tiberius strongly in condemnation of the Jews who had slain Jesus. Whereupon the wound fell from the face of Titus, "and his flesh and his face were restored to health. And all the sick who were in the same place, were made whole, in that hour." He then sent for Vespasian, who brought five thousand armed men. With them they went and made war on the Jews for killing Jesus.

Jerusalem was taken with great slaughter. A search was made, and Veronica was found, who had the portrait of Jesus. When the emperor saw the portrait, he was immediately cured. And all the blind, the lepers, and those afflicted in divers ways, were healed.

Nathan then came forward, and baptized Tiberius, who ascended his throne, and publicly returned thanks to God.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ACTS OF PILATE.—A learned German, while traveling in Missouri, some years ago, became the guest of a clergyman by the name of W. D. Mahan, at Boonville. In conversation, he mentioned to this clergyman, that he had seen, in the Vatican Library, at Rome, the original Acts of Pilate.

After the German had left, Mr. Mahan, deeming the matter of great importance, wrote to him, in Europe, and at considerable expense, had the manuscript copied. He then published it, with the correspondence.

Afterward, the same document was published, under an arrangement with the proprietor, by Rev. George Sluter, A. M., of the Presbyterian Synod of Missouri.

The publication is preceded by a statement of the discovery and procuring of the document; an introduction, giving the references to the Acts of Pilate

by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and the subsequent comments of Eusebius. The volume contains, also, remarks and critical notes.

Without doubt, these clergymen are acting in good faith, and think they have obtained the original Acts of Pilate. There is none the less doubt that they are mistaken. One sentence alone is sufficient to show that the document published by them is of comparatively modern date; if indeed the whole affair is not an imposition upon them, by some astute adventurers.

When Pilate requested Jesus to be more circumspect in his language, when discoursing to the Jews, he is represented in this document, as replying to Pilate, as follows:

"Say to the torrent, Stop in the midst of the mountain home, because it will uproot the trees of the valley."—*Page* 55, *of Sluter's Edition.*

This, with considerable more of the same sort, is sufficient, without taking time with other reasons, to brand the document, not only as a forgery, but as a modern, and a vulgar one. Any person of but a small degree of literary skill, would have come nearer to the simple and impressive style of Jesus. "Brief and concise utterances," says Justin Martyr, "fell from him; for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God."

CHAPTER XVIII.

WRITERS OF THE THIRD PERIOD.

MENANDER—SATURNINUS—BASILIDES—PRODICUS—ARISTIDES—QUADRATUS—BARNABAS—AGRIPPA CASTOR—ARISTION—JOHN THE PRESBYTER.—ANONYMOUS WRITINGS.—PROVERBS OF XYSTAS—PREACHING AND DOCTRINE OF PETER—TESTIMONY OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS—SIBYLLINE ORACLES—PREACHING OF PAUL—SYRIAC DOCUMENTS.

Most of the Christian writers of the second century, who immediately succeeded the apostolic fathers, advocated doctrines which were afterward considered heretical.

"Heresy," says Dr. Lardner, "in Greek, αἵρεσις, signifies election, or choice; and is used for any opinion which a man chooseth as best, or most probable." —*Works*, *vol.* 4, *p.* 505.

Menander, Saturninus and Basilides, are generally classed together, by the orthodox fathers, and their heresies considered in the order here named.

MENANDER,—A. D. 120,

Is said to have been the fellow countryman and disciple of Simon Magus.[1] This is denied, however, by some. He is said to have aspired to the honor of being a Messiah, and one of the Æons, sent from the pleroma, or celestial regions, to succor souls oppressed by the demons of earth. He had a form of baptism in his

(1.) Westcott, Canon, p. 252.

own name. His influence continued for several centuries. He was written against by Justin Martyr, by Irenæus, Eusebius, and several others. Justin speaks of him as follows:

"And a man, Menander, also a Samaritan, of the town of Capparetæa, a disciple of Simon, and inspired by devils, we know to have deceived many, while he was in Antioch, by his magical art. He persuaded those who adhered to him, that they should never die. And even now, there are some living, who hold this opinion of his.—*Apology*, 1. 26.

Saturninus.—A. D. 125.

Saturninus, like Menander, held that there was one Father, unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, principalities and powers. He said the world and all things therein, were made by a company of seven angels. Man was made, too, by angels. The Savior, he taught to be unbegotten and incorporeal; and that he was a man in appearance only. "He says that marriage and generation are of Satan."[1]

Basilides,—A. D. 125,

Was a Gnostic of Alexandria. Is said to have written a commentary, in 24 books, on "The Gospel." This was refuted by Agrippa Castor.

Fragments of his writings are given by Hippolytus, who wrote in the third century. They have caused much discussion in reference to the gospel upon which he commented; whether it was in writing, and whether his own or another's.

He made use of "The traditions of Matthias;" or, as Miller supposes, the traditions of Matthew. These "claimed to be grounded on private intercourse with the Savior."[2] They were, possibly, the much talked of Oracles of Matthew.

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. lib. 1, c. 24.
(2.) Westcott, Canon, p. 264.

The fact that Basilides made use of such a collection, is significant, and may go far to explain the source of many of the sayings of Christ, so often quoted by the fathers before Irenæus, and which have been supposed to be evidence of the existence of the canonical gospels.

Some have claimed Basilides as a witness to the four gospels, more particularly to Luke. The arguments upon which the claim is based, are vague and unsatisfactory. Perhaps it will be sufficient, upon this question, to take the judgment of Dr. Davidson. He says,

"As to Basilides, his supposed quotations from the New Testament, in Hippolytus, are too precarious to be trusted."—*Canon, p.* 86. *See also his Introduction to the N. T., vol.* 2, *p.* 388.

Any apparent use of Luke may be explained by the fact, that Basilides had access to the same manuscripts from which the Gospels of Marcion and Luke were compiled.

Doctrines.—"Basilides," says Irenaeus, "that he may appear to have discovered something more sublime and plausible, gives an immense development to his doctrines. He sets forth that Nous was first born of the unborn Father; that from him again was born Logos, from Logos Phronesis, from Phronesis Sophia and Dynamis; and from Dynamis and Sophia, the powers and principalities, and angels, whom he calls the *first;* and that by them the first heaven was made. Then other powers, being formed by emanation from these, created another heaven, similar to the first." &c.

The chief of the angels who occupy the lowest heaven, is the God of the Jews, and he and his angels created the world.

That Jesus himself was not crucified, but Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross, and assumed the form of Jesus. Salvation belongs to the soul alone, for the body is by nature, subject to corruption.—*Irenæus adv. Hæres. bk.* 1, *ch.* 24. *Ante Nic. vol.* 5, *p.* 90.

Eusebius makes the doubtful statement, that like Pythagoras, Basilides enjoined upon his followers, a silence of five years.[1] A gospel is attributed to him. But this is thought to be the same as the commentaries.

(1.) Ecclesiastical History, 4. 7; attributing it to Agrippa Castor.

PRODICUS.—A. D. 120.

But little is known of this writer, except that he was a leader of a sect called Prodiceans; and that they were accused by Clement of Alexandria, of licentious practices.

"They say," says Clement, "they are by nature, the children of the supreme deity; but they dishonor their high birth and freedom; for they live as they choose, and they choose to live in pleasure. They scorn to be controlled, as being lords of the sabbath, and the King's children."—*Clem. Alex. Str.* 3. 4.

They also held that prayer was needless.[1]

They did not separate themselves from the Christian churches.

The followers of Prodicus boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster.[2]

Baring-Gould thinks they may have used the Gospel of Philip.[3]

ARISTIDES AND QUADRATUS.—A. D. 126.

They delivered to the Emperor Hadrian, Apologies for the Christian Religion. That of Quadratus is said to have procured the Rescript of the emperor to Minucius, in favor of the Christians.

Eusebius says that this was in circulation among the brethren, and that he had a copy of it. He gives an extract, in which there is reference to the miracles of Christ.[4] If we could rely upon the correctness of the statement, this might be recorded as the earliest historical reference to the miracles of Jesus.

The same historian, speaking of Quadratus and others, "who held the first rank in the apostolic succession," makes a statement, by which he manifestly intends to leave the impression, that the canonical gospels were in circulation at that time. He says:

(1.) Stromata, 7. 7. (2.) Strom. 1. 15.
(3.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 293.
(4.) Ecc. History, 4. 3.

"Afterwards, leaving their country, they performed the office of evangelists to those who had not yet heard the faith, whilst with a noble ambition to proclaim Christ, they also delivered to them the books of the holy gospels."—*Ecc. Hist.* 3. 37.

Westcott, after speaking of the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, says: "Nothing, it will be seen, can be drawn directly from these scanty notices, in support of the Canon." [1]

Barnabas.—About A. D. 130.

The Epistle of Barnabas, is often classed among the writings of the apostolic fathers. There is much difference of opinion as to its date, but those writers who place it after A. D. 120, comprise a large majority.

The ancient fathers of the church held it in high esteem, and attributed it to Barnabas, the companion of Paul. Such was the opinion of Clement of Alexandria. [2] Origen called it a "catholic epistle," and ranked it among the sacred scriptures. [3]

In the introduction to the epistle, in the Ante-Nicene Collection, it is stated, the ancients unanimously attribute it to Barnabas the Levite, of apostolic times.

"Certainly," says the editor, "no other name is even hinted at in Christian antiquity, as that of the writer." [4] The editor is equally explicit in asserting, that scarcely any scholars now ascribe it to the illustrious friend and companion of St. Paul. What a commentary upon the credit to be given to the opinions of the fathers, upon such questions!

The Gospels.—Some writers have supposed they saw in this epistle, evidence of the use of the canonical gospels. It is not, however, much relied upon. The read-

(1.) Canon, p. 76.
(2.) Strom. 2. 6; 2. 7. &c.
(3.) Contra Celsum, 1. 63, Comm. in Rom. 1. 24.
(4.) Ante. Nic. vol. 1, p. 99.et seq.

er will remember the verdict of Dr. Less, upon this subject.

Dr. Davidson says he has apparently a citation from Matthew, but it is uncertain.[1]

Dr. Westcott, speaking of this class of evidence, says:

"References in the sub-apostolic age, to the discourses or actions of our Lord, as we find them recorded in the gospels, show, so far as they go, that what the gospels relate, was then held to be true; but it does not necessarily follow, that they were already in use, and were the actual source of the passages in question."—*Canon, p.* 49.

THE MIRACLES.—In the 5th chapter of the epistle of Barnabas, is the first reference to the miracles of Christ; if we except those in the apocryphal gospels, which appeared about the same time. Speaking of Jesus, he says:

"Moreover, teaching Israel, and doing such great miracles and signs, [*Πέρας γὲ τοι δεδασκων των Ισραηλ, καὶ πηλικαυτα τέρατα καὶ σημεια τοῖων*], he preached the truth to him, and greatly loved him."

AGRIPPA CASTOR.—A. D. 130.

According to Eusebius, Agrippa Castor wrote books against Basilides.[2] Eusebius says he was one of the most distinguished writers of that day.[3]

These with many other writings of the kind, are lost or destroyed. It was a natural source of information, and would have disclosed, almost certainly the nature of the gospels or other writings used by Basilides.

It is somewhat remarkable, that all the writings of the second century, which would have furnished the most direct evidence as to the gospels then in use, have perished.

(1.) Canon, p. 94.
(2.) Ecclesiastical History, 4. 7.
(3.) See also Jerome, Catal. Script. c. 20.

Aristion.—About A. D. 130.

It might be inferred from a passage in Eusebius, that Aristion had preserved written traditions of the time of Christ. Speaking of Papias, he says:

"He moreover hands down, in his own writing, other narratives given him by the previously mentioned Aristion, of the Lord's sayings, and the traditions of the presbyter, John.—*Ecc. Hist.* 3. 39.

A fair inference would be that these "narratives" were in writing; as they are distinguished from the "traditions" of the presbyter.

John the Presbyter,—About A. D. 130,

Is supposed by some, to have written the Revelation. This was the opinion of Eusebius.[1]

He is also, not without reason, believed to have been the author of the epistles of John. It will be noticed that in the 2d and 3d of these epistles, the writer styles himself "the elder," or presbyter.

The theory that he wrote the Gospel of John, has less plausibility; since there is no sufficient evidence of its existence, until about half a century later.

Anonymous Writings.

There are also some anonymous writings, belonging to the third period, which will be briefly considered.

The Proverbs of Xystas.

Written, about A. D. 119. The genuineness of the book is doubted by Westcott and others. Ewald places it among the most valuable relics of early Christian literature.—*Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1859, *p.* 261; *and Gesch.* 7. 321.

Westcott says it contains no definite references to the New Testament.—*Hist. Canon, p.* 174.

The Preaching, and Doctrine of Peter.

These books were well known in the second century.

The preaching of Peter was condemned by Eusebius, in the same language used in reference to the Gospel of Peter. He pronounced it a forgery, and stated that none of the ancients, nor any ecclesiastical writers had taken testimonies from it.—*Ecc. H.* 3. 3.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 39.

On the contrary, it is referred to by Heracleon, A. D. 190, according to Origen, [*Tom.* 1, *in Joan. p.* 211], and repeatedly by Clement of Alexandria.—*Stromata*, 1. 29; 2. 15; 6. 5; 6. 6, *and* 6. 15. Also by Lactantius; all before Eusebius. Clement took numerous testimonies from it, and endorsed it in the most emphatic manner; declaring that Christ said to his disciples, what he is reported to have said, in the Preaching of Peter.—*Strom.* 6. 6.

It was also referred to in the epistle of Peter to James, published by Cotelerius.—*See Ante-Nic. Ch. Lib. vol.* 17, *p.* 1.

The book was subsequently cited by Theodotus, Byzantius, and Gregory Nazianzen, of the ancients, and among the moderns has been very favorably spoken of by Dr. Grabe, Mr. Toland, Mr. Whiston, Dr. Mill, and others.

The Doctrine of Peter was a small book, in use in the 2d century, of which little is now known. It was referred to, and condemned by Origen. From him we learn, that it contained the same passage which Jerome says was in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in which Christ said to those who were with Peter, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."—*Origen. de Princip. Præf. sec.* 8.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Supposed to have been written, about A. D. 125. The character of the book, is indicated by the title. Each of the sons of Jacob gives his dying testimony, on some important subject.—"The Testament of Reuben concerning Thoughts;" "The Testament of Simeon concerning Envy;" &c.

Dr. Lardner thought he discovered in it, some slight evidence of the use of some of the canonical gospels. Nothing better illustrates the dearth of evidence, than the necessity of searching for it in a document of this kind.

The Sibylline Oracles,

Belong properly to an earlier age, but are supposed to have been interpolated about this time, in order to furnish additional evidence for the Christian religion. They were extensively quoted, from Justin Martyr down; though the quotations of Justin have reference, for the most part, to the utterances of the ancient sibyl.

The Preaching of Paul.

This, as well as the Preaching of Peter, was referred to by Lactantius and others, and was generally known in the second century. It contained references to the sibylline writings. Also to the fire in Jordan, at the time of the baptism of Jesus.—*See Anonymous Treatise on Re-Baptism, Ante-Nicene, vol.* 13, *p.* 426.

It has been favorably referred to by Cardinal Baronius, Dr. Grabe, and others. Sixtus Senensis believed it to have been written by Paul.—*Bib. Sanc. lib.* 2, *p.* 113.

Syriac Documents.

The late Dr. Cureton found among the Syriac manuscripts of the British Museum, several documents purporting to have been written in the first and second centuries.—*See* 20*th volume of Ante-Nicene Collection.*

They are full of mistakes and anachronisms, and cannot be considered of much value.—*Consult "Revelations of Anti-Christ;" Boston and N. Y.* 1879; an able work, but written in an objectionable style.

FOURTH PERIOD.—A. D. 130 TO 170.

FORTY YEARS OF CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—A. D. 130 to 150.

CARPOCRATES—EPIPHANES—CERDO--HERMAS—CERINTHUS—ISIDORUS—VALENTINUS—PAPIAS—EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS—THE CLEMENTINES.

CARPOCRATES.—About A. D. 135.

Irenæus, in his first book against Heresies, writes as follows:

"Carpocrates, again, and his followers, maintain that the world and the things which are therein, were created by angels greatly inferior to the unbegotten Father. They also hold that Jesus was the son of Joseph, and was just like other men, with the exception that he differed from them in this respect, that inasmuch as his soul was steadfast and pure, he perfectly remembered those things which he had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God. On this account, a power descended upon him from the Father, that by means of it, he might escape from the creators of the world."

After enlarging upon this idea, and stating that they believe the human soul, which is like that of Christ, can rise above the creators of the world, he says:

"This idea has raised them to such a pitch of pride, that some of them declare themselves similar to Jesus; while others still more mighty, maintain that they are superior to his disciples, such as Peter and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, whom they consider to be in no respect inferior to Jesus."

He then charges them with practicing magical arts and incantations; of using philters and love potions;

of having recourse to familiar spirits, dream-sending demons, "and other abominations;" and of leading a licentious life.[1]

Dr. Lardner thinks the charge of licentiousness a slander.[2]

Clement of Alexandria speaks of Carpocrates and Epiphanes as both advocating a community of wives. Clement argues against it in the 2d Chapter of the 3d book of the Stromata.[3]

EPIPHANES,—About A. D. 140,

Was the son of Carpocrates, and was, like his father, a Gnostic. He believed in an infinite, eternal principle. It is ignorance and passion, which, in disturbing the equality and community of goods, have introduced evil into the world. The idea of property forms no part of the divine plan. All unequal laws should be abolished, and equality should be re-established. He is reported to have advocated the community of wives, as well as of the fruits of the earth.

He died at the early age of seventeen years.

A temple was consecrated to him in Cappadocia, and according to Clement of Alexandria, he was honored as a god.[4]

CERDO, OR CERDON.—About A. D. 140.

Cerdon, also, was a Gnostic. Irenæus says he came to Rome from Syria, in the time of Hyginus. His views were adopted, and amplified by Marcion. Like Marcion, he is accused of mutilating the Gospel of Luke; and with as little reason. [See 'Marcion.']

(1.) Adv. Hær. 1. 25. Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 93.
(2.) Lard. Works, vol. 4, p. 562.
(3.) Ante-Nic. vol. 12, p. 86.
(4.) Stromata, bk. 3, ch. 2.

Hermas.—A. D. 145.

Hermas, like Barnabas, is often classed with the apostolic fathers. He is, however, placed after 120, by a large majority of writers, and most of them date his works near the middle of the second century.

The authorship of the Pastor or Shepherd of Hermas, as stated in the Muratorian Fragment, is generally accepted. "The Pastor, moreover," says the Fragment, "did Hermas write, very recently, in our times, in the city of Rome, while his brother, Bishop Pius sat in the chair, in the Church of Rome."

According to the 'Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte,' a work extensively used as a text book among Catholics, Pius was Bishop from A. D. 142 to 157.

This, which may now be considered the settled verdict of scholars as to the authorship of the Pastor, by no means accords with the opinions of the fathers.

With them, Hermas, the author of the Shepherd, was the Hermas of apostolic times. Origen distinctly ascribes the Shepherd to the Hermas mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.[1] This is favored by Eusebius,[2] and by Jerome.[3]

The early writers considered it an inspired book.

Irenæus quotes it as scripture.[4] Clemens Alexandrinus considered it divinely inspired.[5] It was read in the churches as scripture.

Here we have the same phenomenon as in the case of the Epistle of Barnabas. A work universally attributed to a co-worker and companion of Paul, which modern scholars, of all shades of religious opinion,

(1.) Comment. in Rom. 16. 14; lib. 10, 31. Origen there states that he thinks it divinely inspired.

(2.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 3.

(3.) De Viris Illust. c. 10.

(4.) Adv. Hær. 4. 20. 2.

(5.) Strom. 1. 29.

concur in deciding was never written by him, nor even in that century. In view of such facts, it is impossible not to perceive that the books finally admitted into the canon, were selected with reference to their contents, rather than to any question of authenticity, or of proof of apostolic origin.

The Shepherd of Hermas was one of the most popular books, among the Christians of the second century.

About the year 494, it was condemned in the decree of Pope Gelasius; from which time it began to decline in public favor.

As late as the 15th century, a translation of the Shepherd of Hermas was found in a MS. of the Latin bible.

The Pastor or Shepherd consists of three books. The first is entitled Visions, the second, Commandments, the third, Similitudes. There is in it all, nothing attractive to the modern mind. It is not easy to understand how, in any age, its wild vagaries and crude piety, could have been found interesting, and even been considered inspired. A partial explanation may be found in its supposed semi-apostolic origin.

Its Evidence for the Gospels.—Dr. Westcott says it contains no definite quotation from either the Old or New Testament.[1]

"From the Shepherd of Hermas," says Dr. Less, "no inference whatever can be drawn."

Cerinthus and his Gospel.—About A. D. 145.

The history as well as the writings of Cerinthus are strangely blended with those of John the presbyter, and even with John, the apostle.

By the ancient writers on heresies, he is generally placed after Carpocrates.

A sect called the Allogi, attributed to him, (so says

(1.) Canon, p. 181.

Epiphanius), the gospel, as well as the other writings of John.

Cerinthus had both a gospel and a revelation.

Toland intimates that the Gospel of John might have been written by Cerinthus.[1]

Cerinthus is believed to have been a Jew by birth. He was educated at Alexandria, and taught philosophy there.[2]

Irenæus says:

"He represents Jesus as not having been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation; while he nevertheless, was more righteous, prudent and wise than other men." "Moreover, after his baptism, Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove, from the Supreme Ruler, and that he proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles."—*Adv. Hær.* 1. 26.

The same writer says, John's Gospel was written to confute the errors spread abroad by Cerinthus.[3]

This may be accepted, as throwing some light on the time when the Gospel of John was written. Jerome also asserts that John wrote against Cerinthus.[4]

Isidorus.—A. D. 150.

Isidorus was the son of Basilides. He wrote works of an exegetical and ethical character. Fragments are preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius. There are other fragments by Hippolytus. Isadorus maintained the doctrine of his father.

"No references to the gospels;" says Westcott.[5]

Valentinus, and the Gospel of Truth.—A. D. 150.

Valentinus was one of the most famous Gnostics, in the early history of the church. According to Tisch-

(1.) Amyntor, p. 65.
(2.) Mosheim, vol. 1, pp. 93 to 95.
(3.) Adv. Hær. 3. 11.
(4.) See Michaelis, vol. 3, p. 278.
(5.) Canon, p. 267.

endorff, he came from Egypt to Rome, about A. D. 140. He was by birth an Egyptian and possibly of Jewish descent. Lardner says he was a man of letters.[1]

The Valentinians did not admit that Christ had a human body. Such a body, they said, must have sprung, not from spirit, or from God, but from the will of man.[2]

The Gospel of Truth is generally attributed to Valentinus; though Westcott says it was composed by his followers.

There was a tradition among the Valentinians, that Jesus remained among his disciples eighteen months after his resurrection.[3]

THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.—An effort has been made, to make Valentinus a witness for the canonical gospels.

Davidson says it is doubtful whether Valentinus' alleged citations from the New Testament can be relied upon.[4]

PAPIAS.—A. D. 150.

Papias, who had long been considered an immediate successor to the apostles, is now, by general consent, relegated to the middle of the second century. The time when he suffered martyrdom, is variously stated, from A. D. 161 to 167.

Papias was bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia. He was a millenarian. The doctrine that the end of the world was near at hand, was extensively believed, and may be considered as orthodox in the second century.

FRAGMENTS FROM PAPIAS.—Œcumenius represents him as saying that Judas came to his death in this manner:

(1.) Vol. 4, p. 526.
(2.) Tertullian, de Carne Christi, c. 15.
(3.) Irenæus adv. Hær. 1. 3. 2.
(4.) Canon, p. 87.

"His body having swollen to such an extent, that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out."

The writer of this could scarcely have seen the Gospel of Matthew. Irenæus, in the 33d chapter of the 5th book against heresies, cites from Papias, sayings of Christ unlike any thing in the New Testament:

"The elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him, how the Lord used to teach, in regard to these times, and say:

'The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, will give five and twenty metrets of wine.' "&c.

Also that 1,000,000,000 pounds of clear, pure, fine flour would be produced from one grain of wheat; and that animals should become peaceful and harmonious, and in perfect subjection to man.

Irenæus adds, that these things were borne witness to by Papias, the hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp.

The famous testimony of Eusebius, concerning Papias, which, in some form, will be found in every work on the canon of the New Testament, is as follows:

That Papias wrote five books, called an Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord; citing Irenæus.

That Papias affirmed that he received the sayings of the apostles from those who accompanied them, and that he heard in person Aristion, and the presbyter John; and gives their traditions.

That there was a narrative received by Papias from the daughters of Philip, of the raising of a man from the dead, and how Justus, surnamed Barsabas, swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm.

That Papias had set down, as coming to him from unwritten tradition, "some strange parables and instructions of the Savior, and some other things, of a more fabulous nature."

Eusebius then adds "as a matter of primary importance, a tradition regarding Mark, who wrote the gospel."

That the presbyter said that Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order, that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor accompanied him. But afterward, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities (of his hearers), but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit any thing he had heard, and not to put any thing fictitious in the statements.

That "Matthew put together the oracles (of the Lord) in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could."

That Papias gives a story of a woman who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which was to be found in the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Also that Papias considered, "That the information which he could derive from books, was not so profitable as that which was preserved in a living tradition."—*Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. bk.* 3, *ch.* 39.

Such is this far famed testimony. That portion relating to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, may be stated as follows:

Eusebius says, that Papias said, that John the presbyter said, in what manner certain writings of Mark and Matthew had been constructed.

The value to be attached to any statements of Eusebius, will be considered hereafter.

One important circumstance will be noted, in the evidence, as it stands:

Notwithstanding this explanation of the apostolic origin of the books, it appears that Papias considered them, as evidence, inferior to oral tradition. That, too, a hundred years after the time, when, as is claimed, they were written.

Again, it is contended by able critics, that the language here attributed to Papias, concerning the book

written by Mark, cannot be applied to the gospel which bears his name.[1] They insist that it must be referred to the Preaching of Peter, or some other document more ancient then the Gospel of Mark. So also of the logia, oracles or sayings of Christ, by Matthew, which were not the same as the Gospel of Matthew.

Epistle to Diognetus.—About A. D. 140.

This is an apology, or argument, in favor of the Christian system, and in defense of the Christians of that day. It is well written. It has been variously attributed to Quadratus, to Aristides, Justin Martyr, and others. Bunsen thought part of it was written by Marcion.[2] Westcott thinks he sees some indications of John's Gospel in this document, but says there are no direct references.[3] This epistle is only to be found in a single manuscript of a late date, and hence has been suspected of being a forgery.

The Clementines.—A. D. 150.

The Recognitions, the Homilies, Epitome, &c. These are Ebionite productions. The writer appears to have had the same gospels which were used by Justin.

Tischendorf thinks the Gospel of the Hebrews was used by Justin Martyr, by the author of the Clementines, and by Tatian and Hegesippus.[4]

(1.) Credner, Davidson, Guericke, Griesbach, Neander and many others.
(2.) Analecta Ante-Nic. 1. 103.
(3.) Canon, p. 81.
(4.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 78.

CHAPTER XX.

FIRST HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—Continued.

MARCION.—A. D. 145.

Marcion, the great heresiarch, was born at Sinope, in Pontus, early in the second century. He came to Rome, about the year 142.

Tertullian says, the fiercest and most barbarous nations lived upon the Euxine Sea—that nothing had the glow of life there—that all things were torpid and stiff with cold—that nevertheless, nothing in Pontus was so barbarous and sad, as that Marcion was born there.

Dr. Lardner, on the authority of Jerome and Augustine, credits Marcion with being a man of letters.[1] He preached and disseminated his doctrines, for twenty years; and with such success, that in the time of Epiphanius, his followers were in every nation under heaven.

The story that before he came to Rome, he had seduced a young woman, Dr. Lardner thinks an invention of Epiphanius.[2] It probably originated in the fact, which we learn from Jerome, that Marcion had sent before him to Rome, a woman, to prepare the minds of the people for his doctrines.[3]

(1.) Lardner's works, vol. 4, p. 526. (2.) Ibid. vol. 4, p. 591.
(3.) Jerome, adv. Ctesiph. t. 4, p. 477.

Marcion is said to have rejected the Old Testament entirely; not considering it of any authority, after the coming of Christ. He wrote a work entitled "Antitheses," in which he contrasted the old system with the new—the God of the one, with the God of the other—the law with the gospel. He represented Christianity as a new system, abrogating the old, and as entirely disconnected from it. The Creator of the world described in the Old Testament, [The Demi-ourgos], was different from the God of the new dispensation, and inferior to him. From the superior God, Jesus had come, endued with divine power, commencing with the beginning of his ministry.

He maintained the doctrine of the impurity of matter and could not therefore, believe in the immaculate conception. According to Tertullian,[1] he even denied the corporeal reality of the flesh of Christ. But this statement may be received with some allowance.

Marcion denied the resurrection of the body, and believed in the doctrine of necessity.

He was a follower of Paul, and accused the other apostles of having perverted the gospel doctrines.

Tertullian ingeniously endeavors to treat this accusation as aimed at the four gospels; and argues thence that they must have been in existence before Marcion. His argument, however, destroys itself; since the apostles denounced, were Peter, James and John; only one of whom has credit for writing either of the four gospels, while to the other two were attributed two of the apocryphal gospels. Marcion probably referred to the corruption of "the gospel," and not to any written books.

Marcion taught and permitted the baptizing by wo-

(1.) Adv. Marcion, 3. 8. See also de Pr. c. 33, 34.

men. It may be inferred, also, from Epiphanius, that he did not treat with much respect, those who refused them this privilege.[1]

Marcion's New Testament.

The first New Testament that ever appeared, was compiled and published by Marcion. It was in the Greek language. It consisted of 'The Gospel,' and 'The Apostolicon.' No Acts—no Revelation, and but one gospel. The Apostolicon comprised ten of Paul's Epistles, as follows: Galatians, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Romans, except the 15th and 16th chapters, 1st and 2d Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon and Philippians; arranged in the order as here named.[2]

This canon of the New Testament was prepared and published soon after his arrival at Rome; probably about A. D. 145. Baring-Gould thinks he brought the gospel with him from Sinope.[3]

Tertullian accuses Marcion of giving no name or title to his gospel. It was called simply "the Gospel;" and sometimes, "the Gospel of the Lord." Marcion claimed for it, the authority of Paul himself. It closely resembles the Gospel of Luke, but is much shorter.

Ever since the time of Tertullian, it has been, by many, charged against Marcion, that he corrupted the Gospel of Luke. This charge, it will be seen as we proceed, cannot be sustained.

Nearly all we have concerning the Gospel of Marcion, comes through Tertullian and Epiphanius, both of whom were violently opposed to him, and neither of whom was particularly scrupulous in the means employed against an adversary. Hence it has been difficult to reproduce the gospel. Several German crit-

(1.) Adv. Hær. 42. 4.
(2.) Also part of the Ep. to the Laodiceans. (3.) Lost and Host. Gos. p. 241.

ics have attempted to reconstruct it, and it is published in the Codex Apocryphus of Thilo, from the works of Hahn.

In Marcion's Gospel, there was nothing corresponding to the first three chapters of Luke.

The first chapter of Marcion was similar to the fourth of Luke, but had many variations from it; and it is here that the critics have had the most difficulty.

After passing the first chapter of Marcion, and fourth of Luke, the progress is somewhat easier. Tertullian furnishes but little aid; but Epiphanius, who wrote in the same language with Marcion, gives a list of 78 passages, in which, as he claims, Marcion corrupted the text of Luke. As he mentions the most trivial deviations, giving the exact words in every instance, we think it may be taken as the correct text of Marcion.

This opinion is confirmed by the fact, that in his scholia, he recapitulates every reading in almost precisely the same words; the deviations being few and unimportant.

Tertullian, in his work against Marcion, has a running commentary on Luke, with a constant invective against Marcion, and an occasional allusion to his gospel. From this some little further assistance may be obtained. Too much reliance has been placed upon it by some critics, as it is quite uncertain, in many cases, whether Tertullian is referring to the Gospel of Marcion, or to the text of Luke, as it prevailed in his day. By comparing all that is said by these two writers, the text of Marcion may be pretty nearly discovered.

We have not been able to procure a copy of this important gospel, as it appears in Thilo, or elsewhere.

From the works of Tertullian and Epiphanius, we have, however, attempted to reproduce it; occasionally invoking the aid of some of the German critics.

THE GOSPEL. [According to Marcion.]

CHAPTER 1.—[Mostly in the 4th chapter of Luke.]

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberias Cæsar, [Part of Luke 3. 1], Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath days. [Luke 4. 31.]

Verse 2. And they were exceedingly astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power. [For parallel to verses 2 to 9 inclusive, see Luke, ch. 4. vv. 32 to 39.]

3. And in the Synagogue there was a man who had a spirit of an unclean devil, and who cried out, with a loud voice,

4. Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus? [omitting the words "of Nazareth".] Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God.

5. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

6. And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying: What a word is this? For with authority and power, he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.

7. And the fame of him went out into every place, in the country round about. [This verse is omitted by Volkmar, but retained by Hahn, Hilgenfeld and others. See Sup. Rel. vol. 2, p. 128. Note. Baring-Gould, who reproduces this chapter, follows Volkmar. The two following verses are omitted by Ritschl and Bauer, but retained by others.]

8. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.

9. And he stood over her and rebuked the fever; and it left her; and immediately she arose and ministered unto them. [Following this, Volkmar has the last part of Luke 4. 14, and 15; but he is not supported by other critics.]

10. And he came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and began to preach to them. [See Luke 4. 16.]

11. And he sat down, and the eyes of all who were in the synagogue, were fastened on him. [Luke 4. 20.]

12. And he began to speak to them. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. [Luke 4. 21, 22.]

13. And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb: Physician, heal thyself; whatsoever ye have done in Capernaum, do also here. [Luke 4. 23.] [The next verse, 24th of Luke, was not in Marcion. Neither were verses 25 and 26, according to Hahn, Ritschl and DeWette. We accordingly omit them, though they were retained by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld.

Verse 27 is also omitted by most critics. Baring-Gould, who follows Volkmar, retains these three verses.]

14. And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath. [Luke 4. 28.]

15. And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. [Luke 4. 29.]

16. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way. [Volkmar says "to Capernaum."] [See Luke 4. 30.]

17. Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them. [Luke 4. 40.]

18. And devils also came out of many, crying out and saying: Thou art Christ, the Son of God. And he, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ. [For parallel to verses 18 to 21, inclusive, see Luke 4. 41 to 44.]

19. And when it was day, he departed, and went into a desert place. And the people sought him, and came unto him, and staid him, that he should not depart from them.

20. And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore am I sent.

21. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

CHAPTER II. [See Luke, ch. 5.]

Verses 1 to 13, same as in the Gospel of Luke.

14. And he charged him to tell no man, But go and show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto you.

Verses 15 to 39 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER III. [Luke, ch. 6.]

Verses 1 to 16, same as in Luke.

17. And he came down among them, [ἐν αυτοῖς], and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people, out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases.

18. Same as in Luke.

19. And the whole multitude sought to touch him;

20, 21 and 22, Same as in Luke.

23. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for behold your reward is great in heaven; for in the like manner did your fathers unto the prophets.

24 to 49 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER IV. [Luke, ch. 7.]

Verses 1 to 28, same as in Luke, except some unimportant verbal differences.

[Verses 29 to 35 inclusive, of Luke, not in Marcion.]

29. [36 of Luke.] And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.

30. [37 and 38 of Luke.] But a sinful woman standing near, before his feet, washed his feet with her tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.

31 to 35 inclusive, same as 39 to 43 of Luke.

36. [44, 45 and 46 of Luke.] And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thy house; thou gavest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.

37 to 40 inclusive, same as 47 to 50 of Luke.

CHAPTER V. [Luke, ch. 8.]

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verse 19 of Luke not in Marcion.]

19, 20 and 21 inclusive, same as 20, 21 and 22 of Luke. But Volkmar has, in verse 20 of Marcion, [21 of Luke], "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? My mother and my brethren are," &c.

22. [23 and 24 of Luke.] He was sleeping with the sailors. And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.

23 to 40 inclusive, same as 25 to 42 of Luke.

41. [43, 44 and 45 of Luke.] And a woman, touching him, was healed of an issue of blood; and the Lord said, Who has touched me?

42 to 52 inclusive, same as 46 to 56 of Luke.

CHAPTER VI. [Luke, ch. 9.]

Verses 1 to 15 inclusive, same as in Luke.

16. Same as in Luke, except, "he asked blessing upon them." [ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.]

17 to 21 inclusive, same as in Luke.

22. Saying, The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be put to death, and after three days, rise again.

23 to 29 inclusive, same as in Luke.

30. [30 and 31 of Luke.] And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses; in glory.

31 to 33 inclusive, same as 32 to 34 of Luke.

34. [35 of Luke.] From the cloud a voice, saying: This is my beloved Son.

35 to 38 inclusive, same as 36 to 39 of Luke.

39. [40 of Luke.] And I besought thy disciples, and they were not able to cast him out. [οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβάλλειν αὐτό.]

40. [41 of Luke.] And he said to them, O faithless generation; how long shall I suffer you?

41 to 61 inclusive, same as 42 to 62 of Luke.

CHAPTER VII. [Luke, ch. 10.]

Verses 1 to 20 inclusive, same as in Luke.

21. In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that those things which are hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes. Even so Father, for it seemed good in thy sight.

22. All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man hath known the Father save the Son, nor the Son save the Father, and he to whom the Son hath revealed.

23 and 24, same as in Luke.

25. And behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying: Master, doing what shall I obtain life? [αἰώνιον omitted.]

26. He said unto him, What is written in the law?

27 and 28, same as in Luke, except that instead of ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης, Marcion had ὀρθῶς εἶπες.

29 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER VIII. [Luke, ch. 11.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, may thy Holy Spirit come to us. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

3 and 4, same as in Luke.

5. And he said: Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves? [αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους;]

[Verses 6, 7 and 8 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

6. [9 of Luke.] Ask, and it shall be given. [Verse 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

7. [11 and 12 of Luke.] Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or, instead of an egg, a scorpion?

8. [13 of Luke.] If therefore, you, being evil, know how to give good things unto your children, how much more your Father, who is in heaven?

9 to 23 inclusive, same as 14 to 28 of Luke.

24. [29 of Luke.] And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say: This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given them.

[Verses 30, 31 and 32 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 25 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 41 of Luke.

34. [42 of Luke.] Wo unto you, Pharisees! For ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over the calling [κλῆσιν], and the love of God. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

35 to 40 inclusive, same as 43 to 48 of Luke. [Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 41, 42 and 43, same as 52, 53 and 54 of Luke.

CHAPTER IX. [Luke, ch. 12.]

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. [4 and 5 of Luke.] I say unto you, be not afraid of them who kill the body; fear him who has power, after killing, to cast into hell.

[Verses 6 and 7 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

5. [8 of Luke.] Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before God.

6. [9 of Luke.] But he that denieth me before men, shall be denied before God.

7 to 24 inclusive, same as 10 to 27 of Luke. [Verse 28 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

25, same as 29 of Luke.

26. [30 of Luke.] For all these things do the nations of the world seek after. And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh.

27. [31 of Luke.] πλὴν before ζητεῖτε, omitted.

28. [32 of Luke.] Instead of ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, Marcion had ὁ πατὴρ; "the Father."

29 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

34. [38 of Luke.] And if he shall come in the evening watch, [ἑσπέρι-ὴν φυλακῇν], and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.

35 to 41 inclusive, same as 39 to 45 of Luke.

42. [46 of Luke.] The Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.

43 to 53 inclusive, same as 47 to 57 of Luke.

54. [58 of Luke.] Instead of σε παραδῷ, Marcion has παραδώσει σε.

55, same as 59 of Luke.

CHAPTER X. [Luke, ch. 13.]

[Verses 1 to 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.] Verses 1 to 5 inclusive, same as 11 to 15 of Luke.

6. [16 of Luke.] Ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond, on the sabbath day?

7 to 17 inclusive, same as 17 to 27 of Luke.

18. [28 of Luke.] There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see all the righteous in the Kingdom of God, and yourselves cast out, and held back.

[Verses 29 to 35 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

Chapter XI. [Luke, ch. 14.]

Verses 1 to 6 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 7 to 11 inclusive of Luke, not in Marcion.]

7 to 30 inclusive, same as 12 to 35 of Luke.

Chapter XII. [Luke, ch. 15.]

This chapter consisted of the first 10 verses only, of 15th Luke.

Chapter XIII. [Luke, ch. 16.]

Verses 1 to 11 inclusive, same as in Luke.

12. And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who will give you that which is mine?

13 to 16 inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

17. Heaven and earth may pass, but one tittle of my words shall not fall.

18 to 28 inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

29. [In place of the last three verses of 16th Luke.] Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen. [*ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ του ἐγειρομένου απο νεκρῶν ἀκούουσιν.*]

Chapter XIV. [Luke, ch. 17.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. [According to Volkmar.] It would be better for him, if he had not been born; or if a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.

3 to 9 inclusive, same as in Luke.

10. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.

11, 12 and 13, substantially as in Luke.

14. And he sent them away, saying: Go, show yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that as they went, they were cleansed.

15, 16 and 17, same as in Luke.

18. These are not found returning, to give glory unto God. And there were many lepers, in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of these were cleansed, except Naaman the Syrian.

19 to 37, substantially the same as in Luke.

CHAPTER XV. [Luke, ch. 18.]

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke.

19. Jesus said to him, Do not call me good; one is good; the Father.

20 to 30 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 31 to 34 inclusive of Luke, not in Marcion.]

31. [In place of 35 to 43 inclusive, in Luke, were this verse and the following.] And it came to pass, as he came near Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

32. And when he had healed him, he said, Thy faith hath saved thee.

CHAPTER XVI. [Luke, ch. 19.]

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke.

9. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.

10 to 28 inclusive, same as in Luke.

[Verses 29 to 48 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

CHAPTER XVII. [Luke, ch. 20.]

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 9 to 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

9. [19 of Luke.] And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him, and they feared the people.

10 to 24 inclusive, same as 20 to 34 of Luke.

25. [35 of Luke.] But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage.

26, same as 36 of Luke. [Verses 37 and 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

27 to 35 inclusive, same as 39 to 47 of Luke.

CHAPTER XVIII. [Luke ch. 21.]

Verses 1 to 17 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verse 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

18 and 19, same as 19 and 20 of Luke. [Verses 21 and 22 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

20 to 35 inclusive, same as 23 to 38 of Luke.

[Dr. Lardner thought, the first 18 verses of 21st Luke were not in Marcion. But later authorities include vv. 1 to 17.

CHAPTER XIX. [Luke, ch. 22.]

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.

5, 6 and 7, same as in Luke.

8. And he said to Peter and the rest, Go and prepare, that we may eat of the passover.

[*Καὶ εἶπε, τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ἀπελθοντες ἑτοιμάσατε, ἵνα φάγωμεν το πάσχα.*]

9 to 13 inclusive, same as in Luke.

14. And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

15. Same as in Luke, except. *πρὸς αὐτοὺς.* omitted.

[Verses 16, 17 and 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

16 to 24 inclusive, same as 19 to 27 of Luke. [Verses 28, 29 and 30 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

25 to 28 inclusive, same as 31 to 34 of Luke. [Verses 35 to 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

29 to 38 inclusive, substantially the same, as 39 to 48 of Luke.

[Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

39 to 49 inclusive, same as 52 to 62 of Luke.

50, substantially the same as 63 of Luke.

51. [64 of Luke.] And striking him, they said: Prophesy; Who is it that smote thee?

52 to 58 inclusive, same as 65 to 71 of Luke.

CHAPTER XX. [Luke, ch. 23.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets; forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and turning away the women and children.

3 to 32 inclusive, same as in Luke.

33. And coming to the place called the place of Calvary, [place of a skull, *κρανίου τόπος,*] they crucified him, and divided his garments; and the sun was darkened.

34 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke, excepting from Luke the portions concontained in verse 33 of Marcion.

[Verse 43 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 43, same as 44 of Luke.

44. [45 of Luke.] And the vail of the temple was rent in the midst.

45. [46 of Luke.] And crying out, with a loud voice, he expired.

46, 47 and 48, same as 47, 48 and 49 of Luke.

49. [50 to 53 of Luke.] And behold, a man named Joseph, taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.

50 and 51, same as 54 and 55 of Luke.

52. [56 of Luke.] And returning, they rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.

CHAPTER 21. [Luke, ch. 24.]

Verses 1 to 4 inclusive, same as in Luke.

5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?

6. He has risen; remember what he said, while yet living. [ἔτι ὢν.]

7. That it was necessary that the Son of Man should suffer, and be delivered up.

8 to 24, same as in Luke.

25. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow to believe all that he said to you!

26, same as in Luke. [Verse 27 of Luke not in Marcion.]

27 to 30 inclusive, same as 28 to 31 of Luke.

31. [32 of Luke.] And they said one to another, Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way?

32 to 36 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

37. [38 and 39 of Luke.] And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? Behold my hands and my feet; a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.

38 to 41 inclusive, same as 40 to 43 of Luke.

42. [44 of Luke.] These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you.

[Verse 45 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

43. [46 of Luke.] That thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, the third day.

44 to 48 inclusive, same as 47 to 51 of Luke.

[Verses 52 and 53 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

From the foregoing synopsis, the reader can write out the Gospel of Marcion, and will have the text of that gospel, very nearly as it stood, in the fourth century. The English reader may pass over, as unimportant, the Greek readings not translated, and may adopt the corresponding text of Luke.

Marcion and Luke.

The question of priority, as between these gospels, is one of the most interesting, connected with the history of early Christian literature.

From the commencement of the third, down to the beginning of the present century, it has been fashionable to accuse Marcion of corrupting the Gospel of Luke; the emphatic and oft-repeated assertions of Tertullian and Epiphanius to that effect, having been deemed sufficient authority.

Bishop Marsh was one of the first to do Marcion justice. He said there was no proof that Marcion used Luke's Gospel at all.[1]

Since then, many of the most intelligent German critics have come to the same conclusion.

Baring-Gould also says: "Marcion was too conscientious and earnest a man, wilfully to corrupt a gospel.[2]

This author thinks that the Church of Sinope, where Marcion formerly resided, had been furnished by Paul, with a collection of the records of the life and teaching of Christ; that Marcion thus obtained his gospel, and brought it to Rome.[3]

Again: "Marcion's Gospel contained a different arrangement of the narrative, from the canonical Luke, and was without many passages which it is not possible to believe, he wilfully excluded."—*Ibid. p.* 242.

He afterward speaks of differences of arrangement, which are unaccountable on the theory that Marcion corrupted Luke, and says that Marcion's Gospel was without several passages which apparently favor his views.[4]

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 160.
(2.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 241. (3.) Ibid.
(4.) Ibid. p. 243; referring to Luke 11. 51; 13. 30, 34, and 20. 9 to 16.

Canon Westcott is equally explicit in acquitting Marcion from the accusation made against him by the early fathers of the church.

He says: "Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in affirming that Marcion altered the text of the books which he received, to suit his own views; and they quote many various readings in support of the assertion. Those which they cite from the epistles, are certainly insufficient to prove the point; and on the contrary, they go to show that Marcion preserved without alteration, the text which he found in his manuscript. Of the seven readings noticed by Epiphanius, [in the epistles], only two are unsupported by other authority; and it is altogether unlikely that Marcion changed other passages, when, as Epiphanius himself shows, he left untouched those which are most directly opposed to his system."—*History of the Canon, p.* 284.

It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, that men, even in religious matters, can vindicate the character of an adversary, after it has been aspersed for fifteen hundred years.

Some writers still persist in repeating the old slander. But the more candid and intelligent opinion of Westcott and Baring-Gould, is supported by Semler, Griesbach, Lœffler, Schmidt, Schleiermacher, Hahn, and many others.

These writers, perceiving how little reliance is to be placed upon the statements of the fathers, in matters of critical exegesis, or of authorship, or upon their assertions concerning the heretics, have examined carefully the text of Marcion, and finding the statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius unsupported by internal evidence, have rejected them altogether.

The question of priority, in this case, is closely connected with that of brevity.

The first three chapters of Luke were entirely wanting in Marcion, except the opening clause in the third chapter, which was the commencement of the Gospel of Marcion: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar." The balance of the first chapter of Marcion is contained with some variations, in the fourth of Luke. About half that chapter is wanting entirely, in Marcion.

After passing this, the different chapters of the two gospels correspond, the 2d of Marcion with 5th of Luke, 3d of Marcion with 6th of Luke, and so on.

The Gospel of Luke is the most copious throughout. The number of verses in Luke, in excess of those in Marcion, is as follows: In chapter 7, seven verses; in ch. 8, one; in ch. 11, ten; in ch. 12, three; in ch. 13, seventeen; in ch. 14, five; in ch. 15, twenty-two; in ch. 18, four; in ch. 19, twenty; in ch. 20, twelve; in ch. 21, three; in ch. 22, thirteen; in ch. 23, one, and in ch. 24, four. Total 122 verses. To this add the excess of 23 verses in the 4th chapter of Luke, and we have altogether 145 verses, or more than three average chapters. Add the first three chapters of Luke, which are entirely wanting in Marcion, and the result is, more than six chapters, or more than one-fourth of the entire Gospel of Luke, wanting in Marcion.

But this is not all. In a number of places, the verses of Marcion are shorter. Then again, two or more verses of Luke are contained, in substance, in one of Marcion, and in one place, nine verses of Luke in two of Marcion.

The Law of Accretion.

LUKE AND MARCION COMPARED.

Leaving out of view, for the present, the wholesale accumulation of matter, aggregating 315 verses, the law of accretion will be well illustrated by those cases where one or more verses in Marcion are found swollen into several in Luke, or where a single passage has additions. They are as follows:

I.

Marcion, ch. 1, v. 4.	Luke, ch. 4, v. 34.
Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus?	Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth?

The difference is important. According to Matthew, the parents of Jesus, when they returned from Egypt, being warned of God in a dream, turned aside, (they were going to Bethlehem or Jerusalem), into the parts of Galilee, that a certain prophecy might be fulfilled. The language does not imply that Nazareth was their residence.

The theory of the author of Luke was, that Nazareth was their residence. Accordingly, in this passage, which, though followed in Mark, has no parallel in Matthew, Jesus is addressed as "of Nazareth;" a phrase not in Marcion.

II.

A corresponding variation will be found in

Marcion, 1. 10.	Luke, 4. 16.
And he came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, &c.	And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and as his custom was, &c.

These are probably interpolations, made for the purpose of establishing Nazareth as the birth-place of Jesus.

III.

MARCION, 3. 19.	LUKE, 6. 19.
And the whole multitude sought to touch him.	And the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.

There is no reason why Marcion, who had not rejected the miracles of Christ, should omit the closing sentence. It is more probable that it was added in Luke, to give expression to a very natural inference on the part of the writer, as to the object of the multitude in pressing forward toward Jesus, and seeking to touch him.

There is no parallel in the other gospels.

IV.

MARCION, 4. 29.	LUKE, 7. 36.
And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.	And one of the Pharisees desired him, that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

V.

JESUS AND THE SINFUL WOMAN.

MARCION, 4. 30.	LUKE, 7. 37 and 38.
But a sinful woman, standing near, before his feet, washed them with tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.	37. And behold, a woman in the city, who was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, 38. And stood at his feet, behind him, weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.
Ἐδὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσο ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τους πόδας, ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι, καὶ ἤλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει.	37. *Καὶ ἰδοὺ, γυνὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἥτις ἦν ἁμαρτωλὸς, ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι ἀνάκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου,* 38. *καὶ στᾶσα παρὰ τους πόδας αὐτοῦ ὀπίσο κλαίουσα, ἤρξατο βρέχειν τους πόδας αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσι, καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ τῆς κέφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσε, καὶ κατεφίλει τους πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤλειφε τῷ μύρῳ.*

This touching incident, simply and beautifully told in the sixteen Greek words of Marcion, is spun out, by the author of Luke, into more than three times the number, with no improvement in the story. The washing of the feet of Jesus, which in Marcion, is left as a figurative expression, denoting the great grief of the woman, is stated in Luke, as an actual fact. While weeping, "she began to wash his feet with tears." Then, having washed them, she must needs "wipe them with the hair of her head."

There can be but little doubt, that Marcion was first written, and that the author of Luke, drew upon his imagination, in filling up the text.

Again, there is a similar variation, in the following reference to the same transaction:

VI.

MARCION, 4. 36.	LUKE, 7. 44 to 46.
And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thy house; thou gavest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.	44. And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thine house; Thou gavest me no water for my feet. But she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. 45. Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. 46. My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

The use here, by Jesus himself, of the figurative expression, "she has washed my feet with her tears," misled the author of Luke, into conceiving and hence expressing, a literal and complete washing of feet, followed by wiping them in the manner described.

This account is not in the other canonical gospels. It is simply a question between Marcion and Luke.

VII.

JESUS REBUKING THE STORM.

MARCION, 5. 22.	LUKE, 8. 23, 24.
He was sleeping with the sailors, and	23. But as they sailed, he fell asleep: and there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled (with water), and were in jeopardy.
he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.	24. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying: Master, Master, we perish! Then he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the raging of the water: and they ceased, and there was a calm.

The language of Marcion, as given by Epiphanius, is highly elliptical. It was probably preceded by some sentence, having reference to the storm. The text of the synoptics is more copious; especially Mark, in which a pillow is provided, for the head of Jesus.

VIII.

HEALING OF THE WOMAN.

MARCION, 5. 41.	LUKE, 8. 43 to 45.
And a woman, touching him, was	43. And a woman, having an issue of blood twelve years, who had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed by any,
	44. Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment; and immediately her issue of blood stanched.
healed of an issue of the blood. And the Lord said, Who has touched me?	45. And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they who were with him, said, Master, the multitude throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?

If these accounts came from a common manuscript, it had passed through many hands, before reaching the author of Luke.

IX.

MARCION, 6. 22.	LUKE, 9. 22.
Saying; The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be put to death, and after three days, rise again.	Saying: The son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third day.

X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

MARCION, 6. 30.	LUKE, 9. 30, 31.
And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses in glory.	30. And behold, there talked with him two men, who were Moses and Elias. 31. Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.
MARCION, 6. 34.	**LUKE 9. 35.**
From the cloud a voice, saying: This is my beloved son.	And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying: This is my beloved son. Hear him.
MARCION, 6. 40.	**LUKE, 9. 41.**
And he said to them, O, faithless generation; how long shall I suffer you?	And Jesus, answering, said: O faithless and perverse generation! How long shall I be with you, and suffer you?
MARCION, 7. 21.	**LUKE, 10. 21.**
In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that, &c. [balance of the verse substantially as in Luke.]	In that hour, Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that, &c.
MARCION, 7. 25.	**LUKE, 10. 25.**
Master, doing what shall I obtain life?	Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

The word *αἰώνιον*, (eternal), was inserted by the author of Luke, to make more clear the meaning of Marcion.

The argument of Tertullian, [adv. Mar. 4. 25], that Marcion struck out *αἰώνιον*, so that the question might be confined to this life, is weak and untenable.

XV, XVI.

MARCION, 7. 26.	LUKE, 10. 26.
And he said unto him, what is written in the law?	He said unto him, what is written in the law? How readest thou?
MARCION, 8. 5.	**LUKE, 11. 5.**
And shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves?	And shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves.

XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX.

MARCION, 8. 6.	LUKE, 11. 9.
Ask, and it shall be given. [*Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται.*]	Ask, and it shall be given you. [*Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν.*]
MARCION 8. 7, 8.	**LUKE, 11. 11 to 13.**
7. Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or instead of an egg, a scorpion?	11. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish, give him a serpent?
	12. Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?
8. If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts, unto your children, how much more your Father who is in heaven?	13. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?
MARCION, 8. 24.	**LUKE, 11. 29.**
This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given it.	This is an evil generation; they seek a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of Jonas the prophet.
MARCION, 9. 4.	**LUKE, 12. 4, 5.**
I say unto you, be not afraid of them	4. But I say unto you my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do.
that kill the body; fear him who has power after killing, to cast into hell. [*εἰς γέενναν.*]	5. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear him who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell. [*ἐις τὴν γέενναν.*] Yea, I say unto you, fear him.

The last passage illustrates, throughout, the prevailing practice of verbal accumulation. The language of Jesus, "I say unto you," becomes, when it reaches the author of Luke, "I say unto you my friends;" "Be not afraid of them who kill the body," becomes, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do;" &c.

XXI, XXII, XXIII,	XXIV, XXV, XXVI.
MARCION, 9. 5.	LUKE, 12. 8.
Him shall also the Son of Man confess before God.	Him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God. [Similar difference in the next verse.]
MARCION, 9. 34.	LUKE, 12. 38.
And if he shall come in the evening watch, and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.	And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.
MARCION, 9. 42.	LUKE, 12. 46.
And the Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.	The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.
MARCION, 13. 29.	LUKE, 16. 29 to 31.
Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen.	29. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 30. And he said, Nay, father Abraham; but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. 31. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.
MARCION, 14. 10.	LUKE, 17. 10.
So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.	So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.
MARCION, 15. 31, 32.	LUKE, 18. 35 to 43.
31. And it came to pass, as he came near to Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me. 32. And when he had healed him, he said, Thy faith hath saved thee.	35. And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side, begging: 36. And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant. 37. And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by. 38. And he cried, saying: Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me! 39. And they who went before, rebuked him, that he should hold his

peace; but he cried so much the more, Son of David, have mercy on me.

40. And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and when he was come near, he asked him,

41. Saying: What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.

42. And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight. Thy faith hath saved thee.

43. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, &c.

XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.

MARCION, 16. 9.

And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.

Luke, 19. 9.

And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a Son of Abraham.

MARCION, 19. 4.

And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.

LUKE, 22. 4.

And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might betray him unto them.

MARCION, 19. 14.

And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

LUKE, 22. 14.

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

MARCION, 19. 51.

And striking him, they said, Prophesy; who is it that smote thee?

LUKE, 22. 64.

And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying: Prophesy; who is it that smote thee?

The account in Marcion, besides being shorter, is the more natural. Being struck from behind, or by a stranger, Jesus was called upon to tell who struck him. It was an impulsive action.

But the author of Luke has the Jews deliberately blindfold Jesus, before striking him.

XXXI.

MARCION, 20. 45.

And crying out with a loud voice, he expired.

LUKE, 23. 46.

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

These dying words of Jesus are not in either of the other three canonical gospels. They may have been taken by the author of Luke from the Acts of Pilate, or from a later version of the manuscript used by Marcion.

XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI.

MARCION, 20. 49.	LUKE, 23. 50 to 53.
And behold, a man named Joseph, taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.	50. And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counselor; and he was a good man, and a just; 51. (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them; he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews; who also himself waited for the kingdom of God.) 52. This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. 53. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulcher, that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.
MARCION, 20. 52.	Luke, 23. 56.
And returning, they rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.	And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.
MARCION, 21. 6.	LUKE, 24. 6.
He has risen; remember what he said, while yet living.	He is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee.
MARCION, 21. 7.	LUKE, 24. 7.
That it was necessary that the Son of Man should suffer, and be delivered up.	Saying: The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day, rise again.
MARCION, 21, 37.	LUKE, 24. 38, 39.
And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? Behold my hands and my feet; a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.	38. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? 39. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I, myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

THE OTHER SIDE.

We will now give the cases, where the text of Marcion is the more copious:

I.

MARCION, 5. 20. LUKE, 8. 21.

According to Volkmar, (though not in the schedule or scholion of Epiphanius), in this verse, after the words, "And he answered and said unto them," is the question, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" Balance of the verse, same as in Luke.

Volkmar may have taken some of his variations from the "Dialogues," &c. attributed to Origen; to which he appears to have given too much attention.

II, III, IV, V, VI.

MARCION, 9. 26.

And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh; [τῶν σαρκικῶν.]

LUKE, 12. 30.

And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

MARCION, 14. 2.

[On the authority of Volkmar.]

It would be better for him, if he had not been born; or if a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, &c.

[This may have been the reading of Luke at that time. See Tertullian adv. Marcion, 4. 35.]

LUKE, 17. 2.

It were better for him, that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, &c.

MARCION, 17. 25.

But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, &c.

LUKE, 20. 35.

But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, &c.

MARCION, 20. 2.

And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and turning away the women and children.

LUKE, 23. 2.

And they began to accuse him saying: We found tnis fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a King.

MARCION, 21. 5.

And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, &c.

LUKE, 24. 5.

And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them &c.

Here are six cases in Marcion, against thirty-six in Luke; or 35 new words in Marcion, to 660 in Luke. If to these we add 315 verses of Luke which are not in Marcion in any form, we have a ratio of 1 to 230.

The strength of the argument, then, based upon the principle of accretion, would be as 230 to 1, that the Gospel of Marcion was first written.

But there is other evidence of priority. The Gospel of Marcion is more simple and natural, not only in the mode of expression, but in the order of arrangement.

In the fourth chapter of Luke, Jesus is represented as being tempted in the wilderness, immediately after his baptism; thence he returned into Galilee, and came to Nazareth; [Luke, 4. 16]; where his public ministry commenced. But though commencing at Nazareth, he is made to refer [v. 23], to works which he had done at Capernaum; a place to which he goes, afterward. [v. 31.]

In Marcion, on the contrary, his public ministry commenced at Capernaum; [Marcion, 1. 1]; whence, [v. 10], he came to Nazareth, and preached; and here, in the natural order, [v. 13], he refers to the works done at Capernaum.

This accords with the Gospel of Matthew, which represents that Jesus did not commence preaching, until after he had taken up his residence in Capernaum. [Matt. 4. 13 to 17.] Mark follows Luke. Matthew and Marcion were probably from a common manuscript.

In the Gospel of John, Jesus is represented as performing his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, after which he went down to Capernaum. [John 2. 11, 12.] This therefore, is confirmatory of Marcion.

It is probable that in Luke, the manuscripts were put together out of their natural order, and that this disorder was followed in Mark. It was the opinion of

Griesbach that the author of Mark had before him the whole of the present Gospel of Luke. Schleiermacher thinks he had some of the manuscripts which comprise the Gospel of Luke.[1]

All the arguments of Schleiermacher, showing that Luke consisted of a compilation of older manuscripts, will apply with equal force to Marcion, so far as it contains the same material. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that either of these gospels was formed directly from the other. It may well be, that common manuscripts were used.

At the same time, the fact that nearly every word of Marcion is in Luke, besides much additional matter, is strongly suggestive of the theory, that the author of Luke had before him, besides other material, the Gospel of Marcion entire. On the supposition that Marcion was last written, it is difficult to conceive why he should have excluded so large a portion of the Gospel of Luke, especially as it is now conceded that it was not done for dogmatic purposes. On the other hand, if Luke was written last, the accumulations were in accordance with the spirit of the age, and the practice of the times. Besides, it was necessary to have a gospel different from that of Marcion, who was a heretic. There is no satisfactory evidence that Marcion had seen either of the canonical gospels, or had even heard of them.

The first two chapters of Luke were wanting in the gospels of the first century. They were also wanting in the Gospel of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes, about A. D. 125, as well as in the Gospel of Marcion, A. D. 145. They first appeared in the Protevangelion, about A. D. 125, and were probably not deemed by Marcion, authentic.

(1.) Schlei. on Luke, p. 91.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—A. D. 150 to 160.

There has been much diversity of opinion as to the time when Justin Martyr lived, and wrote his far-famed Apologies.

His first Apology was supposed by Page, Neander, Otto, Semisch and others, to have been written, A. D. 139. But the reason given for the opinion was, that Verissimus became Cæsar in 139, and it was thought, if the First Apology had been written after that date, he would have been styled Cæsar by Justin. He calls him "the philosopher;" a title in which Justin himself took great pride. He says:

"Do you, then, since ye are called pious and philosophers; guardians of justice and lovers of learning, give good heed, and hearken to my address.—1*st Apology, ch.* 2.

And again: "This judgment of yours, O Urbicus, does not become the Emperor Pius, nor the philosopher, the son of Cæsar, nor the sacred senate."—2d *Apology, ch.* 2.

Here Verissimus is called the philosopher, in the Second Apology, also, which is admitted by all, to have been written after 139. The title "philosopher" was at that time, esteemed a very honorable one. The embassy or apology of Athenagoras, A. D. 177, was addressed as follows:

"The Embassy of Athenagoras, the Athenian, a philosopher and a Christian, concerning Christians, to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, Armeniaci, Sarmatici, and above all, philosophers."

There are other considerations, which go strongly against so early a date.

Justin was born, A. D. 114, and therefore would be but 25 years of age, in 139.

Again: Marcion did not come to Rome, until about 140. The date is generally fixed at 142. But Justin, in the First Apology, speaks of him in terms which imply that he had been a long time, disseminating his docrines.

"And there is Marcion, a man of Pontus," says he, "who is even at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 26.

Still further: Justin himself says impliedly, that he was writing 150 years after Christ:

"But lest some should, without reason," says he, "and for the perversion of what we teach, maintain that we say that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago, under Cyrenius, and subsequently, in the time of Pontius Pilate, taught what we say he taught," &c.—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 46.

Those who contend for an early date, claim that Justin is here speaking in round numbers, merely. But if, when writing in 139, he wished to speak in round numbers, would he not have said 140? Some writers, seeing that for this reason, the date should be nearer 150 than 140, have placed it at 146 to 148. Burton has 148.[1]

We think it consists better with the age of Justin, and with what he says of Marcion, as well as with a true construction of this passage, to take the 150 years as the true time, certainly the minimum time after the

(1.) Ecc. Hist. Vol. 2, p. 111.

birth of Christ, when the First Apology was written. This is the opinion of Tillemont, Fleury, Ceillier, Dr. Grabe and others, and is sanctioned by the authority of Norton. Dr. Davidson speaks of Justin as flourishing about 150, though he is inclined to date the Apology two or three years earlier.

We have thought it necessary to review the evidence on this question, because of its importance, and because, though the evidence of a later date than 139, appears almost overwhelming, we find, in the very valuable encyclopedia of McClintock and Strong, it is still stated, that the First Apology was written, A. D. 139.[1]

What Gospels were used by Justin?

This is a question of the highest importance. We have now come to the middle of the second century, and to one of the ablest and most celebrated of the fathers; one whose works are famous for the zeal and piety which they display.

Canon Westcott, through some seventy-five pages, labors with great earnestness, and with much ability, to show that Justin Martyr was acquainted with the canonical gospels.

At the very threshold of the subject, we are met by the fact, that nowhere in all the writings of Justin, does he once so much as mention any of those Gospels. Nor does he mention either of their supposed authors, except John. Once his name occurs. Not however, as the author of a gospel, but in such a connection as raises a very strong presumption, that Justin knew of no gospel of John the Apostle:

"And further," says he, "there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was

(1.) Article, "Marcion." The article is accredited to Prof. Worman, of Drew Theological Seminary.

made to him, that those who believed in our Christ, would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter, the general, and in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men, would likewise take place."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 81.

This language is quite inconsistent with the theory, that John was the author of a gospel then well known and generally received, and which was a part of the "Memoirs of the Apostles," used and referred to by Justin.

The failure of Justin Martyr to refer to either of the supposed authors of the four gospels, as a writer of such a book, becomes still more significant, when it is considered how often he refers to the Old Testament writers by name, (nearly 200 times in all), and that besides "The Memoirs of the Apostles," the title of which is somewhat indefinite, he specifically mentions two gospels, one of which, the Acts of Pilate, is still extant. The other, the Gospel of Peter, is lost.

The argument of Westcott and others is, that inasmuch as there are found in the canonical gospels, passages closely resembling those quoted by Justin, and in two or three instances, passages exactly the same, that by the Memoirs of the Apostles, which Justin frequently refers to, he must mean the canonical gospels.

On the contrary, it has been shown, by Hilgenfeld, Credner, Mayerhoff and others, and more lately, by the author of "Supernatural Religion," who has reviewed the whole subject with great ability, that the argument based upon the similarity of these passages, is entirely inconclusive, That except in two or three instances, it becomes necessary, in order to obtain parallels, to put together, not only passages from different portions of the same gospel, but in some cases, passages from different gospels. Also that by this process the con-

nection is broken up, while the quotations in Justin have, for the most part, a consecutive order, and, as is shown by the context, had such an order in the gospel from which they were taken.

There are also a number of sayings of Christ, given by Justin as quotations, which are not in the canonical gospels at all.

Again, the references of Justin to the various incidents in the life of Jesus, show a divergence from the canonical gospels, not only in the mode of stating facts, but in the facts themselves. In some instances, they point unmistakably to a known source, whence they were taken.

While in Luke and Matthew, the genealogy of Jesus is traced through Joseph, Justin traces it through Mary. In the Protevangelion, of the use of which by Justin there is much evidence, Mary is said to be of the lineage of David.[1]

Justin, in relating the announcement to Mary, has the angel say, "Behold, thou shalt conceive of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a Son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."[2]

In the Protevangelion, the angel says to Mary,

"The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also the holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest, [in one version, the 'Son of the living God,'] and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins."—[Chapter 11.]

In Luke, the closing of the salutation is,

"Therefore also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God."—[Luke, 1. 35.]

The closing phrase, "for he shall save his people from their sins," which is exactly the same in the Apology

(1.) Protevangelion, ch. 10.
(2.) Apology, 1. 33.

and in the Protevangelion, is not in this passage of Luke; neither is it in the 31st verse, which reads, "And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus."

Again, in one version of the Protevangelion, the angel says to Mary, "Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favor before the Lord, and thou shalt conceive of his Word."[1]

Justin, after quoting what the angel said to Mary, but without giving his authority, says:

"It is wrong therefore, to understand the spirit and the power of God, as any thing else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as the aforesaid prophet Moses declared; and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive; not by intercourse, but by power."

Nothing of this in Luke. Justin then adds:

"And the name Jesus, in the Hebrew language, means Savior, in the Greek tongue;" and continuing, he repeats the closing words in the announcement to Mary, thus:

"Wherefore, too, the angel said to the virgin, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."—*Apology, ch.* 33.

This deliberate repetition of the sentence, in the same words, indicates, quite conclusively, that he was quoting the words of the Protevangelion, from that gospel, or from some other now lost.

Tischendorff himself thinks this passage was a recollection from the Protevangelion, and that it was "unconsciously added, by Justin, to the account in Luke."[2]

Justin, when speaking of the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, says:

"On the occasion of the first census, which was taken in Judæa, under Cyrenius, he (Joseph) went up from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem,

(1.) Ch. 11, as given by Tischendorff, Evang. Apoc. p. 21.
(2.) Wann wurden, &c. p. 77.

to which he belonged, to be enrolled; for his family was of the tribe of Judah, which then inhabited that region."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 78.

The differences between the account of Justin, and that in Luke, are manifest.

In the one, the census was taken in Judæa. [In the Protevangelion, all the Jews were to be taxed, who were of Bethlehem, in Judæa.] In the other, the census was to extend to all the world, or in other words, to the whole Roman Empire. In the one, [not in this passage, but in 1st Apology, ch. 34], Cyrenius is styled "your first procurator in Judæa," and in this passage it is stated, that the going to Bethlehem, was on the occasion of the first census, which was taken under him. In the other, the census is spoken of as being made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. In the one, the descent of Joseph is said to be from the tribe of Judah. In the other, it is asserted that he was of the house and lineage of David, and that is given as the reason for going to Bethlehem, it being the city of David.

Justin represents Jesus as having been born in a cave.[1] So do the Protevangelion, and the Gospel of the Infancy. In the 70th and 78th chapters of the Dialogue, Justin quotes from Isaiah 33. 16, to prove that it was necessary, for the fulfillment of prophecy, that Christ should be born in a cave. That the birth of Christ took place in a cave, was quite generally believed by the fathers. Origen and Eusebius state that the cave was shown in their day.[2]

"Later Fathers," says Westcott, "speak of the cave, without any misgivings that they contradict St. Luke."[3]

(1.) Dialogue, ch. 78.

(2.) Origen, cont. Cels. 1. 51, and Euseb. Vita Const. 3. 40. See also Socrates, Ecc. Hist. 1. 17; Sozomen, Ecc. Hist. 2. 2; Epiph. Hær. 20. 1; Jerome, Ep. 58, ad Paul. The reference to the cave by Gregory Nyssen, has already been given. [Ch. 10.] Origen refers to the Gospel of the Infancy.

(3.) Canon, p. 92, note; referring to Origen and Epiphanius.

Justin when referring to the Magi, nearly every time speaks of their coming from Arabia; making the assertion no less than nine times. This must have been taken from some gospel now lost.

Justin says, speaking of Christ,

"He was deemed a carpenter, (for he was in the habit of working as a carpenter, when among men, making plows and yokes; by which he taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life.)"—*Dial. ch.* 88.

In the copy of the Gospel of the Infancy published by Tischendorff,[1] it is said of Jesus,

"Now his father was a carpenter, and made at that time, plows and yokes."

Justin speaks of a fire in the River Jordan, when Jesus was baptized. So did the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2] It is also mentioned in "The Preaching of Paul."[3]

Justin has the Holy Spirit say to Jesus, at his baptism, "This is my beloved Son; to-day have I begotten thee." The same form of expression was in the Gospel of the Hebrews, and was quoted by others of the fathers.

These are some of the indications, and it must be admitted they are plain ones, showing that Justin made extensive use of other gospels.

Some of those used by him, are expressly named.—Not only does he allude to the Gospel or Memoirs of Peter,[4] but he twice cites by name, the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus.

In the 35th chapter of the First Apology, he says of Christ,

"And after he was crucified, they cast lots upon his vesture, and they that crucified him, parted it among them. And that these things did happen, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate."

(1.) Ev. Apoc. p. 144.
(2.) See chapter 4 of this work, fragment from Epiphanius.
(3.) Treatise on Re-Baptism, appended to Cyprian's works.
(4.) See chapter 1 of this work.

Some writers have thought that the reference here is to the official report, said to have been made by Pilate to Tiberius. At the same time it is conceded, that even if such a report was made, Justin had never seen it. These writers do not explain, how he could so confidently refer to a report which he had never seen, or how such a report could contain an account so manifestly founded upon Jewish prophecies.

In the text of the gospel called "The Acts of Pilate," as published in the Orthodoxographa of Grynæus, is the following:

"And they divided his garments, and upon his vesture they cast lots."—*Acts of Pilate, ch.* 10.

Justin says,

"They cast lots upon his vesture, and they that crucified him, parted it among them."

And refers to the Acts of Pilate, as authority for the statement. There is but little doubt, that the gospel by that name now extant, was the work referred to by Justin.[1] It will be seen that the phraseology is different from that in the canonical gospels. Davidson also thinks Justin had this gospel.[2]

Again: In the 48th chapter of the First Apology, Justin says:

"And that it was predicted that our Christ should heal all diseases, and raise the dead, hear what was said: There are these words: 'At his coming, the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear speaking: the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed; and the dead shall rise, and walk about.' And that he did those things, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate."

A number of these miracles are reported in the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate, including the raising from

(1.) This is the opinion of Tischendorff.—Evang. Apoc. Proleg. p. 64;—Wann Wurden, &c. p. 82.

(2.) Canon, p. 100.

the dead. It is undoubtedly the authority referred to in this passage of Justin Martyr. If any official report was ever made by Pilate to Tiberius, it would scarcely contain admissions that a person whom he had put to death, had performed such miracles.

If then, as there is every reason to believe, the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate was the work alluded to, we have, on the supposition that the canonical gospels then existed, the extraordinary spectacle presented, of a writer of the middle of the second century, one of the most prominent fathers of the church, passing over gospels in general circulation, and which were considered authoritative, and as evidence of the miracles of Jesus, citing an apocryphal and discredited gospel.

Various other considerations might be mentioned, affecting, with more or less force, the question, as to what gospels were used by Justin. But let these suffice.

When it is considered, That no one of the canonical gospels is expressly mentioned, nor either of the supposed writers, except John, and he under such circumstances as negative the presumption that Justin knew of him as the author of a gospel—that Justin refers by name to the writers of the Old Testament Scriptures nearly 200 times—that from a large number of quotations from written accounts of the sayings of Christ, only two or three agree literally with the canonical gospels—that in nearly all cases, parallel passages can only be obtained, by patching together different passages, and sometimes from different gospels—that Justin quotes sayings of Christ not in the canonical gospels —that he refers to incidents in the life of Jesus, not found at all in those gospels, but which are in other known gospels—and finally that he cites two or three such by name, and one of them as authority for the miracles of Jesus; it cannot be denied, that the evidence

that the canonical gospels were unknown to Justin Martyr, is very strong, and indeed, well nigh conclusive.

There are two circumstances which should be mentioned, which are sometimes relied upon, to break the force of this accumulated evidence.

One is, the fact that Justin quotes from the Old Testament loosely, the difference between his quotations and the passages themselves, being, in several instances, as great, as between the quotations which have been referred to, and the corresponding passages in the New Testament. The proportion of exact quotations is, however, much greater, in the one case, than the other, there being over sixty from the Old Testament, or nearly one-half of the whole number; while in a large number of other instances, the variation is very slight.

In the citations, on the other hand, relating to the sayings and doings of Christ, the number of exact quotations will not exceed three, out of nearly a hundred. Those which are the same, consist of the sayings of Christ, which were preserved in other gospels, and by oral tradition. Thus, where the quotations are the most important, and should therefore more exactly correspond, they are found, on the contrary, the more divergent.

The other circumstance is, that Justin does not expressly mention Paul, or his writings. Hence, it is argued, his omission to mention other New Testament writers, should not be looked upon with surprise. There is some force in the suggestion. At the same time, it is claimed on the other side, that there were special reasons for this omission. The silence concerning Paul, has been referred to the well-known schism between him and Peter. Justin's works have been considered as standing upon the Petrine side, or at least, as anti-Pauline. It is possible that some further ex-

planation of the silence of Justin, may be found in the fact, that the only collection of Paul's epistles then in circulation, had been made by Marcion, a heretic, who was peculiarly obnoxious to Justin.

In regard to the "Memoirs of the Apostles," which are referred to some fifteen or twenty times by Justin, as the source of many of his quotations, those who contend that he meant the Gospel of the Hebrews,[1] in support of their theory, point to the significant fact that the Gospel of the Hebrews was also known as "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles." This, they think, was "The Memoirs of the Apostles," referred to by Justin Martyr.

Justin was of Greek descent, but was born at Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria. He studied in the various schools of philosophy, and afterward became an earnest and devoted Christian. He lived for awhile at Ephesus, and then settled in Rome. Here he suffered martyrdom, about the year 165.

Doctrines.—Dr. Priestly thought that Justin was the first who advanced the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ.[2]

From the time of Justin Martyr, the doctrine of the Logos, or Word, which had prevailed, in various forms, from ancient times, and which had been so extensively treated by Philo, became associated with the person of Jesus Christ.

The "Word" of Philo, was "The first begotten Son of God,"[3] "the first begotten Word,"[4] "the Image of God," "the Divine Word,"[5] his most ancient Word,[6] "the Image

(1.) Davidson, Ewald, Credner, Tischendorff, De Wette, and many others.
(2.) History of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. 1, p. 46.
(3.) De Agricult. sec. 12. (4.) De Confus. Ling. sec. 28
(5.) De Somniis, 1. sec. 12. (6.) Ibid. 1. 39.

of God, by which the whole world was created." But Philo was a Jew, and knew nothing of Christ, as the Word.

In the writings of Justin Martyr, this phraseology was applied to Jesus.[1] A similar application of the term was afterward adopted in the Gospel of John.

Some allusion to the Logos is found in the Revelation, [19. 13], which appears to have been written before this time, as Justin refers to it.[2] It is possible he might have taken some hint from this passage, or from the Gospel of the Infancy, but it is probable that for his doctrine of the Logos, he is more indebted to the works of Philo.

Paul had applied to Jesus, the language of the Psalmist, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee;" but he had not identified the Son and the Word as the same. The "Word" of Paul, was the written word of Scripture.

Philo had said the Word was the first begotten Son; Justin Martyr, applying these terms to Christ, asserted that he was the Word, the first and only begotten Son of God. In the writings of Justin, however, he is still subordinated to the Father. It remained for the author of the Gospel of John to boldly and unqualifiedly announce, that "the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

(1.) Dialogue, chs. 87 to 100, 105, and other places.
(2.) Dialogue, ch. 81.

CHAPTER XXII.

SECOND HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—Continued.

APELLES—PEREGRINUS—MARCELLINA—PHILIP—SOTER—MONTANUS—TATIAN.

APELLES.—A. D. 160.

Apelles is said to have been excommunicated by Marcion. He afterward had a sect and a gospel of his own. He was a Gnostic. There were various Gnostic sects. One of their cardinal doctrines was, that Jesus was a man, begotten by man. Some of them held, that he became Christ, the Son of God, at the time of his anointing and baptism.

"When" says Baring-Gould, "Gnosticism fixed on the anointing as the communication to Christ of his divine mission and Messiahship, their mention of it was cut out of the gospels in possession of the church, and consequently the canonical gospels are without it to this day."—*Lost and Hostile Gospels, p.* 202.

Others believed that Jesus and Christ were different. That Jesus suffered, but Christ only in appearance. These were called Docetæ. Christ, as distinct from the man Jesus, had a pre-existence.

According to the fathers, Apelles denied the resurrection of the dead. He published a collection of revelations which he had received from a noted courtesan, by the name of Philumene.[1]

(1.) See Tertullian, de Præs. adv. Hær. c. 30; Epiph. Hær. 44; Austin, de Hær. ad Q. 23 in Ap.

Not much reliance is placed upon these assertions. They are considered slanders by Dr. Lardner and other candid historians. Especially are such statements against prominent women, who held heretical opinions, entitled to but little credit.

Neander defends the character of Apelles, and considers his intimacy with Philumene, altogether blameless.[1]

The Gospel of Apelles.

But little is known of this gospel. Jerome, in the preface to his Commentary on Matthew, and Venerable Bede, in his Commentary on Luke, refer to the Gospel of Apelles, as one of those alluded to in Luke; "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth," &c. [Luke, 1. 1.] According to these writers, then, the Gospel of Luke was written in the latter part of the second century.

Peregrinus.—A. D. 150 to 169.

Lucian, author of the Dialogues, A. D. 165, gives a history of Peregrinus. He says he learned a wonderful doctrine of the Christians, by conversing with their priests and scribes, near Palestine. "And in a short time, he showed they were but children to him; for he was prophet, high priest, ruler of a synagogue; uniting all offices in himself alone. Some books he interpreted and explained; others he wrote. They spoke of him as a god, and took him for a law-giver, and honored him with the title of master. They still, therefore, worship that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced into the world, this new religion."[2]

Lucian was contemporary with Peregrinus, having

(1.) Church History, vol. 2, p. 151.
(2.) De Morte Peregrin. t. 1. p. 565.

been born A. D. 124,[1] and living until after 180.[2] The same writer says further, that Peregrinus was a person who rambled from place to place, and from one sect of philosophy to another. "Having been guilty of parricide and other crimes, he was obliged for awhile, to leave his native country, and travel abroad." He was afterward imprisoned. While in prison, he was visited by Christians, who administered to his necessities. The Governor of Syria set him at liberty. He then returned to Parium, his native place, and afterward, about the year 169, he ascended a funeral pile, which he had voluntarily prepared, and perished in the flames, in the sight of all Greece.

Peregrinus was also called Proteus. His death is mentioned by some of the fathers.[3]

Athenagoras refers to it thus:

"Of the statues of Alexander and Proteus, (the latter, you are aware, threw himself into the fire near Olympia), that of Proteus is likewise said to utter oracles."—*Plea for the Christians, ch.* 26.

There is reason to believe that the picture drawn by Lucian, was, like his portraiture of Alexander Abonotichus, and his casual mention of Apollonius of Tyana, colored by the pen of prejudice.

From other writers, there are more favorable accounts:

Ammianus Marcellinus, [3d century], mentions his death, and calls him an illustrious philosopher.[4]

Philostratus [210], refers to his death, and speaks of him as a cynic philosopher.[5]

Aulus Gellius, [2d century], speaks of him as follows:

"I saw, when I was at Athens, a philosopher named Peregrinus, and surnamed afterward Proteus; a man of dignity and fortitude, who resided in a

(1.) Moyle's Works, vol. 2, p. 363.
(2.) Lardner, vol. 4, p. 149.
(3.) Tertullian, ad Mart. cap. 4, p. 157; Athenagoras, see above.
(4.) Amm. l. 29, cap. 1.
(5.) De Vit. Soph. l. 2, n. 1, sec. 13.

little cottage, without the city. As I used to go to him frequently, I heard from him many useful and excellent remarks, among which this is what I chiefly remember:

"He said, 'A wise man should not be guilty of sin, although gods and men were alike ignorant of it.' For he thought a wise man should avoid sin, not from the fear of punishment or disgrace, but from his sense of duty and love of virtue."—*Noctes Atticæ, bk.* 12, *ch.* 11.

He then represents Peregrinus as quoting these lines of Sophocles:

"Nor vainly think your skill can aught conceal;
Time, that knows all things, shall all truths reveal."

It is as difficult to reconcile this sprightly picture by the author of the Attic Nights, with what is said by Lucian, as it is, the extant Epistles of Apollonius, with the notice which Lucian chose to take, of that philosopher.

Marcellina.—A. D. 160.

Marcellina was the founder of a sect, called Marcellians. She was a Gnostic—a disciple of Carpocrates.

The fathers are almost entirely silent concerning her. If we are left in ignorance of desirable information, her name has at least been handed down, free from detraction and calumny.

Soter.—A. D. 164.

Soter was Bishop of Rome, about A. D. 175. Dr. Lardner puts him down as one of the writers of the second century, whose works are lost, and dates his writings, A. D. 164. He may have flourished as a writer, before he was made bishop.

Philip.—A. D. 170.

This writer is in the same category with the preceding. He is mentioned with Soter and others, as writers of the second century, whose works are lost.[1]

(1.) Lardner, vol. 1, p. 436.

Montanus.—A. D. 170.

Dr. Priestly thinks many of the Montanists were Unitarians.

Epiphanius gives extracts from the writings of Montanus, and shows him to have been a millenarian.

Apollonius, the Christian writer of the third century, became an active opponent of Montanism, and endeavored to counteract the impulse which had been given to it by Tertullian. This great father had left the catholic church, and had gone over to Montanism, about the end of the second century.

Tischendorff says, the opponents of Montanism rejected the Gospel of John.[1]

Epiphanius mentions the Pepuzians, a sect of Montanists, who permitted women to baptize.[2]

Tatian.—A. D. 170.

Tatian was by birth an Assyrian. He was converted by Justin Martyr, but afterward became a Gnostic, a follower of Marcion. He joined the Encratites, and has been considered by some, as the founder of that sect.

His Oration against the Greeks, is still extant. It contains no mention of any of the canonical gospels. Some writers claim that there are passages parallel with those gospels. They consist of the sayings of Christ, and the better opinion appears to be, that they were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The Gospel or Harmony of Tatian.

There is a Harmony of the Gospels attributed to Tatian. It is sometimes called, "The Gospel of Tatian."

The work is first heard of in Eusebius; who says,

"Tatian, however, their former chief, having put together a certain amalgamation and collection, I know not how, of the Gospels, named this the Diatessaron; which even now is current with some."—*Ecc. Hist.* 4. 29.

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 123. (2.) Hær. 49. 2.

The next reference to the Gospel of Tatian, is by Epiphanius. He says:

"It is said that he (Tatian) composed the Gospel by Four, which is called by some, the Gospel of the Hebrews."—*Hær.* 46. 1.

It does not appear that either of these writers had seen any such gospel. They wrote from hearsay; and the statement of Epiphanius as to the name of the gospel, is no doubt based upon the passage in Eusebius.

The third writer is Theodoret. He says:

"He [Tatian] also composed the gospel which is called The Diatessaron, excising the genealogies, and all the other parts which declare that the Lord was born of the seed of David, according to the flesh. This was used, not only by those of his own sect, but also by those who held the apostolic doctrines, who did not perceive the evil of the composition, but made use of the book in simplicity, on account of its conciseness. I found, myself, upwards of two hundred such books held in honor among your churches, and collecting them altogether, I had them put aside, and instead, introduced the Gospels of the Four Evangelists."—*Haeret. Fab.* 1. 20.

The next century, Victor of Capua, referring to Tatian's Gospel, called it "Diapente;" "The Gospel by Five."[1]

Such is the evidence concerning the Gospel or Harmony of Tatian. Let us attempt to analyze it:

Epiphanius only states, that it was then said that he (Tatian) composed the Gospel by Four; and immediately adds, that it was called by some, the Gospel of the Hebrews. This was about A. D. 385. Half a century later, Theodoret asserts that it was then called the Diatessaron, and states something about its composition.

Independently of Eusebius, then, it only appears, that in the fourth and fifth centuries it was called the Diatessaron, and in the sixth, the Diapente.

But Eusebius says that Tatian himself called it the Diatessaron. This is not the first statement of Eusebius, tending to give an early date to the canonical gos-

(1.) Fabricius. Cod. N. T. 1. p. 378.

pels, in which he is unsupported by earlier authorities.

The importance of the question renders it necessary to examine into the credibility of this witness, and to endeavor to ascertain whether his unsupported statement may be relied upon. This subject will be treated in the next chapter.

In the mean time, there is a circumstance disclosed, which in itself goes strongly to rebut the presumption that Tatian made use of the four gospels.

It appears from the testimony of Theodoret himself, that he felt under the necessity of suppressing this gospel, though it was held in high respect, and two hundred were in use in the churches which he visited.

If it was a harmony of the four gospels, what was the necessity for suppressing it? Why was it necessary to substitute those gospels for a harmony of them?

The fact that Theodoret felt obliged to suppress it, is inconsistent with the theory that it was a harmony of the four gospels, and throws suspicion upon a statement made manifestly for the purpose of supporting such an inference.

The pretext for the change was, that Tatian had omitted certain portions. But it is much more probable, that those were not in the gospels of which a digest had been made by Tatian.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY OF EUSEBIUS.

The Estimate of Friendly Writers.

Those who are disposed to take the most favorable view of this historian, hold him in low repute, as a chronicler of facts.

"The great fault of Eusebius," says canon Westcott, "is a want of independent judgment. He writes under the influence of the last informant, and consequently his narrative is often confused and inconsistent. This is the case, in some degree, with his statements on the canon."—*Canon, p.* 383. He believes it possible, however, to ascertain his real judgment on the question.

Jones charges him with being too credulous, and thinks he was imposed upon, in the correspondence between Christ and Abgarus, or else that the correspondence had been interpolated into the history of Eusebius.[1] The historian affirms, that he found the letters written in the Syriac language, in the public records of the City of Edessa, and that he himself translated them into Greek. The letters are very generally discredited, as well as the statement of Eusebius concerning them.

"No one" says Scaliger, speaking of Eusebius, "has

(1.) Jones. Vol. 2, p. 18.

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contributed more to Christian history, and no one is guilty of more mistakes."[1]

His Falsehoods and Forgeries.

The statements of this historian are made, not only carelessly and blunderingly, but in many instances, in falsification of the facts of history.

Not only the most unblushing falsehoods, but literary forgeries of the vilest character, darken the pages of his apologetic and historical writings.

His misstatements made for the purpose of bringing into disrepute the Gospel of Peter and other writings of the first century, have already been noticed.

As the greater includes the less, we will not stop to consider the countless number of other merely false statements to be found in his works, but will proceed at once, to some of the forgeries of which he has been convicted.

Forgeries on Josephus.

One of the most notorious of these, is in the account of the death of Herod Agrippa.

In the 12th chapter of Acts, it is stated that Herod, while sitting upon his throne, arrayed in royal apparel, and as the people were shouting and calling him a god, was smitten by the angel of the Lord, and was eaten by worms, and gave up the ghost.[2]

Josephus says, "Agrippa, casting his eyes upward, saw an owl, sitting upon a rope, over his head."[3]

Eusebius, in order to make Josephus agree with the Acts of the Apostles, struck out of the text of the Jew-

(1.) Elench. Trihær. c. 29. See also, Father Maimberg's Hist. of Arianism, in French, Tom. 1, l. 1, p. 32; and Valesius' Life of Eusebius, prefixed to his Ecclesiastical History.

(2.) Acts, 12. 21 to 23.

(3.) Antiquities, bk. 19. c. 8. 2.

ish historian, a whole Greek phrase, meaning an owl sitting upon a rope or cord, and substituted the word meaning angel; so as to make Josephus state that Herod, looking up, saw an angel over his head.[1]

This forgery has been known for centuries, and is not denied by any. Some endeavor to excuse or palliate it, while others pass it over in silence, or as a matter of small importance.

Again: It was the opinion of the learned Dr. Lardner, that Eusebius was the one who was guilty of the forgery of the passage in Josephus, concerning Christ.

In the third volume of his works, Dr. Lardner did not openly charge this forgery upon Eusebius, though he more than hinted that he believed him to be the author of it; saying,

"Probably some learned Christian, who had read the works of Josephus, thinking it strange that this Jewish historian should say nothing of Jesus Christ, wrote this paragraph, in the margin of his copy, and thence it came to be afterward inserted into many copies of Josephus."

"Who was the first author of this interpolation," said he, "cannot be said. Tanaquil Faber (ap. Havercamp, p. 272), suspected Eusebius. I do not charge it upon him, but I think it was first made about his time."—*Works, vol.* 3, *p.* 542.

Afterward, however, in the preface to the fourth volume, he speaks more plainly, and says:

"Indeed, it is not Josephus, but Eusebius, or some other Christian about this time, who composed this paragraph. Every one must be inclined to think so, who observes the connection in the Evangelical Demonstration, where is the first quotation of it. In the third book of that work, Eusebius has a chapter or section, against those who do not give credit to the history of our Savior's wonderful works. ('*Πρὸς τοὺς ἀπενθοῦντας τῃ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν παραδόξων πραξεων διήγησεῖ.*'—Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. 7, p. 109.) Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical history, the success of the gospel

(1.) Ecc. Hist. bk. 2, ch. 10. Eusebius omitted the words "*βουβῶνα—ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινὸς,*" "an owl on a certain rope," and substituted "*ἄγγελον,*" "angel."

among the Greeks and Romans, and barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity and sufferings of Christ's apostles and the first Christians. Then he says:

"'Though the testimony of such men concerning our Savior, must be esteemed fully sufficient, it cannot be amiss for me to add, over and above, the testimony of Josephus, a Hebrew; who, in the eighteenth book of the Jewish Antiquities, writing the history of affairs in the time of Pilate, speaks of our Savior in these words:' where follows the paragraph which we are considering: where" continues Dr. Lardner, "our Lord is said to be 'a worker of wonderful works, ('*Ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής*:') which way of speaking is so agreeable to Eusebius, and has such a similitude with his style, that I am disposed to put down below, some instances from him; which must be of use to satisfy us, that the style of this paragraph is very Christian, if it be not the composition of Eusebius himself; as Tanaquil Faber suspected."

[Here follow several quotations from the 'Evangelical Demonstration' in the original Greek, showing the frequent use by Eusebius, of the phrase, *ποιητής ἔργων παραδόξων*, 'worker of wonderful works.']—*Lardner's Works, vol.* 4, *p.* 6.

Thus it appears that Dr. Lardner, who, in the third volume, only intimated a strong suspicion against Eusebius, as the author of this forgery, now, in the commencement of the fourth volume, after considering the matter more fully, draws an indictment, charging him openly with the crime; and calling up the case, introduces the evidence. The words "or some other Christian about this time," contained in the indictment, are to be considered as surplusage; since the evidence and the argument are directed against Eusebius himself.

There are other gross liberties, taken by Eusebius, with the writings of Josephus.

He transcribes Josephus' account of Theudas, and applies it as confirmatory of Acts, 5. 36; while in fact, it disagrees with the account in Acts so much, as to have made commentators great trouble. He quotes the passage from the fifth chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, and asserts that the Theudas there mentioned, is the same referred to in the Acts; skillfully suppressing the fact, that the Theudas mentioned by Josephus, led that rebellion in the year 45 or 46,

at least 38 years after the time mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

Again, in regard to the question of the taxing:

Eusebius, in his Chronicles, p. 76, asserts that Cyrenius "made a census of goods and persons" in the time of Herod. In the Ecclesiastical History, bk. 1, ch. 5, he says that Christ was born "the same year when the first census was taken, and Quirinus was Governor of Syria." He adds, "This census is mentioned by Flavius Josephus, the distinguished historian among the Hebrews." If a census was taken in the time of Herod, it is not mentioned by Josephus, who states distinctly, that after the death of Herod, Archelaus reigned nine years and was banished, and then Cyrenius had the assessment and taxing.[1]

Dr. Lardner, referring to this disingenuous passage, says, he ascribes it, not to ignorance, but "to somewhat a great deal worse."

"It is impossible," says he, "that a man of Eusebius' acuteness, who had the New Testament and Josephus before him, should think a census made after Archelaus' banishment, was the same with that before Herod died; but Eusebius was resolved to have St. Luke's History confirmed by the express testimony of the Jewish historian, right or wrong.—*Lardner's Works, Vol.* 1, *p.* 179.

The Forgery on Phlegon.

Origen, in his work against Celsus, says:

"But of the eclipse, which happened in the time of Tiberius, in whose reign Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which were at that time, Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or as I think, the fourteenth book of the Chronicle."—*Cont. Celsum, lib.* 2, *c.* 33.

Phlegon was a heathen historian, who wrote about the middle of the second century, and whose works are lost.

The statement of Origen, which was open to suspicion from the first, was severely handled by contempo-

(1.) Antiquities, bk. 17, ch. 13; also bk. 18, ch. 1.

rary writers, who urged, that an eclipse of the sun could not then have taken place, as the crucifixion occurred at the time of the Jewish passover, which was at the full of the moon; when an eclipse of the sun is impossible.

Whether it was further shown that the passage was misquoted, we know not. At all events, Origen, afterward, in his Commentary on Matthew, 27. 45, in reply to the objections which had been made, said, that Phlegon did not assert that the eclipse mentioned by him, happened at the time of the full moon, and finally concludes that we must not too positively maintain, against heathen people, that Phlegon spoke of the darkness which happened at the death of Jesus Christ.

Now comes Eusebius; who, writing a hundred years later, not only repeats the original statement, which had been substantially retracted by Origen, but undertakes to quote the very words of Phlegon. The passage in Eusebius is as follows:

"Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies concerning him, came to his passion on the 19th year of the reign of Tiberius; about which time, we find these things related, in other, even Gentile memoirs, in these very words: 'The sun was eclipsed; there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice.' All which things he relates with what happened at our Savior's passion. So writes and says the author of the Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in these words: 'In the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest of any known before. And it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the heavens. And there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many houses in Nice.' So writes this aforementioned author."—*Eusebius' Chronicle, p.* 77.

This is one of the most manifest of the forgeries of Eusebius. If there had been any such passage in Phlegon, stating that there was an eclipse of the sun, at the very hour when Christ was crucified, it would have been found out by Origen, who would have availed himself of it, when hard pressed by his adversaries.

Besides, the passage bears internal evidence of being a fabrication.

Eusebius had already quoted the passage from Phlegon, giving the very words. In the first quotation, Phlegon says: 'The sun was eclipsed; there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice.' This is given as the language of Phlegon. Afterward, Phlegon is made to say, "In the fourth year," &c. "there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest," &c. "And it was night the sixth hour of the day," &c. and "there was a great earthquake in Bithynia which overturned many houses in Nice." All this new matter, prefixed to the quotation, and the quotation itself different. What was only "an earthquake," (giving the very words, as he said, of Phlegon), becomes, in the second quotation, "a great earthquake," and the statement that "the sun was eclipsed," becomes swollen into a long sentence, full of additional circumstances. Then a heathen historian, for the purpose of sustaining the Christian religion, narrates an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun, taking place, at the very hour when Christ was crucified, although the moon was at the full!

This was only equaled, by making a Jewish historian declare, that Jesus "was the Christ."

The Forgery on Thallus.

Eusebius makes Thallus, another heathen historian, who wrote about 220, testify to the eclipse of the sun. The following is the language of our historian:

"There was a dreadful darkness over the whole world, and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many buildings were overturned in Judæa, and in other parts of the earth. This darkness Thallus calls an eclipse of the sun, in the third book of his histories; but as seems to me very improperly; for the Jews keep the passover in the fourteenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible."—*Eusebius, Canon. Chron. Graece, by Scaliger, p.* 77.

Since quoting from Phlegon, Eusebius appears to have become enlightened in regard to the possibility of an eclipse of the sun when the moon is at its full. Nevertheless, he persists in perpetrating these forgeries on the heathen writers. He has no compunction in making Thallus, a heathen, in his anxiety to support the gospel historians, declare that there was an eclipse of the sun, at the crucifixion of Christ.

This forgery Eusebius undertakes to father upon Africanus, quoting as from that writer, the words which are attributed to Thallus. As the works of Africanus are lost, there is no way of determining the question with complete certainty. There is no reasonable doubt, however, that the passage emanated in the first instance, from the author of the church history.

Thallus was a Syrian, and wrote in Greek. He is cited by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Lactantius and Theophilus, no one of whom ever claimed that his works contained any such passage, nor was the passage known, so far as we have any evidence, to any other ancient writer.

The Forgery on Porphyry.

Eusebius quotes, as evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, from a pretended work of Porphyry, entitled "The Philosophy of Oracles," a work never heard of before the time of Eusebius, and never since, but from those who accept as authority the author of the ecclesiastical history. The majority of scholars are pretty well satisfied, that such a work never existed.

Porphyry flourished in the latter part of the third century. He was an active opponent of the Christian religion. He wrote so strongly and powerfully against it, that his writings were, by an edict of Constantine,

condemned to the flames. Porphyry is made to speak of Christianity, as the "prevailing religion;" which it was not, until fifty years after Porphyry.

It was probably not until after the destruction of the writings of Porphyry, in accordance with the decree of Constantine, that this bold attempt was made to bring him in as a witness in favor of the very religion which he so powerfully opposed.

The "Philosophy of Oracles" has been branded as spurious, by Vandale,[1] by Fontenelle,[2] and other able writers.

Other portions of the works of the church historian, have been suspected.

Dr. Dodwell, Thirlby, and Dr. Jortin thought the letter of rescript of Antoninus Pius, as given by Eusebius, was a forgery. It is generally suspected that the correspondence between Christ and Abgarus is a literary work of the same character.

Such was the first chronicler of church history, whose works have come down to us. Such is the witness, the only witness to any thing which would indicate, with any definiteness, the existence of any of the canonical gospels earlier than about A. D. 170.

"Reject Eusebius," says Prof. Stowe, "and what have we for a history of the Christian churches of the first three centuries, or of the books used as scripture in those churches?"—*History of the Bible, p.* 47.

And yet, the truth requires that he should not at all be relied upon, except where he is supported by earlier, or at least contemporary writers, or by strong circumstantial evidence.

(1.) De Orac. Ethnic. p. 14.
(2.) Hist. of Oracles, Diss. 1, ch. 4.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIEW OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH PERIODS.

A. D. 120 to 170.

Since leaving the apostolic fathers, we have traversed, by the uncertain light of patristic literature, through half a century;—the last half of a period well characterized by Dr. Westcott, as the dark age of church history. [A. D. 70 to 170.]

We have met with twenty-six Christian writers, some of them, persons of much celebrity, and all of them writers of considerable repute, besides others of less note, and with various anonymous works, including the three most famous so called apocryphal gospels.

In all this mass of Christian literature, there is not to be found a single mention of any of the canonical gospels. Not one of all these writers, in any work which has been preserved, has mentioned Luke, Mark, John or Matthew, as the author of a gospel.

The Gospel of Marcion, written about A. D. 145, bears internal evidence of having preceded Luke, and in like manner the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Infancy were manifestly written before Luke and Matthew, and the Acts of Pilate before any of the canonical gospels.

Coming to Justin Martyr, who wrote fully as late as the middle of the second century, there is no satisfactory evidence that he used or knew of the existence of any such gospels as those which afterward became canonical. On the contrary, not only does he quote many sayings of Christ different from those recorded in the four gospels, but he has some which have no parallel in any of them. He relates incidents in the life of Jesus, not in the canonical, but which are in other extant gospels. Finally, he mentions two of those other gospels by name, and cites one of them as authority for the miracles of Jesus. His "Memoirs of the Apostles," was probably the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which was but another name for the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Continuing through the remainder of the period, we meet with several writers, nearly all of whose works are lost. These end with Tatian. There is no sufficient evidence, that the so called Diatessaron of this writer, was a Harmony of the Four Gospels.

The character of Eusebius has been examined, and he has been found to be, as an unsupported witness, entirely unreliable. The facts to which this witness testifies, are not by any means, of a conclusive character. But they are skillfully thrown together in such a manner as to create the impression, that the canonical gospels were in existence, during the time of which he was writing.

In every instance, the assertion is by implication. But the intent to deceive is manifest. The silence, even of Eusebius, as to any evidence earlier than A. D. 126, is significant.

The evidence of heathen writers, during this period, is invoked by some authors, but such evidence does not tend to establish the existence of the four gospels.

FIFTH PERIOD.—A. D. 170 TO 185.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.

More than fourteen hundred years ago, Faustus, a Manichæan bishop, a Christian, in his discussion with Augustine, after calling attention to the fact, that his opponent himself rejected many portions of the Old Testament, said:

"If there are parts of the Testament of the Father which we are not bound to observe, (for you attribute the Jewish law to the Father, and it is well known that many things in it shock you, &c.) the testimony of the Son must be equally liable to corruption, and may equally well contain objectionable things; especially as it is allowed not to have been written by the son himself, *nor by his apostles; but long after, by some unknown men*, who, lest they should be suspected of writing things they knew nothing of, gave to their books the names of the apostles, declaring the contents to be *according* to these originals. In this, I think they do grievous wrong to the disciples of Christ, by quoting their authority for the discordant and contradictory statements, in these writings, saying that it was according to them that they wrote the gospels, which are so full of errors and discrepancies, both in facts and opinions, that they can be harmonized neither with themselves, nor with one another. This is nothing else than to slander good men, and to bring the charge of dissension on the brotherhood of the disciples. In reading the gospels, the clear intention of our heart perceives the errors, and to avoid all injustice, we accept

whatever is useful in the way of building up our faith, and promoting the glory of the Lord Christ, and of the Almighty God, his Father, while we reject the rest, as unbecoming the majesty of God and Christ, and inconsistent with our belief."—*Works of Augustine.—On the Manichœan Heresy. bk.* 32, 1. 2.

Again, in a subsequent passage, continuing his argument, he says:

"I do not suppose you will even consent or listen to such things, as that a father-in-law should lie with his daughter-in-law, as Judah did; or a father with his daughters, as Lot; or with harlots, like Hosea; or that a husband should sell his wife for a night, to her lover, like Abraham; or that a man should marry two sisters, like Jacob; or that the rulers of the people, and the men you consider most inspired, should keep their mistresses by hundreds and thousands; or according to the provision made in Deuteronomy about wives, that the wife of one brother, if he die without children, should marry the surviving brother, and that he should raise up seed for her instead of his brother, and if the man refuses to do this, the fair plaintiff should bring her case before the elders, that the brother may be called, and admonished to perform this religious duty, and that if he persists in his refusal, he must not go unpunished, but the woman must loose his shoe from his right foot, and strike him in the face, and send him away, spat upon and accursed, to perpetuate the reproach in his family.

"These and such as these, are the examples and precepts of the Old Testament. If they are good, why do you not practice them? If they are bad, why do you not condemn the Old Testament, in which they are found? But if you think that these are spurious interpolations, that is precisely what we think of the New Testament. You have no right to claim from us an acknowledgment for the New Testament, which you do not make for the old."—*Ibid. bk.* 32, 4.

Again, he says:

"So then, with the help of the paraclete, we may take the same liberties with the New Testament, as Jesus enables you to take with the Old, unless you suppose that the Testament of the Son is of greater value than that of the Father, if it is really the Father; so that while many parts of the one are to be condemned, the other must be exempted from all disapproval. That too, *when we know, as I said before, that it was not written by Christ or his apostles.*"—*Ibid.*

To this charge, thus repeated, Augustine, after treating other points at length, replies as follows:

"We can now answer the question, how we know that these books were written by the apostles. In a word, we know this in the same way that you know that the books whose authority you are so deluded as to prefer, were written by Manichæus. For suppose some one should raise a question on this point, and should contend, in arguing with you, that the books which you attribute to Manichæus, are not of his authorship. Your only reply would be, to ridicule the absurdity of thus gratuitously calling in question a matter confirmed by successive testimonies, of such wide extent. As, then, it is certain that these books are the production of Manichæus, and as it is ridiculous in one born so many years after, to start objections of his own, and to raise a discussion on the point; with equal confidence may we pronounce it absurd, or rather pitiable, in Manichæus or his followers, to bring such objections against writings originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down from the times of the apostles, to our own day, through a constant succession of custodiers."—*Ibid.*

Faustus in Reply.—"It is not without reason that we bring a critical judgment to the study of the scriptures, where there are such discrepancies and contradictions. By thus examining every thing, and comparing one passage with another, we determine which contains Christ's actual words, and what may or may not be genuine. For your predecessors have made many interpolations in the words of our Lord, which thus appear, under his name, while they disagree with his doctrine. *Besides as we have proved, again and again*, the writings are not the production of Christ or of his apostles, but a compilation of rumors and beliefs, *made long after their departure*, by some obscure semi-Jews, not in harmony even with one another, and published by them under the name of the apostles, or of those considered the followers of the apostles, so as to give the appearance of apostolic authority, to all these blunders and falsehoods."—*Ibid. bk.* 33.

Augustine, in response, repeats the argument already given, and illustrates it by reference to certain books which had appeared under the name of Hippocrates, and had been rejected by physicians, because, when

compared with the genuine writings of Hippocrates, they were seen to be inferior. As to the genuine writings of that author, he says:

"There is a succession of testimonies of books from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, which makes it unreasonable now or hereafter to have any doubt on the subject. How do we know the authorship of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and other similar writers, but by the unbroken chain of evidence?"—*Ibid.*

He afterward speaks of "the ability of the church of of the apostles—a community of brethren as numerous as they were faithful, to transmit their writings unaltered to posterity, as the original seats of the apostles have been occupied, by a continuous succession of bishops, to the present day."

This closed the argument.

Such was the state of the controversy early in the fifth century; a controversy within the church itself.

On the one side, Faustus had stated, first, that it was "allowed" that the New Testament was not written by Christ or his apostles, but long after, by some unknown men. Then, that they "knew" it was not written by Christ or his apostles, and finally that they "had proven it, again and again."

To this Augustine, not expressly denying the assertions of Faustus, or challenging him to the proof, replies, with the argument founded on tradition. This he illustrates by a comparison with books ascribed to Hippocrates, Aristotle and other writers.

As to the proof that may have been offered by Faustus on former occasions, we are entirely ignorant. But

that such proof of some kind, had been adduced, may be safely inferred, since the statement was not expressly denied by Augustine.

The argument of Augustine was the same as has been relied upon, since his day.

The bold challenge of Faustus, would seem to have required something more at the hands of his adversary; at least, an enumeration or mention of some of those by whom the tradition had been preserved and handed down.

The argument of Augustine was not good, because the statement upon which it rested, was not true. It was not true that the books had been "confirmed by successive testimonies from the times of the apostles; that they were originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down," &c. unless, indeed, we are to suppose, that every successive link in this chain of evidence has been lost, and that of all the writings of the Christian fathers to the latter part of the second century, only those which made no mention of the books were preserved, while those which mentioned them, were in every instance lost. Such a supposition, if not actually preposterous, is in the highest degree incredible; and we are forced to the conclusion, that such a chain of evidence existed only in the imagination of Augustine.

The tradition cannot be traced further back than Irenæus; A. D. 190. No one of the four gospels was mentioned earlier, except the Gospel of John, A. D. 180, by Theophilus of Antioch.

He does not say it was written by the apostle, but "by an inspired man".

For one hundred and fifty years after the events related in the canonical gospels, there is no evidence of any such tradition as was necessary, to sustain the argument of Augustine. The controversy cannot, therefore, be looked upon as having been settled, in his discussion with Faustus; and as no new light has since been thrown upon the question, it is still an open one.

As such, we propose to consider it. It is the duty of the historian to do what he can toward settling truthfully, important facts; and surely no fact can be of more importance in religious history, than the time when the four gospels were written.

The external evidence has been considered, as our history progressed. It was necessarily of a negative character, but has pointed strongly toward the non-existence of the books, previous to the year 170. We are now to examine the internal evidence. This naturally comes last, and is not ordinarily to be resorted to, except when the historical evidence fails to bring us to a satisfactory conclusion. "History," says Westcott, "must deliver its full testimony, before internal criticism can find its proper use."

That the external evidence is unsatisfactory, and justifies the resort to internal evidence, is distinctly asserted by Rev. Dr. Davidson, who says:

"The evidence in favor of the authors traditionally assigned to the gospels, and some of the epistles, is still uncertain. A wide gap intervenes between eye witnesses of the apostles or apostolic men that wrote the sacred books,

and the earliest fathers who assert their authorship. The additional bridge between them is a precarious one. As the chasm cannot be filled by adequate external evidence, we are thrown back on the internal character of the works themselves."—*Davidson on the Canon*, *p.* 126.

Before proceeding to the internal evidence, there are certain considerations, a notice of which is necessary to a complete view of the subject.

1. No one of the four gospels is mentioned, in any other part of the New Testament.

2. No work of art of any kind has ever been discovered, no painting, or engraving, no sculpture or other relic of antiquity, which may be looked upon as furnishing additional evidence of the existence of those gospels, and which was executed earlier than the latter part of the second century. Even the exploration of the Christian catacombs failed to bring to light any evidence of that character.

3. The four gospels were written in Greek, and there was no translation of them into other languages, earlier than the third century.

It has been supposed by some, that Matthew was a translation from a Hebrew gospel. But the tendency of modern thought and criticism, is strongly toward the conclusion, that Matthew, as well as the others, was an original Greek production.

The oldest known translations are the Peshito, in the Syriac, and in the Latin, an old translation, the original of the Vulgate.

Efforts have been made to show that there were Latin translations in the second century. They have re-

sulted in nothing tangible, and may be looked upon as mere speculations.

In Germany, Semler made an elaborate attempt to prove that Tertullian had a Latin translation, which had been used before his time; but the effort cannot be pronounced successful. The view taken by the author of the article in the Encyclopedia of McClintock and Strong, is doubtless the correct one; that Tertullian did not make use of a translation, but translated for himself. The article was written originally for Kitto, by Dr. Alexander, and is entitled "ANTE-HIERONYMIAN VERSIONS." The writer says:

"The early and extensive diffusion of Christianity among the Latin-speaking people, renders it probable that means would be used to supply the Christians who used that language, with versions of the scriptures in their own tongue, especially those resident in countries where the Greek language was less generally known. That from an early period, such means were used, cannot be doubted; but the information which has reached us is so scanty, that we are not in circumstances to arrive at certainty on many points of interest connected with the subject. It is even matter of debate, whether there were several translations, or one translation, variously corrupted or emended.

"The first writer by whom reference is supposed to be made to a Latin version, is Tertullian; in the words, 'sciamus plane non sic esse in Græce authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam, aut simplicem eversionem,' &c.—(De Monogamia, c. 11.) 'We may certainly know, that in the Greek original, it does not stand in the form in which, (through the either crafty or simple alteration of two syllables), it has gone out into common use,' &c. [Ante-Nicene, 'in the form which (through &c.) has gone out,' &c.]

"It is possible Tertullian has in view here, a version in use among the African Christians; but it is by no means certain that such is his meaning, for he may refer merely to the manner in which the passage in question had come to be usually cited, but without intending to intimate that it was so written in any formal version. The probability that such is really his meaning, is greatly

heightened, when we compare his language with similar expressions in other parts of his writings. Thus speaking of the Logos, he says:

"'Hanc Græci *Λόγον* dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam *Sermonem* appellamus. Ideoque in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis, Sermonem, dicere, in primordio apud deum esse,' &c.—[Adv. Prax. c. 5.] 'This the Greeks call 'Logos,' by which term we also designate Word; (or Discourse;) and therefore, it is now usual, owing to the simple interpretation of our people, to say that the Word was in the beginning, with God,' &c.

"Where he seems to have in view, simply, the colloquial usage of the Christian compatriots."

From this it appears, there is no sufficient evidence of a Latin translation of the gospels, up to the time of Tertullian, at the opening of the third century.

The fact that Tertullian did not use a Latin translation, is made more manifest by a passage in the 9th chapter of the 2nd book against Marcion. Speaking of the nature of the soul, he says:

"We must at the outset, hold fast the meaning of the Greek scripture, which has *afflatus*, not spirit. (*Πνοήν*, not *πνεῦμα*.) Some interpreters of the Greek, without reflecting on the difference of the words, and careless about their exact meaning, put spirit for efflatus;" &c.

Here Tertullian would very naturally have referred to the translation, had there been one in use, and would have commented upon the meaning given to the Greek words by the translator. On the contrary, he speaks of the meaning attached to the words by different "interpreters of the Greek." Tertullian was a Greek scholar, and doubtless, did his own translating.

In the passage referred to by Tertullian, the word is SPIRACULUM, in the Vulgate, not EFFLATUS. If a Latin translation was then in use, it is not probable the Vulgate would afterward have differed from it, in the

use of this word.

Again, in his citations from Marcion, Tertullian quoted in Latin, as he did from the four gospels. There is still less reason to suppose he had before him a translation of the Greek of Marcion. The reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that he gave his own rendering to the text of all these gospels.

Tertullian aside, there is absolutely no evidence of any Latin translation of the gospels, earlier than the third century.

There is in fact, nothing very definite until the fourth century. But as the language of Augustine, Jerome and Hilary, would seem to imply the existence of at least one translation before their time, it may be assumed that there was a Latin translation in the third century.

THE VULGATE.—This may be said to date properly from the revision of Jerome, A. D. 383. It is not certain whether it extended beyond the gospels, though he was requested by Damasus to revise the New Testament, and his work is sometimes spoken of as a revision of the whole.

If any revision of the balance was made, it was less carefully and thoroughly done; so that the vulgate was a composite work, consisting of a complete translation of the gospels, and some corrections and emendations of the then current Latin version of the balance of the New Testament.

THE PESHITO.—Efforts have been made, also, to date the Syriac version in the second, or even in the first

century; but with no better success. The whole subject was carefully examined by Bishop Marsh, who came to the conclusion that we had no reliable evidence concerning the Peshito, earlier than Ephraim, who lived in the fourth century. How much earlier than that the version existed, was a matter of speculation.[1]

Dr. Davidson goes somewhat farther, but stops at the third century. He says:

"In Syria, a version of the New Testament, for the use of the church, was made early in the third century." This was the Peshito.—*Canon, p.* 114.

The Latin and the Syriac were the languages spoken by the great body of Christians, who did not understand the Hebraistic Greek, in which the scriptures were written. There being, then, no translations into these languages, before the third century, why, if the gospels were written in the times of the apostles, were all the churches where those languages prevailed, deprived of the use of the books for more than a hundred and fifty years?

4. No manuscripts of the gospels are in existence, dating farther back than the fourth century. Of that century or the next, there are three or four, and some twenty or thirty, more than a thousand years old.

Not only are there no older manuscripts now in existence, but there is no evidence, so far as we are aware, that older copies have existed, at any time, for hundreds of years past. They are said to have been destroyed in the persecution of Diocletian, about A. D. 303;

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 2, p. 554.

but how could every hidden manuscript be thus reached and destroyed?

5. No autograph manuscript of any of the gospels has ever been known, so far as there is any authentic record; nor has any credible witness ever claimed to have seen such a manuscript. Jerome did claim that the gospel concerning the birth of Mary, and the infancy of the Savior, which he translated for the bishops, was in the hand-writing of Matthew. But we are not aware that he or any one else ever claimed to have seen a manuscript of either of the four gospels, in the hand-writing of Luke, Mark, Matthew or John. If the autograph manuscripts had ever existed, they would have been preserved, among the most sacred relics of the church.

If they once existed, and were destroyed, where is the record of their existence, and when and where were they destroyed, by whom and under what circumstances? Who made the first copies and when, and what evidence have we that they were correctly transcribed?

6. During the first two centuries, tradition was esteemed of more value, and better evidence of the gospel history, than any written books or manuscripts.

Of this, the reader has had repeated evidence in these pages. Papias, in the middle of the second century, considered that the information which he could derive from books, was not so profitable as that which was preserved in a living tradition.

The great outlines of the life of Christ, says Irenæus, "were received by barbarous nations, without written documents, by ancient tradition." [1]

The extent to which tradition was relied upon, is well illustrated by the letter of Ptolemæus to Flora, about A. D. 190. He says he will explain to her the particulars of that doctrine which he had just been mentioning, "by the help of tradition received from the apostles, and handed down to us." He adds, "All must be tried by, and made to square with the doctrine of the Savior himself, which was to be the rule." [2]

This extensive use of tradition, and the preferring it to any written books, is inconsistent with the general use of gospels which were deemed authoritative and inspired records.

7. The dialect in which the New Testament books were written, a sort of Hebraistic Greek, has been considered evidence of their antiquity. But this dialect prevailed for three centuries after Christ, and was in full use during the second century. The same or similar Hebraisms abound in the apocryphal gospels of that age.

8. The canonical gospels were selected by the bishops from a large number then in circulation. This is asserted by Origen; who says:

And that not four gospels, but very many were written, *out of which those we have were chosen, and delivered to the churches,* we may perceive," &c.—*In Prœm. Lucæ, Hom.* 1, *t.* 2, *p.* 210.

(1.) Adv. Hær. 3. 4. 2.
(2.) In App. ad Iren. Grabe, Spi. Pat. vol. 2, p. 77.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.—Continued.

The Gospels as a Group.

Considered together, as a history, the gospels are fragmentary and incoherent, and far from harmonious.

In the first place, there is a radical difference between the Gospel of John on the one side, and the three synoptics on the other.

In the synoptics, Jesus speaks in parables and proverbs. Short, pithy sayings are ever on his lips. In John, he indulges in theological discourses. In the Synoptics, his ministry lasted one year. Scene, Galilee, except the last few days of his life. In John his ministry lasted some three years, and the time was spent mostly in Jerusalem, and other parts of Judæa.

There are a few places where the four gospels run parallel. There are parallel passages, more or less similar, concerning the feeding of the multitude on five loaves and two fishes—Jesus riding into Jerusalem—the reference to his betrayal, when in conversation with his disciples—the prediction of his denial to Peter

—the smiting by Peter of the servant of the high priest—the denial of Christ by Peter—the question of Pilate to Jesus, asking him if he was the king of the Jews—the scene concerning the release of Barabbas—the crucifixion of Jesus, with some few of the circumstances attending it—the parting of his garments—the crucifixion of the thieves—the title on the cross—the begging of the body of Jesus, his burial, and the visit to the sepulcher. In these, however, there is considerable diversity, and even contrariety of statement.

Then again, John is parallel with Mark and Matthew, in the account of Jesus walking on the sea; and of the woman who poured ointment upon him.

John is also parallel with Mark, in the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, after the resurrection, though the account is much amplified in John, and is parallel with Luke, in the report of Pilate to the Jews, that he found no fault in Jesus, and with the visit of Peter to the sepulcher; with, as in the case of Mary, much amplification.

With the exception of these, and perhaps two or three other passages, every thing in John is different from the other gospels, or very differently related.

Any consideration of the gospels as a group, must therefore, be confined to the other three.

The Synoptic Gospels.

No question connected with gospel history, has attracted more attention, or elicited more discussion, than that of the origin and formation of the synoptic

gospels, Luke, Mark and Matthew. Volumes have been written upon it, but with very unsatisfactory results. That they are not merely copied, one from the other, with changes, is the almost unanimous verdict of biblical scholars. At the same time the resemblance, not in incident merely, but in language also, is so close, as to indicate some common source, which was drawn upon, in their construction. As to the nature of this source, some have supposed an original gospel, others, several original fragmentary gospels; others again, have believed them written mainly from oral traditions.

Eichhorn thought but one document was used by the three evangelists; that various additions had been made to different copies of it; and that some of the evangelists had some of these copies; others, others; that every thing found in common in the three synoptics, was in the common document.

In one respect, the theory of Eichhorn deserves especial attention; recognizing, as it does, the natural working of the law of accretion. He considered the portions which were common to Matthew and Mark, and not in Luke, additions made in the copies of a common document, which were used by Matthew and Mark; and in like manner, that those portions found in common in Mark and Luke, and not in Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by Mark and Luke.[1]

Bishop Marsh made a thorough examination of the subject, and his views may be condensed as follows:

(1.) Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 192.

1. The three evangelists used copies of a common Hebrew document.

2. Matthew used this with some additions, in writing his original gospel, which Marsh supposes to have been in Hebrew.

3. Mark and Luke translated the common document into Greek, and used, besides, another Greek translation of it.

4. Afterward, Matthew was translated into Greek, by some one who made use of Mark and Luke.

5. In addition to the common document, there was another, containing only precepts, parables and discourses of Christ, which was used only by Matthew and Luke, who had different copies.[1]

This theory, though quite complicated, comes nearer, probably, than any other, to explaining all the facts, on the hypothesis that Matthew is a mere translation.

That hypothesis, is, however, pretty nearly abandoned.

Schleiermacher, not looking upon the theory of Marsh as satisfactory, discarded the hypothesis of a common, original gospel, and undertook to show that Luke, which he considered the principal, and the most reliable gospel, consisted merely of a collection of a large number of manuscripts, compiled and arranged by some one, who wrote nothing more than was necessary to adapt the phraseology to a continuous narrative. This theory deserves the most careful attention.

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2.

It may prove to be the key to the whole subject; especially if it shall become established, as we believe it will be, that Luke was the first of these gospels, and was written after Marcion.

Ewald supposes an original gospel, containing the record of the baptism, the temptation and the passion.

This was the substructure, used by Paul, and composed, perhaps, by the evangelist Philip. It was in Greek. Then followed the Hebrew Oracles, by Matthew, which with some narratives, contained nearly all the discourses of Christ. Then came Mark, and after that Matthew and Luke.[1]

In all these theories, too little attention appears to have been given to the evidence indicating a late date to these gospels; too little account taken of their close relation to the apocryphal gospels; and the law of accretion, in its application to the question, has not been sufficiently considered.

Other things being equal, the shortest document is the oldest. Not until this fact is recognized, can the complicated questions connected with the synoptic gospels, ever be solved.

The character of the synoptics is well delineated by Mr. Sunderland, as follows:

"At least three of the four gospels can have had no real authors, as we usually understand that word. They are the work of editors; they are compilations; 'mosaics'; the material which enters in to make them up, being real utterances of Jesus, real events of his life, together with more or less of legendary elements, and deviations from historic facts, occasioned by the

(1.) Yahrbucher, 1848, 1849.

lapse of years, and the necessary imperfection of the human memory."—*What is the Bible, &c. p.* 65.

THE LAW OF ACCRETION,

APPLIED TO THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

The result of a careful comparison of the four gospels, noting all the parallels which consist, not of short passages merely, but of continuous narratives, may be stated as follows:

1. LUKE COMPARED WITH MATTHEW.

In 92 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 44, and the longest in 32. The others about equal.

2. LUKE COMPARED WITH MARK.

In 95 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 57, and the longest in 21. The others equal.

3. LUKE COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 19 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 13, the longest in 4.

The preponderance of shorter passages in Luke,

As compared with Matthew, is as 11 to 8.

As compared with Mark, as 19 to 7.

As compared with John, more than 3 to 1.

Of all the parallels, 206 in number, Luke is the shortest in 114, the longest in 57. Proportion, 2 to 1.

This points to Luke as the older gospel, unless some other reason can be assigned for its greater brevity.

4. MATTHEW COMPARED WITH MARK.

In 105 parallels, Matthew is the shortest in 44 and the longest in 35.

5. MATTHEW COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 22 parallels, Matthew is the shortest in 13, and the longest in 7.

6. MARK COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 23 parallels, Mark is the shortest in 12, and the longest in 10.

According to the law of accumulation, or accretion, the order of date of these gospels would be Luke, Matthew, Mark, John.

We think, for reasons which will be given in a subse-

quent chapter, that the Gospel of Matthew constitutes an exception to the rule, and the true order is, Luke, Mark, John, Matthew.

This order for the synoptics, agrees with the conclusions of the Rev. Mr. Sanday, as to the relative correctness of the three gospels.

"The very same investigation," says he, "which shows that our present St. Mark was not an original (gospel), tells with increased force against St. Matthew. When a document exists dealing with the same subject matter as two other documents, and those two other documents agree together, and differ from it, on as many as 944 separate points, there can be little doubt, that in a great majority of those points, it has deviated from the original, and that it is, therefore, secondary in character. It is both secondary, and secondary on a lower stage than St. Mark; it has preserved the features of the original, with a less amount of accuracy.

"The points of the triple synopsis, on which Matthew fails to receive verification, are in all, 944; those on which Mark fails to receive verification, 334; or in other words, the inaccuracies of Matthew are to those of Mark, nearly as three to one."—*Gospels of the Second Century, p.* 152.

The inaccuracies of Matthew as compared with Luke, he estimates at five to one.

The time when the four gospels were written, cannot be definitely determined, but may be approximately stated, thus:

Luke, A. D. 170, Mark, 175, John, 178, Matthew, 180.

The theory of a common document for the synoptic gospels, so ably advocated by Eichhorn, cannot be considered as overthrown. The fragmentary character of Luke, has, it is true, been quite conclusively shown by Schleiermacher. But suppose the common document was of a like fragmentary character, and was itself a compilation. Suppose one copy of this came to the hands of Marcion, and was afterward used by the author of Luke, each of whom made additions from other

manuscripts. Suppose other copies of the same document, in later stages of accretion, came afterward to the hands of the other gospel historians, successively, and were used by them, with additions of their own, or from other manuscripts. This would account for the complicated phenomena which are presented by the gospels, and which have proved so perplexing to commentators.

Eichhorn did not believe, from a comparison of the four gospels with each other and with older documents, that they came into use before the end of the second century.

Thus his theory, based upon internal criticism, harmonizes with the historical evidence; a fact which entitles it to greater consideration.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.—Continued.

History of Jesus, as given in the Gospels.

The genealogy, birth and childhood of Jesus, are narrated in two only of the canonical gospels, Luke and Matthew.

1. The Genealogy of Jesus.

If immaculately conceived, Christ had no human genealogy, except upon the mother's side; a fact which was recognized in some of the earlier gospels, and by the earlier fathers, who deemed it sufficient, that Mary was of the race of David.[1]

But the compilers of Luke and Matthew, not satisfied that the genealogy of Jesus should be traced through a woman, undertook, strangely enough, to show that Joseph was descended from David. That this was an afterthought, is sufficiently manifest from the result of the undertaking. Both historians give a long line of ancestry; but Matthew has Christ descended from

(1.) Protevangelion, ch. 10; Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, chs. 23, 43, 45, 100; Clement of Alex. Strom. 1. 21.

Solomon, son of David, while, according to Luke, he descended from Nathan, brother of Solomon.

From that point on, the chain would necessarily be different. Where the names given are alike, if not entirely fictitious, and thrown in merely to fill up, they were, of course, different persons having the same name; and the genealogy ends, as might be expected; the chroniclers assigning to Joseph different fathers.

Many attempts have been made to explain this palpable contradiction, but there is no substantial agreement concerning it, among commentators. The theory that Luke intended the genealogy of Mary, though flatly opposed to the grammatical construction of the Greek, finds probably, at the present time, the most supporters.

Perhaps the reader will be satisfied with the following explanation of Augustine:

"St. Matthew descends through Solomon, by whose mother David sinned; St. Luke ascends through Nathan, another son of the same David, through whom he was purged from his sin. For we read that Nathan was sent to reprove him, and that he might, through repentance, be healed. Both evangelists meet together in David, the one in descending, the other in ascending."—*Sermon* 51.

Again: "Now in the generations which Matthew enumerates, the predominant number is forty. For it is the custom of the holy scriptures, not to reckon what is over and above certain round numbers."—*Ibid.*

2. The Birth and Infancy of Jesus.

Here, again, the only canonical historians are the authors of Luke and Matthew, and they agree no better in this, than in the genealogy of Joseph.

According to Luke, Jesus having been born in Bethlehem, his parents remained there until the end of the

forty days required for the purification of Mary, when they brought him to Jerusalem, where he was publicly presented in the temple. Joseph and Mary then returned to Nazareth, which, according to the historian, had been their former residence. It has been seen in a former chapter, that the author of Luke made several changes in Marcion's Gospel, to accommodate it to his theory that the parents of Jesus had formerly resided in Nazareth.[1]

The author of Matthew, on the other hand, did not recognize Nazareth as having been the former residence of Joseph and Mary. Instead of returning to that place from Bethlehem, through Jerusalem, they are warned to flee into Egypt, since Herod would seek to destroy the child. And when, after the death of Herod, they returned from Egypt, being warned in a dream, they "turned aside" into the parts of Galilee.

In Luke, nothing is said of the magi, the slaughter of the infants, or the flight to Egypt. In Matthew, nothing is said of the announcement to Mary, the appearance to the shepherds, or the presentation in the temple.

The public presentation of Jesus at that time, in the temple, at Jerusalem, is utterly inconsistent with the seeking of his life by Herod, and the warning to his parents at Bethlehem.

"All attempts," says Schleiermacher, "to reconcile these two contradictory statements, seem only elaborate efforts of art."—*Essay on Luke, p.* 48.

(1.) This theory was supported by the Gospel of the Infancy.

But this is not all. There is a difference between Luke and Matthew, of about eleven years, in the time of the birth of Christ.

According to Matthew, Jesus was born during the reign of Herod, and some time, say two years, before his death. Herod was succeeded by Archelaus, who reigned nine years, and was then banished. The country of Archelaus was then added to the province of Syria, and Cyrenius was sent out as governor, with instructions to take an account of the people's effects, for the purposes of taxation.[1]

This, which was more than nine years after the death of Herod, was, according to Luke, the time when Jesus was born.—[Luke, 2. 1 to 7.]

Numberless attempts have been made to solve the difficulty. Dr. Lardner has handled the subject at great length, and with much skill and ingenuity.[2]

It may be safely said, however, that the difficulty has never been removed. In the language of Schleiermacher, the "most indispensable conditions" to a solution of these chronological difficulties, "are wanting." For which reason, he asserts that in the attempt to solve them, "no one has yet met with the slightest degree of success."[3]

Perhaps the most plausible theory is that of Zumpt, who supposes Cyrenius was twice Governor of Syria.[4]

(1.) Josephus, Antiq. bk. 17, ch. 13; bk. 18, ch. 1.
(2.) Lardner's Works, vol. 1, pp. 136 to 179.
(3.) Essay on Luke, p. 38.
(4.) See Smith's Bible Dictionary, Article, "Cyrenius."

The argument of Zumpt, though ingenious, is far from satisfactory. It is rather a speculation as to what might possibly have been. The two governorships are inconsistent with the language of Josephus, who speaks of Cyrenius as one who had been consul, and who had passed through various magistracies before becoming consul. His governorship is then spoken of, in such a way as indicates it to be a new magistracy.

Besides, even if Cyrenius had before been Governor of Syria, the difficulty would not be removed, except by supposing an assessment and taxing, under his first administration. But the taxing referred to by Josephus, was a new thing. It was manifestly the first attempt of the kind, as it resulted in a revolt, of a very serious character.

In regard to the place of residence of the parents of Jesus, and the journey to Bethlehem, some light may be thrown upon the subject by Jerome's translation, from memory, of one of the gospels of the Infancy, a translation which has usually been known as the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.[1]

It is there stated, [ch. 1.], that the family of Mary's father was of Nazareth, and the family of her mother of Bethlehem. According to the Gospel of the Infancy also, Joseph and Mary were residing at Nazareth.

It would be very natural that as the time of her delivery drew near, Mary should desire to be with her mother, who probably, was not able to visit her. This

(1.) See ch. 17, of this work.

furnishes a much more plausible reason for the journey to Bethlehem, than that of the enrollment for taxation, as given in Luke; since the personal presence of Mary, for that purpose, would not, under such circumstances, have been required.

3. The Childhood of Jesus.

Here Luke is the only historian, and relates but a single incident; the dispute of Jesus with the doctors in the temple, when he was but twelve years of age. This narrative, which Schleiermacher supposes to have been contained in a separate manuscript, was no doubt the same which, with accumulations, constituted the 50th chapter of the Gospel of the Infancy.

With this exception, the whole life of the great teacher, except one year or perhaps three years at its close, is buried in oblivion.

In the Gospel of the Infancy, there are further accounts of the childhood of Jesus. But as some of them are not to his credit, while all are of an extravagant nature, they are prudently omitted from the canonical history.

4. The Ministry of Jesus.

The plain inference from the synoptic gospels is, that the ministry of Christ lasted but one year. Every thing related appears to have taken place in or near Galilee, and within the year. He goes up to Jerusalem to but one passover.

But according to John, the ministry must have last-

ed much longer, as he goes up to three or four passovers, at least. A large part of the time was passed in Judæa and Jerusalem.

To add to the confusion, Irenæus, the first writer who mentions the four gospels, asserts that the ministry of Jesus lasted about twenty years, and that he was more than fifty years old when he was crucified. He discusses the question at considerable length. The following is his statement, with the argument by which he supports it:

IRENÆUS AGAINST HERESIES, BOOK II, CHAPTER XXII.

CHRIST DID NOT SUFFER IN THE TWELFTH MONTH AFTER HIS BAPTISM; BUT WAS MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS OLD WHEN HE DIED.

"I have shown that the number thirty fails them (the heretics) in every respect; too few æons, as they represent them, being at one time found within the Pleroma, and then again too many.

"There are not, therefore, thirty æons, nor did the Savior come to be baptized when he was thirty years old for this reason, that he might show forth the thirty silent æons of their system; otherwise they must first of all separate and eject (the Savior) himself from the Pleroma of all.

"Moreover, they affirm that he suffered in the twelfth month, so that he continued to preach for one year after his baptism. They endeavor to establish this point out of the prophet; (for it is written, 'To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of retribution;') being truly blind, inasmuch as they affirm they have found out the mysteries of Bythus; yet not understanding that which is called by Isaiah, the acceptable year of the Lord, nor the day of retribution. For the prophet neither speaks concerning a day which includes a space of twelve hours, nor of a year the length of which is twelve months.

"For even they themselves acknowledge, that the prophets have very often expressed themselves in parables and allegories, and not according to the mere sound of the words."

"2. [In this section, Irenæus comments further, upon the meaning of the phrases, 'acceptable year of the Lord,' and 'day of retribution.' He claims

that the day of retribution has not come, and therefore the acceptable year has not passed, and hence it must be more than a year of twelve months.]

"3. [The argument in this section is based upon the Gospel of John; Irenæus claiming, that according to the record of "John, the disciple of the Lord," Christ went up to Jerusalem to three passovers. Beside the three mentioned by Irenæus, there would appear to be another; four in all, as follows: (1), John, 2. 23; (2), John, 5. 1; (3), John, 6. 4; (4), John, 13. 1. The first, second and fourth are mentioned by Irenæus. He closes the section thus:]

"Their explanation, therefore, both of the year and the twelfth month, has been proved false, and they ought to reject, either their explanation, or the gospel; otherwise, how is it possible, that the Lord preached for one year only?

"4. Being thirty years old when he came to be baptized, and then possessing the full age of a master, [or teacher], he came to Jerusalem, so that he might be properly acknowledged by all as a master. For he did not seem one thing while he was another, as those affirm, who describe him as being man only in appearance; but what he was, that he also appeared to be. Being a master, therefore, he also possessed the age of a master, not despising or evading any condition of humanity, nor setting aside in himself that law which he had appointed for the human race, but sanctifying every age, by that period corresponding to it, which belonged to himself. For he came to save all through means of himself—all I say, who through him are born again to God—infants and children, and boys, and youths, and old men.

"He therefore passed through every age; becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, thus sanctifying those who are of this age, being at the same time made to them an example of piety, righteousness and submission; a youth for youths, becoming an example to youths, and thus sanctifying them for the Lord.

"So likewise, he was an old man for old men, that he might be a perfect master for all; not merely as respects the setting forth of the truth, but also as regards age; sanctifying at the same time, the aged also, and becoming an example to them likewise. Then, at last, he came on to death itself, that he might be 'the first born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence;' the Prince of Life, existing before all, and going before all.

"5. They, however, that they may establish their false opinion regarding that which is written, 'To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord,' main-

tain that he preached for one year only, and then suffered in the twelfth month. They are forgetful to their own disadvantage, destroying his whole work, and robbing him of that age which is both more necessary and more honorable than any other; that more advanced age, I mean, during which also, as a teacher, he excelled all others. For how could he have had disciples if he did not teach? And how could he have taught, unless he had reached the age of a master? For when he came to be baptized, he had not yet completed his thirtieth year, but was beginning to be about thirty years of age. (For thus Luke, who has mentioned his years, has expressed it: 'Now Jesus was, as it were, beginning to be thirty years old,' when he came to receive baptism.) And, (according to these men), he preached only one year, reckoning from his baptism; and on completing his thirtieth year, he suffered, being in fact, still a young man, who had by no means attained to advanced age.

"Now, that the first stage of early life embraces thirty years, and that this extends onward to the fortieth year, every one will admit; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year, a man begins to decline toward old age; which our Lord possessed, while he still fulfilled the office of a teacher, even as the gospel and all the elders testify; those who were conversant in Asia, with John, the disciple of the Lord, that John conveyed to them that information. And he (John) remained among them, up to the times of Trajan. Some of them, moreover, saw not only John, but the other apostles also, and heard the same account from them, and bear testimony to the statement.

"Whom, then, should we believe? Such men as these, or Ptolemæus, who never saw the apostles, and who never, even in his dreams, attained to the slightest trace of an apostle?

"6. But besides this, those very Jews who then disputed with the Lord Jesus Christ, have most clearly indicated the same thing. For when the Lord said to them 'Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad;' they answered him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old; and hast thou seen Abraham? Now, such language is fittingly applied to one who has already passed the age of forty, without having yet reached his fiftieth year, yet is not far from this latter period. But to one who is only thirty years old, it would unquestionably be said, 'Thou art not yet forty years old.' For those who wished to convict him of falsehood, would certainly not extend the number of his years far beyond the age which they saw he had attained. But they

mentioned a period near his real age, whether they had truly ascertained this out of the entry in the public register, or simply made a conjecture from what they observed, that he was above forty years old, and that he certainly was not one of only thirty years of age.

"It is altogether unreasonable to suppose that they were mistaken by twenty years, when they wished to prove him younger than the times of Abraham. For what they saw, that they also expressed; and he whom they beheld, was not a mere phantom, but an actual being of flesh and blood. He did not then want much of being fifty years old; and in accordance with that fact, they said to him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?'

"He did not therefore, preach for only one year, nor did he suffer in the twelfth month of the year. For the period included between the thirtieth and fiftieth year, can never be regarded as one year, unless, indeed, among their æons, there be so long years assigned to those who sit in their ranks, with Bythus, in the Pleroma. Of which beings, Homer, the poet, too, has spoken; doubtless being inspired by the mother of their error:

"'The gods sat round, while Jove presided o'er,
And converse held upon the golden floor.'"

This extraordinary passage from Irenæus, we have given almost entire. It is a very important chapter, in the history of the times; one which has hitherto been kept in the back ground. It is time an attempt was made to estimate its historical value.

As to the reasoning of Irenæus, much of it is of an a priori character, and as applied to such a subject, entitled to but little consideration. But the argument founded upon the passage, John, 8. 56, 57, is a good one. If Jesus was then but about thirty years of age, the Jews might have said, "Thou art not yet forty years old;" but they would scarcely have said, for any purpose, "Thou art not yet fifty years old." Much less, when their object was to remind him of the few years which he had spent upon the earth,

would they have added eighteen or twenty years, in specifying the limit which he had not reached.

Our author was fully aware of the force of the argument, and accordingly he elaborates it with the confidence of one conscious of writing from a strong position. His conclusion cannot well be avoided. We may therefore, put down the author of the Gospel according to John, as the second witness of the second century, to the fact, that Jesus was nearly fifty years old at his crucifixion.

Besides these two, there is also, unless Irenæus tells an absolute falsehood, the testimony of all the elders in Asia, who were conversant with John, and some of them with the other apostles also. It must be remembered that Irenæus had been a companion of Polycarp and others who had seen John, and that he was speaking of what had come to his personal knowledge from the elders in Asia. If, then, Irenæus tells the truth, the evidence in favor of the fact, is almost overwhelming. If, on the other hand, he would deliberately falsify in a matter of this importance, what is his testimony worth, as to the origin of the four gospels?

Against this evidence, we have only the silence of the gospels. But if the silence of the synoptics is consistent with a ministry of three or four years, why is not the further silence of all the gospels, consistent with a ministry of twenty years?

How would such a theory affect the received chronology concerning Christ? The date of the crucifixion

at not later than A. D. 36, or when Christ was, by the received chronology forty years old, is settled by the fact, that in that year, Pontius Pilate was removed from his government. That the death of Jesus occurred while Pilate was procurator is attested, not only by five extant gospels, but by the historian, Tacitus, who, in speaking of the Christians, says:

"They had their denomination from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the procurator, Pontius Pilate.—*Annals, lib.* 15, *ch.* 44. (Tiberius reigned till A. D. 37.)

If, then, it be accepted as a historical fact that Christ was about fifty years old at his crucifixion, the date of his birth would have to be set back, at least ten years.

It having already been found necessary to date his birth four years before the time first settled upon for the commencement of the Christian era, there can be no objection to extending the four to fourteen, if the facts require it.

It is well known that the date of the Christian era was fixed, in the year 525, by the Roman Abbot, Dionysius Exiguus. It was based upon the account of the birth of Christ as given in Matthew, which is a legend of but little historic value. It is now agreed that Dionysius was mistaken in his date, by at least four years. It is agreed that Jesus was born at least four years before the commencement of the Christian era, and it may have been fourteen or even twenty.

5. The Crucifixion of Jesus.

In a former chapter, we have given the reasons for believing that the extant gospel, called the Acts of Pilate, contains the most reliable historical account of the crucifixion.

The accounts in the canonical gospels, are by no means consistent or harmonious. The four historians agree that Jesus was apprehended and brought before the high priest, and taken thence before Pilate, where he was examined. Luke has him then sent by Pilate to Herod, who mocked him, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him back to Pilate; an episode of some importance in the trial, not mentioned in the other gospels. Passing over some minor discrepancies, such as that Barabbas was a murderer in Mark and Luke, while in John, he was only known as a robber, and the difference in the color of the robe placed upon Jesus, we come to the statement of John, that Jesus bore his own cross, (which was customary in such cases), to the place of crucifixion. The synoptics, on the other hand, unite in saying that the cross was borne by Simon the Cyrenian. This discrepancy, on the face of it a somewhat serious one, is explained in one of the apocryphal gospels, which states that Jesus himself bore the cross a portion of the way, and Simon the remainder.

Proceeding with the narrative, we find that in Luke only, is related an address of Jesus to the women, on the way to his execution. When arrived there, he is given to drink, according to Mark, wine mingled with

myrrh; according to Matthew, he was given vinegar, mingled with gall, in fulfillment of a prophecy; Luke has the vinegar without the gall.

Mark says, Jesus was crucified at the third hour. (Ch. 15, v 25.) According to John, (19. 14,) it was about the sixth hour, when he was brought forth to the Jews by Pilate, after which, he had to be led to execution. According to Matthew and Mark, there was darkness over all the land, from the sixth to the ninth hour; to which Luke adds, that the sun was darkened. The dying words of Jesus do not agree; Matthew and Mark giving the same as those in the Acts of Pilate, while the words in Luke are different, and those in John different from all the others.

Jesus was upon the cross from three to six hours. Even the latter period was much less than usual. Persons crucified generally lingered at least twelve hours, and sometimes two or three days. The remarkably short time that he remained upon the cross, before being taken down by his disciples, has led some writers to adopt the theory of suspended animation, to account for the supposed resurrection of his body.

The inscription on the cross is given in four different ways, and Luke and John state that it was written in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. According to Mark, it consisted of four Greek words; according to Luke, it consisted of six; according to Matthew, seven; according to John, seven also; but with a very important difference in two of the words.

In Mark and Matthew, both of the thieves on the cross, are represented as reviling Jesus, while, according to Luke, which follows the Acts of Pilate, but one of them did so; he being rebuked by the other.

The synoptics state that the vail of the temple was rent; to which Matthew adds an earthquake, the rending of the rocks, the opening of the graves, and the coming forth of the dead, though this last is deferred until after the resurrection. The graves are opened at the crucifixion, and remain open two days, the inhabitants waiting till Jesus should first arise, in order that certain prophecies might be fulfilled.

In the Gospel of John, it is stated that in fulfillment of certain prophecies, the side of Jesus was pierced with a spear, and the soldiers refused to break his legs, according to the custom in such cases, though it is to be inferred that they had been commanded to do so.

These narratives throughout, bear the impress of having been constructed, with reference to the fulfillment of divers Jewish prophecies. It is not probable that the details of the crucifixion had been preserved in any authentic record, made contemporaneously with the event. If such record existed, it was disregarded in the prevailing anxiety to sustain the Messianic character of Jesus, in accordance with the prophecies. The Acts of Pilate, which, in its account of the crucifixion, was probably the most authentic of any existing record, was followed, in the canonical gospels, in some particulars; in others, it was entirely disregarded.

The Resurrection of Jesus.

The resurrection of the crucified body of Christ, is a doctrine which cannot be traced back, beyond the second century.

Paul, who believed in visions, thought he had seen Jesus, and enumerates various other occasions when Christ had been seen by his disciples. First, he was seen by Cephas, then by the twelve, then by more than five hundred brethren at once, then by James, then by all the apostles, and last of all by Paul himself.

It is a fair inference, that these were all apparitions. Paul had seen, or thought he had seen, the spirit, or spiritual body of Jesus, and he had heard that the others mentioned had seen the same. That such was the nature of his own vision of Christ, is evident, not only from his explanation of the nature of the resurrection, but from the fact that the appearance to him, was after the time when, according to the canonical gospels, Jesus had ascended to heaven. If, then, Jesus appeared on earth, in the same body in which he was crucified, it was not to Paul.

The appearance to the others, to which Paul alludes, was, no doubt, of the same character as that to himself. The disciples believed they had seen the spirit or spiritual body of Jesus.

But the Christians of the second century demanded a doctrine concerning the resurrection, of a more material and tangible character.

Accordingly, in the canonical gospels, the very body

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in which Jesus was crucified, and which was buried by Joseph of Arimathea, is raised from the dead, appears to the disciples, is not only seen but felt, and Jesus himself, in the flesh, as he was before he was crucified, calls for fish to eat, to satisfy his disciples that he was not a spirit; that his body was not spiritual, but material and human like theirs. Such a body fails to fulfill the conditions of the resurrection believed in and described by Paul.

As might have been expected, the accounts framed for the purpose of establishing this doctrine, are far from being harmonious or consistent.

In Matthew, two women first come to the sepulcher; in Mark, three; in Luke, a larger number, in John, one. As to the time of day, in Matthew, it had begun to dawn; in John it was early, while it was yet dark, in Mark, it was at sunrise.

According to Matthew, after the women had arrived at the sepulcher, there was another earthquake, and an angel descended from heaven, rolled back the stone, and then addressed the women. According to the other historians, the women, upon arriving at the sepulcher, found the stone rolled away.

According to Mark, entering into the sepulcher, they saw a young man, clothed in a long white garment. According to Luke, there were two men, in shining garments. According to John, there being but one woman, when she saw the stone rolled away, she ran and told Peter, who, with another, came to the sepulcher. The other disciple, outrunning Peter, came and

looked in. Then Peter came, and going in, saw the linen clothes, and the napkin only. The other disciple went in, and saw the same. They returned home, after which, Mary, who remained, saw two angels. Turning round, she saw Jesus, whom she did not know, even after he had spoken to her, she supposing him to be the gardener.

It is obvious, that these accounts, confused and irreconcilable as they are, cannot be looked upon as historic. They were manifestly written to supply a need of the church in the second century.

Paul had known no rolling away of the stone from the door of the sepulcher. The spiritual body in which he believed, would require no such assistance. But the Petrine and material element in the church prevailed; the spiritual resurrection was set aside, and Christ was made to rise in the very body in which he had been crucified and buried.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Gospel according to Luke.

There is good reason to believe, that Luke was the first of the canonical gospels. This is rendered probable, partly by internal evidence, (it is compiled from the oldest manuscripts), and partly by the necessity which would exist, of having the first church gospel one which would counteract the influence of Marcion. This could best be done through a gospel which, while differing from his, would not vary from it so much as to be repulsive to his followers.

Besides, Marcion, who was a man of learning, had with much care, compiled the most ancient gospel manuscripts which he could obtain, and the church authorities were under the necessity of using, to a considerable extent, the same materials.

According to Schleiermacher, Luke consists of a compilation of at least 33 different manuscripts; as follows:

MANUSCRIPTS IN LUKE.

1. Introduction.
2. Chapter I.
3. Ch. II, vv. 1 to 20 inclusive.
4. " " v. 21.
5. " " 22 to 40.
6. " " 41 to 52.
7. Ch. III v. 1, to ch. IV v. 15.
8. " IV, vv. 16 to 30.
9. " " " 31 to 44.
10. " V, vv. 1 to 11.
11. " " " 12 to 16.
12. " " 17 to 26.
13. " " 27 to 39.
14. " VI, 1 to 11.
15. " " v. 12, to ch. VII v. 10.
16. " VII, vv. 11 to 50.
17. " VIII, vv. 1 to 21.
18. " " 22 to 56.
19. " IX, vv. 1 to 45.
20. Chapter IX, vv. 46 to 50.
21. " " 51 to ch. X, v. 24.
22. " X, vv. 25 to 37.
23. " " 38 to 42.
24. " XI, vv. 1 to 13.
25. " " 14, to ch. XIII v. 9.
26. " XIII, vv. 10 to 22.
27. " " 23, to ch. XIV v. 24.
28. " XIV, vv. 25 to 35.
29. " XV 1, to ch. XVII 19.
30. " XVII 20, to XIX 48, Consisting of three others; XVII 20 to XVIII 14, XVIII 15 to XIX 28, and XIX 29 to XIX 48.
31. Chapters XX and XXI.
32. Ch. XXII v. 1, to XXIII 49.
33. " XXIII v. 50, to the end of the gospel.

No. 32 consisting, also, of two or more, blended.

Some of these divisions may be too artificial, and may have been established to maintain some supposed unity of purpose in the gospel historian; but the analysis itself appears to be founded in fact, and is, in the main, pursued in a scientific manner.

If now, the same process be applied to the Gospel of Marcion, it will be found to consist of a compilation of 26 manuscripts.

An analysis of the two gospels, developes the fact, that every manuscript, after the first eight of Luke, appears in both gospels.

This circumstance favors the theory, that one of these gospels was used in the construction of the other. Which was probably the model?

Not only is Marcion much the shorter, but its narratives are simpler and more natural than those of Luke.

The subject may be illustrated by reference to some of the more important and extensive differences between the two gospels.

The first three chapters of Luke were not in Marcion. The first part of the fourth chapter of Luke which appears in Marcion, is that commencing at verse 16. 'And he came to Nazareth.' This, in Marcion, comes in its regular order, after the ministry at Capernaum; while in Luke, Jesus here refers to his doings at Capernaum, though his visit there is not stated until afterward. Though not in the same order, the whole of the fourth chapter of Luke is in Marcion, substantially, except the first 15 verses. But these 15 verses, together with the preceding chapter, none of which was in Marcion, constitute altogether, according to Schleiermacher, a single manuscript. The German critic was writing without any reference to Marcion. This coincidence may therefore be considered confirmatory at the same time, of the theory of Schleiermacher, and the priority of Marcion.

In closing the fourth chapter, the author of Luke having arranged sufficient preliminary matter, we may suppose that he now took up the Gospel of Marcion, which he found to be a compilation of manuscripts carefully collected, and made it, from this point onward, the basis of the Gospel according to Luke.

Let us see how, upon this supposition, he proceeded with his work.

The style is pretty much the same in the additional matter, as in that which is common to both gospels. Changes and additions are found here and there, some having been made for dogmatic reasons; others apparently for no other purpose, than to compose a new gospel.

The first addition of much importance, is Luke, ch.

7, vv. 29 to 35. This contains a saying of Christ, in which is a reference to John the Baptist. V. 34; "The Son of Man is come, eating and drinking," &c. This Hahn supposed was omitted by Marcion, because the representation of Jesus eating and drinking, &c., was opposed to Marcion's view of the spiritual and ethereal nature of Christ's person.[1] But in the very next verse of Marcion's Gospel, Jesus is represented as going into a Pharisee's house, and sitting down to meat. Whatever reason existed for adding these verses in Luke, we can see no reason for omitting them in Marcion.

2. The next place, where there is a difference of several verses entire, is Luke, 11, vv. 6, 7 and 8. This is a mere amplification of verse 5, which, in a condensed form, is in Marcion.

3. Luke, 11. 30, 31 and 32.—These verses relate to Jonas, whose name had been inserted in the 29th verse. In Marcion the reading is, "This is an evil generation; they seek a sign, no sign shall be given it." In Luke, "no sign shall be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet." The following three verses explain in what manner the preaching of Jonas might be regarded as a sign. It is a continuation of the idea, and the whole passage must stand or fall together.

4. Luke, 11. 49, 50, 51.—This consists of a quotation from an apocryphal book, called 'The Wisdom of God.' The quotation is of a suspicious character. It contains the statement concerning Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple; a statement which, as repeated in Matthew, (23. 35), with the addition of the words "Son of Barachias," has caused commentators so much trouble.[2]

(1.) Das Evangel. Mar. p. 147.
(2.) See Chapter on The Gospel according to Matthew.

Marcion has no allusion to Zacharias, and contains no doubt, the more ancient form of this passage. Much of the trouble comes from interpolations.

The interpolation in Luke, led to the worse interpolation in Matthew.

5. Luke, 13. 1 to 10, contains the legend concerning Pilate, mingling the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices; also reference to those slain by the falling of the town of Siloam; also the parable of the unfruitful fig tree. None of it in Marcion.

6. Luke, 13. 29 to 35. This passage is doubtless an interpolation. The portions of it are much disconnected, and the words "Go ye and tell that fox," referring to Herod, can scarcely be accepted as the language of Jesus.

7. One of the most extensive differences, is in the parable of the prodigal son, Luke 15, 11 to 32; no part of which is in Marcion. It is essentially Pauline in spirit, as has been well remarked.[1]

There is no reason why so beautiful an illustration of his own views, should have been omitted by Marcion.

8. Luke, 18. 31 to 34.—Jesus predicts to the twelve, his suffering, his death and resurrection. The prediction had already been recorded, (Marcion 6. 22; Luke, 9. 22), and there is no reason why it should be repeated. This entire passage in the 18th chapter, is probably an interpolation.

9. The last twenty verses of the 19th Luke, are entirely wanting in Marcion. The riding upon an ass' colt, is an awkward episode, and was probably inserted to set forth the fulfillment of the prophecy in Zech. 9. 9. Then follows the prediction concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. The other reference, in less explic-

(1.) Hahn, Das Evang. Mar. p. 182; Olshausen, Can. Ev. p. 208.

it language, to the same event, (Luke 13. 34, 35), is also wanting in Marcion. There is no certainty that the prediction was ever uttered by Christ himself. Justin Martyr, who would have found this prophecy so pertinent to enforce his argument, made no allusion to it. The remainder of this passage appears to have been written to illustrate the fulfillment of the prophecy in Jeremiah 7. 11.

10. Luke, 20. 9 to 18. The parable of the vineyard. This is essentially Pauline in spirit, and has a manifest application to the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, after it had been rejected by the Jews. There is no reason why Marcion should have omitted it.

11. Luke, 22. 16 to 18. The Paschal supper, has been the cause of much controversy in all ages of the church, and was the occasion of the first exercise of a general jurisdiction by the church of Rome. Without entering into the controversy, suffice it to say, if, as there is reason to believe, this passage in 22d Luke is an interpolation upon Marcion, the question becomes much simplified. The supper described in that chapter, appears to have been an ordinary meal, having been eaten the evening before the crucifixion; and yet, in verses 16 to 18, it is referred to, as the passover.

12. Luke, 22. 28 to 30. This is a literal application of certain prophecies to Jesus; an application such as the Jews were constantly making, but such as he himself would scarcely have made, in the form here presented.

13. Luke, 22. 35 to 38. Here, for the third time, Jesus is made to allude to his coming end. And when his disciples told him there were two swords, he said, "It is enough." This is not the language of Jesus, who would have rebuked them for making any allusion to swords.

14. Luke, 22. 49 to 51. Every thing relating to the swords, and the use made of them, must be looked upon as an interpolation.

These are all of the more extended passages in Luke, which are not in Marcion's Gospel. This analysis, equally with the one in a former chapter, affords strong evidence that Marcion was first written.

There are other considerations, indicating a late origin to this gospel.

1. It is expressly stated, in the introduction, that many gospels had been written before this one:

"Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order, a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they who from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered unto us; it seemed good to me, also," &c.

It is the universal conclusion, that the author of Luke does not here refer to any of the canonical gospels.[1]

The fact that the other three of those gospels are impliedly excluded by the language used in Luke, raises a strong implication, that they were not then written. Why would the author refer to many unauthorized gospels, and make no allusion to three which were received as authority? It is an opinion quite generally entertained, that several gospels are referred to in Luke, which are known to have been written in the second century.

Origen considered that the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, (of the Hebrews) were among the number.[2]

(1.) Origen, Homil. in Luc. 1. 1; Ambrose, Com. on Luke, 1; Augustine, de Cons. Ev. l. 4, c. 8; Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 3. 24; Erasmus, in Luc. 1. 1; Bellarm. de Mat. Sacr. l. 1, c. 16; Grotius, in Luc. 1. 1; Father Simon, Crit. Hist. of N. T. par. 1, ch. 3; Jones, vol. 1, p. 25; Stowe's Hist. of the Bible, p. 142.

(2.) Homily in Luc. 1. 1.

Jerome extends the list as follows:

"The evangelist Luke declares that there were many who wrote gospels, when he says, 'forasmuch as many,' &c. (c. 1, v. 1), which being published by various authors, gave rise to several heresies. They were such as that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, that of the Twelve Apostles, and Basilides, and Apelles, and others which it would be tedious to enumerate."—*Hieron. Præf. in Comm. in Matth.*

The Gospel of Basilides was written about A. D. 125, and that of Apelles, about 160. Of course, then, according to Jerome, Luke was after 160.

Epiphanius says, in expounding Luke, 1. 1,

"Saying: 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand,' by which he would intimate that there have been many undertakers of the like work. Among them, I suppose, were Cerinthus, Merinthus, and others." [See also Epi. Hær. 51. 7.]

Cerinthus flourished and wrote about A. D. 145, which Epiphanius thinks was before Luke.

Venerable Bede, [A. D. 734], agrees with Jerome, that the Gospels of Basilides and Apelles were among those referred to in Luke.[1]

Erasmus thought the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus, was among the number.[2]

Jones includes the Gospel of Marcion.[3]

All these writers, in thus dating the Gospel of Luke subsequent to those here named, impliedly renounce the theory of its apostolic origin.

2. The discrepancies between this gospel and that according to Matthew, have already been pointed out. These differences indicate a late origin for one or both of these gospels, and involve in confusion, every thing connected with the early history of Christ.

It is impossible, in the present state of the enquiry, to name the author of this gospel.

(1.) Bede's Works, London, 1844, vol. 10, p. 273.
(2.) Annot. in Luc. 1. 1.
(3.) Jones, vol. 3, Vindication, p. 26.

Westcott thinks it circulated mostly about Alexandria and Antioch,[1] when first published.

It may have been written at or near Antioch. In that case, the person to whom it was addressed, was probably none other than Theophilus, the writer, who afterward, about A. D. 180, became Bishop of Antioch.

Basnage thinks Luke was the first of the canonical gospels,[2] and there are many reasons for believing he was correct in that opinion.

Michaelis did not consider it inspired;[3] nor does the author of this, or of either of the canonical gospels, lay any claim to inspiration.

(1.) Canon, p. 68. Note.
(2.) Ann. 60, num. 31. (3.) Vol. 1, p. 95.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Gospel according to Mark.

Mark is the shortest of the four gospels. Its brevity is due partly to the omission of the biography of Christ, which is contained in Luke and Matthew.

It was probably constructed from the Gospel of Peter, as a basis, with many changes, and the incorporation of new material.

If the analysis of Luke be applied to Mark, the following will be the result:

The first seven manuscripts are wanting.

MS. No. 8, Luke, 41. 16 to 30, is omitted in Mark entirely, in place of which is inserted, the calling of the apostles; Mark, 1. 16 to 20.

The previous account of the preaching of John, Mark, 1. 1 to 8, is so much different from that in Luke, that it is plain it was not from the same manuscript.

No. 9, Luke, 4. 31 to 44, is closely followed in Mark, (1. 21 to 39.) There is just sufficient expansion of language, to justify the presumption that the same manuscript was used; or possibly here, as well as in a few other places, the Gospel of Luke itself.

In point of correctness, it has been already noticed, that Sanday places this gospel below Luke. The same view is taken by Schleiermacher. Speaking of the synoptics, he says, that in comparing Luke with Matthew and Mark, he sees evidence that the corresponding nar-

ratives in the latter gospels, were originally more hastily taken down, or were obscured by passing through a great number of hands.[1]

Pursuing the analysis,

MS. No. 10, Luke, 5. 1 to 11, is not in Mark, though there is a shorter account of a similar transaction.

No. 11, Luke, 5. 12 to 16, is contained in Mark, (1. 40 to 45), but with such an important change at the close, as to draw from Schleiermacher the following remark:

"By this alteration, the history assumes almost an apocryphal character; and, if, on the one hand, we acknowledge the instruction we receive by this very circumstance of Mark's narrative, it is no less true, on the other hand, that the comparison is the more unfavorable to him, as his additions frequently tend to this sort of exaggeration."—*Essay on Luke, p.* 78.

No. 12, Luke, 5. 17 to 26, all but the first verse, is found substantially the same in Mark, 2. 2 to 12.

No. 13, also, Luke, 5. 27 to 39, is closely followed in Mark, 2. 14 to 22.

So also No. 14, Luke, 6, 1 to 11, in Mark, 2. 23 to 3. 5.

In No. 15, Luke, 6. 12 to 7. 10, we first find a break in a manuscript; hitherto, such as were used, having been inserted entire, though with alterations.

Mark contains the first and last portion of this, while the middle part, containing portions of the sermon on the mount, is omitted.

The circumstances connected with the choosing of the twelve, Schleiermacher thinks, were misunderstood by Mark. "He had hitherto," he says, "followed Luke. Not that I would assert with Griesbach, that he had before him the whole of the present Gospel of Luke, but this collection he most probably had."[2]

After showing that the matter was not properly understood by Mark, he says:

"Under these circumstances, I do not at all see why one should take pains, trying all possible explanations, some of them in the highest degree improbable, to show how Jude, the son of James, and Lebbeus who was named Thaddeus, may be one person.—*p.* 93.

No. 16, Luke, 7. 11 to 50, not in Mark.

(1.) Essay on Luke, p. 77.
(2.) Essay, p. 91.

Schleiermacher is perplexed at not finding the miracle of Nain, related by any evangelist but Luke; especially "considering the scanty number of instances of restoration to life." He thinks the event was recorded by some one who had heard of it at Capernaum, or Jerusalem, and who did not wish to trouble the apostles by applying to them for confirmation of the account.[1]

No. 17, Luke, 8. 1 to 21, is, again, broken up, being found neither entire, nor in the same order, in Mark. The most of it finds a parallel, with much amplification, in Mark, 4. 1 to 25, and 3. 31 to 35.

Commenting upon the contents of this manuscript Schleiermacher says:

"In Mark's strange addition, (3. 31), for strange it still appears to me, in whatever way it be understood and qualified—I would not seek any discovery of the relation then subsisting, between Jesus and his kinsfolk."—*p.* 127.

Again: "This addition belongs, undoubtedly, to the number of accumulations and exaggerations which are so very common with Mark, both in the introductions to the several incidents in his gospel, and in the general statements which he occasionally inserts, to fill up a chasm."—*Essay, p.* 128.

No. 18, Luke, 8. 22 to 56, finds a close parallel in Mark, 4. 36 to 5. 43. The manuscript was inserted entire; not, however, without the usual amplification in the different narratives. The differences are not greater than would result from a few copyings; though it is probable that something was added by the author himself.

No. 19. Luke, 9. 1 to 45. This manuscript, with many variations, and the insertion of much new matter, may be traced as follows: Mark, 6. 7 to 16; same ch. vv. 30 to 44; ch. 8, 27 to 31; same, 34 to 38; ch. 9, vv. 1 to 11; same, 17 to 29, and verses 31 and 32. If all this was taken from a common source, it is difficult to discover upon what principle the selections were made, or the new matter inserted.

No. 20. Luke, 9. 46 to 50. Paralleled in Mark, 9. 33 to 40, to which is subjoined much not in Luke, but parallels to which may be found in Matthew.

MSS. Nos. 21 to 25 inclusive, comprising Luke, 9. 51 to 13. 9, not in Mark, except a few verses, Mark 3. 22 to 27, parallel with part of No. 25.

Nos. 26 to 29 inclusive, Luke, 13. 10 to 17. 19, not in Mark.

No. 30. Luke, 17. 20 to 19. 48. First division, 17. 20 to 18. 14, not in Mark The first part of the second division, Luke, 18. 15 to 43, finds a parallel in

(1.) Essay, p. 169.

Mark 10, 13 to 34, and vv. 46 to 52. The balance of the 2d division, Luke, 19, 1 to 28, has no parallel in Mark; while, again, the third division, Luke, 19, 29 to 48, will be found followed, more or less closely, in Mark, 11. 1 to 18.

No. 31. Luke, chs. 20 and 21. Parallel, Mark, 11. 27 to 31, and chs. 12 and 13.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23. 49. Parallels, Mark, 14. 1, 2; same ch. vv. 10 to 17; vv. 22 to 24; v. 26; v. 32; vv. 35 to 38; vv. 43 to 49; vv. 53, 54, and 61 to 72. Also, ch. 15, vv. 1 to 15, 21 to 33, and 37 to 41.

In all this, we discover parallels, by no means complete, to only a portion of No. 32. It is impossible to believe that the authors of Luke and Mark here used a common manuscript. Such an entire breaking up and scattering of the several portions of it, is scarcely conceivable. The author of Mark, we may suppose, drew somewhat from manuscripts, something from tradition, and much from his imagination.

No. 33. Luke, 23 50, to the end. Whatever parallel to this there may be in Mark, is in the last part of the gospel. But Mark here diverges much from the others. The last twelve verses are considered spurious.

As the result of the foregoing analysis, it will be seen, that of the 33 manuscripts in Luke, the first 8 are wanting in Mark, being the same, except No. 8, which were wanting also in Marcion. Of the other 25, 10 are omitted entirely, and 8 are inserted entire, while the others are more or less broken and disjointed; some of them so much so, as to lose their identity completely.

This result, while it confirms the theory of Schleiermacher, recognizing, as it does, the identity and completeness of most of the manuscripts, at the same time would indicate that the German theologian had, in some instances, carried his division too far; and had specified, as distinct manuscripts, some portions of Luke, which were founded upon tradition, and composed by the author himself. These could not be expected to correspond, with much strictness, with the narratives of other writers, drawn from similar traditions.

Of the general incorrectness of Mark, there is much

evidence; many passages, being looked upon by critics, as interpolations.

The Gospel according to Mark is supposed to have been written at Rome.

It was not quoted by Tertullian, in Africa.

At Rome, where the gospel was probably composed, the stories in Luke, concerning the infancy of Jesus, so manifestly of Eastern original, had not yet obtained much credence. They were accordingly omitted. In this respect, the Gospel of Marcion was in that portion of Christendom, considered the most reliable, and was looked upon as evidence, that the early biography of Jesus was unknown.

The Gospel of Peter is supposed to have contained the substance of the Oracles of Matthew; and as the former was at the basis of Mark, and the latter, of Matthew, that would account for much of the similarity between Mark and Matthew, without assuming that any portion of either was copied directly from the other. Mark has almost a complete parallel in Luke and Matthew taken together. There are but 24 verses which have no parallel in either of the other synoptics.

As to the order in which these gospels were written, much has been said, but the subject is in the utmost confusion and uncertainty.

"That St. Mark wrote later than St. Luke," says Michaelis, I have no doubt."—*Vol.* 3, *p.* 96. *Note.*

Other writers have different opinions and theories, scarcely any two agreeing completely with each other. The absence of the history of the Infancy, Westcott says, brings Mark within the limits laid down by St. Peter, for the extent of the apostolic testimony.[1]

(1.) Introduction to the Gospels, p. 205, and Note.

Baronius, Bellarmine and some others, think this gospel was first written in Latin. This is not improbable, if it was composed at Rome, late in the second century.

That the gospel in its pesent form, was not the work of Mark, the companion of the apostles, is the opinion of Credner,[1] and several other evangelical writers, among whom Mr. Sanday may be included.

(1.) Einleit. Sec. 56.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Gospel according to John.

But little light can be thrown upon the Gospel of John, by any comparison with the manuscripts of Luke.

The first manuscript to which any similarity can be found, is No. 19; the account of the feeding of the multitude, by a miracle. But the differences in the narratives, are very great. According to all the synoptics, Jesus had retired to a desert place; in Luke it is stated that it belonged to the City of Bethsaida. According to John, he had gone up into a mountain. According to this historian, who distributes the ministry of Jesus through several years, it was on the eve of a Jewish passover. This the synoptics say nothing about; nor do they connect Jesus with any passover, except the one at which he suffered. According to Mark and Matthew, who continue the narrative, Jesus sent away the multitudes, and retired into a mountain to pray; according to John, he departed into a mountain, [though he was already in a mountain], to avoid the multitude who wished to take him by force, and make him a king. It will be remembered that this

manuscript could not be fully identified in Mark. These were probably different versions of a common tradition.

The essential features of the tradition were, that a multitude consisting of 5000 men, besides the women and children, had been fed by Christ, upon five loaves and two fishes. Beyond this, each historian considered himself at liberty to fill up the account in his own way.

The next parallel is to No. 30. Of the contents of this long manuscript, there is but the circumstance of Jesus riding on the colt of an ass, which is briefly noticed, as the fulfillment of a prophecy. This manuscript also, could not be recognized distinctly in Mark, and there is no reason to believe it was used in John.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23. 49. Portions of this MS. have partial parallels, in John, 13. 1 to 30; vv. 36 to 38; ch. 18, vv. 1 to 18; 24 to 28; 33 to 40; ch. 19, vv. 15 to 25; 28 to 30.

No. 33. Luke, 23. 50, to the end.

The first part of this manuscript, narrating the begging of the body of Jesus, and his burial, by Joseph of Arimathea, has a closer parallel in John than any of the previous ones; (John, 19. 38 to 42.) The balance of it however, after the coming of Mary Magdalene to the sepulcher, cannot be recognized.

Thus, it will be seen, that not a single manuscript in Luke, can be completely traced in John. In some instances, the writer may have used Luke or Mark.

The inference is, that Luke and John were not composed from common sources.

The same result will follow, upon comparing John with Mark and Matthew.

The Gospel of John stands alone. It has every mark of being an original gospel, while the synoptics are compilations.

The synoptics are compilations made, for the most part, with the laudable purpose of preserving the early traditions of the disciples, concerning the life and teachings, the sufferings, the death and the resurrection of Jesus.

The Gospel of John is a theological document, written for theological purposes.

The first express testimony to the existence of this gospel, is that of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 180, who speaks of it thus:

"And hence the holy writings teach us, and all the spirit-bearing (inspired) men, one of whom, John, says, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God,'" &c.—*Ad Autolycum*, 2. 22.

Here John is not spoken of as an apostle, but as a spirit-bearing, or inspired man. Such the writer may have considered John the Presbyter, of the second century, who is by many thought to be the author of the gospel.

The internal character of this gospel, is quite inconsistent with the theory of its having been written by the unlettered fisherman, the son of Zebedee. It is hardly possible that such a person could have become the educated and philosophical theologian, whose pen is to be traced in the Gospel of John.

It is written in purer, and less Hebraistic Greek, than the other gospels, and its style is elegant and graceful.

John the apostle, son of Zebedee, was a Jew. But the author of the Gospel of John, refers to the Jews in the third person. He speaks of the feasts "of the Jews," "the passover of the Jews," "the manner of the purifying of the Jews," &c. The law of Moses is spoken of as "your law," and "their law." Furthermore, the Jews are denounced as the children of the devil.

The fact that in this gospel, the full and absolute divinity of Christ, is first distinctly taught, is evidence,

also, that it was not written by a Jew. The divinity of Jesus was not a doctrine of the Jewish Christians. It originated with Gentiles, formerly idolators. To the Jew, it meant polytheism. The early Jewish Christians held Christ to be a man only.

There are also many errors in reference to the geography of the country. The author speaks of Ænon, near to Salim, in Judæa; also of Bethany, beyond Jordan, and of "a city of Samaria, called Sychar." If there were any such places, they were strangely unknown to other writers. The writer of this gospel, like the authors of some of the apocryphal gospels, affected a knowledge of the country which he did not possess. The learned Dr. Bretschneider points out such mistakes and errors of the geography, chronology, history and statistics of Judæa, as no person who had ever resided in that country, or had been by birth a Jew, could possibly have committed.

Even the birthplace of John himself, Bethsaida, or Julias, is assigned to Galilee, when it was situated in another country. This mistake alone, is fatal to the authority of the gospel. This is conceded by Hug,[1] provided it cannot be explained. An attempt has been made to explain it by showing that it was the custom of the people to speak of the Gaulonite country as Galilee. Josephus is cited, as calling Judas, the Galilean, a Gaulonite. Josephus four times refers to Judas as a Galilean.[2] The only place where he is spoken of otherwise,[3] is manifestly a mistake on the part of some transcriber, and arose from the fact, that there were two cities by the name of Gamala, one in Gaulonitis,

(1.) Introduction to N. T. p. 24.

(2.) Antiquities, bk. 18, 1. 6; bk. 20, 5. 2; Jewish War, bk. 2, 8. 1, and bk. 2, 17. 8.

(3.) Antiquities, bk. 18, 1. 1.

the other in Galilee. No doubt the passage in Josephus, "a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala," should read, "a Galilean, of a city whose name was Gamala." It would then correspond with the other passages in Josephus, and with the Acts of the Apostles, [5. 37]; in all of which he was called Judas of Galilee.

Galilee was a well known district of country, with well defined boundaries; and it is absurd to suppose that another country, entirely disconnected with it, was called Galilee, without further evidence than this passage of Josephus.

The conclusion is, that the author of the Gospel of John, was ignorant of the birthplace of John the apostle.

This gospel differs from all three of the synoptics, in relating several events, which occurred when John the apostle was not present; while strangely enough, other transactions in which, according to the synoptics, the apostle John was present, are not related in the Gospel of John at all; particularly the transfiguration, which, according to all the synoptics, took place in the presence of Peter, James and John.

That John had neglected to testify, where his testimony would naturally be expected, was noticed, very anciently, by Faustus, the Manichæan, in his controversy with Augustine. Speaking of the passage, "Think not that I am come," &c., (Matt. 5. 17), he says:

"Who testifies that Jesus said this? Matthew. Where did he say it? On the mountain. Who were present? Peter, Andrew, James and John. Others, but not Matthew himself. He had not as yet chosen Matthew. But one of these four, John, wrote a gospel. Well, then, he relates this somewhere? No, not at all. How is it, then, that John, who was on the mountain, does not testify? And that this is written by Matthew, who became a follower of Jesus some time after he descended from the mountain? It is therefore very doubtful whether Jesus said this; because a proper witness is silent, while an improper witness testifies."—*Augustinus contra Faustum, lib.* 17, *ch.* 1.

The writer of this gospel quotes the Old Testament prophecies, almost as loosely, and with as little regard to their applicability, as the author of Matthew. Psalms, 41. 9, quoted in John 13. 18, did not refer to Christ, nor to Judas. So of John, 17. 12.

So strong is the evidence of a late date to this gospel, that its apostolic origin is being abandoned by the ablest evangelical writers. Westcott says, "The earliest account of the origin of the gospel, is already legendary."[1]

Dr.Davidson, author of the article on the canon in the new edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, says, its Joannine authorship must be abandoned, and its existence prior to A. D. 140, cannot be maintained.[2] Both Irenæus and Jerome assert that John wrote against Cerinthus. Cerinthus flourished about A. D. 145.

Again, there is evidence that in the construction of this gospel, as in that of Matthew, the author had in view the building up of the Roman hierarchy, the foundations of which were then (About A. D. 177—8,) being laid. In the 21st chapter, is a detailed account of an appearance of Jesus, after his resurrection, to seven of his disciples, at the Sea of Tiberias, something not heard of in the synoptic gospels, and which bears the impress of an original narrative, suggested by scenes in Christ's ministry. After they had dined, Jesus is made to say to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" an injunction which was afterward repeated.

In Matthew only, is Peter made the rock on which the church was to be built, and in John only, is he enjoined to feed the sheep of Christ. There is reason to believe that both gospels were written in the interest of the supremacy of the church of Rome.

(1.) Introduction, p. 255.

(2.) Davidson on the Canon, p. 99. In his Int. to N. T., the limit is 150.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Gospel according to Matthew.

The Gospel of Matthew presents at once phenomena of the most varied and inexplicable character. While many of its narratives and of its records of the sayings of Christ, from their brevity and simplicity, are recognized as among the oldest traditions, and as having been taken from near the fountain head, the gospel itself bears, in other places, internal evidence of a comparatively late origin.

The persistent statements of Jerome, supported by Epiphanius, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was the Hebrew form of the Gospel of Matthew, statements not at all borne out by the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which they have given, still further complicate a question, in other respects sufficiently difficult.

Many writers, not willing to discard altogether the assertions of Jerome and Epiphanius, have supposed our Matthew to be a translation from a more correct version of the Hebrew gospel, than that quoted by those fathers; and that the differences between those quotations and the Greek Matthew, are to be account-

ed for, partly by the difference in the Hebrew versions, and partly by the freedom of translation. Among these, Bishop Marsh is one of the most eminent.

Others, giving but little credit to these fathers, whom, in other matters they have found so unreliable, and resting the case upon internal evidence, have pronounced the Gospel of Matthew an original Greek production. This view is strongly maintained by Jones and other modern critics.

Volumes have been written upon the subject, but it cannot be clearly seen, that any progress has been made toward a satisfactory solution.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LUKE COMPARED WITH MATTHEW.

There is a partial parallel in the third chapter of Matthew, to the first part of manuscript No. 7; [Luke, 3. 1 to 22.] Omitting the genealogies, which are entirely different, the parallel is resumed, and more closely followed, in the history of the temptation; [Luke, 4. 1 to 13; Matthew, 4. 1 to 11.]

MS. No. 8, Luke, 4. 16 to 30, has no parallel in Matthew.

No. 9, Luke, 4. 31 to 44, which had a complete parallel in Mark, finds only a partial parallel in Matthew, commencing with verse 38, of Luke, [Matt. 8. 14], and giving an account of the healing of Simon's wife's mother, and other sick people.

We early find evidence of that tendency to amplification and exaggeration which is characteristic of the author of this gospel. Although, in accordance with the accounts in the other synoptics, he states, in verse 16, that "when the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils, and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick;" adding, according to his custom, a reference to the fulfillment of prophecy; and though he had also stated, in ch. 4, v. 23, that Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching, &c., and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease, among the people; he there adds, after the narrative has been closed by the other historians, the following:

V. 24. "And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those who were possessed with devils, and those who were lunatic, and those who had the palsy; and he healed them."

MS. No. 10, Luke, 5. 1 to 11, cannot be traced in Matthew, though there is a shorter account of the calling of the four disciples, corresponding to that in Mark.

No. 11. Luke, 5. 12 to 16. The parallel account in Matthew, is shorter than in Luke or Mark. This is one of the places which indicate Matthew, as containing the earlier narrative. The account of this miracle, as related in the Acts of Pilate, is shorter than either of these.

No. 12. Luke, 5. 17 to 26. Parallel, Matthew, 9. 1 to 8.

" 13. Luke, 5. 27 to 39. See Matthew, 9. 9 to 17, which has a close resemblance.

So also No. 14, Luke, 6. 1 to 11; Matthew, 12. 1 to 13.

No. 15. Luke, 6. 12, to 7. 10. The last ten verses of this manuscript, describing the healing of the centurion's servant, are paralleled in Matthew, 8. 5 to 13. The other portion, which commences with the choosing of the twelve, and consists, principally, of sayings of Jesus, can hardly be considered paralleled by the sermon on the mount, which is much more extensive.

No. 16, Luke, 7. 11 to 50, which has no parallel in Mark, has a partial parallel in Matthew. See Luke, 7. 18 to 35, and Matthew, 11. 2 to 19.

No. 17. Luke, 8. 1 to 21. See Matthew, 13. 1 to 25, and 12. 46 to 50, where the parallel is nearly complete.

18. Luke, 8. 22 to 56. Parallel, Matt. 8. 18; vv. 23 to 34; ch. 9, 18 to 25.

19. Luke, 9. 1 to 45. Matt. 10. 1 to 15; 14. 1, 2; vv. 13 to 21; ch. 16, 13 to 16, 20; vv. 21 to 28, and ch. 17, 1 to 23. This manuscript, if used at all, is completely broken up.

20. Luke, 9. 46 to 50; Matthew, 18. 1 to 6.

21. Luke, 9. 51, to 10. 24. Partial parallel in Matt. 8. 19 to 22.

MSS. 22, 23 and 24, Luke, 10. 25, to 11. 13. No parallel in Matthew.

No. 25. Luke, 11. 14, to 13. 9. Partial parallel, Matthew, 12. 22 to 30, and vv. 38 to 45.

26 to 29. Luke, 13. 10 to 17. 19. No parallel.

No. 30. Luke, 17. 20, to 19. 48. The first division, 17. 20 to 18 14, has no parallel. First part of second division, 18. 15 to 30, has as parallel, Matt. 19. 13 to 30. Luke, 18. 31 to 43, has Matt. 20. 17 to 19, and 20. 29 to 34. Luke, 19. 29 to 38, has Matthew, 21. 1 to 9, and Luke, 19. 45, 46, has Matt. 21. 12, 13. These partial parallels do not, however, identify the manuscript.

No. 31. Luke, chs. 20 and 21. Partial parallels, Matt. 21. 23 to 27; 33 to

45; ch. 22, vv. 15, 32; vv. 41 to 46; ch. 23, vv. 5 to 7; v. 14; and ch. 24, vv. 1 to 44; following which, are lengthy sayings of Christ, found in Matthew alone.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23, 49. Matt. 26. 3 to 5; 14 to 25. The parallel considerably broken. Matt. 27. 1, 2; 11 to 56.

No. 33. Luke, 23. 50, to the end. Some partial parallels, in Matt. 27. 57, to the end.

Recapitulation.—Five of the manuscripts are complete in Matthew, though with the customary changes and accumulations. Some dozen of the others have parallels more or less extensive. There is indicated a common use of manuscripts, though not to so great an extent as by the authors of Luke and Mark.

We will now proceed to consider some of the indications of a late date for the construction of the Gospel of Matthew.

1. That Matthew was written for theological purposes, and for the use of the church, after it had become pretty well established, is shown by the frequent reference to the prophecies, and the manifest anxiety to show that the events related, were in fulfillment of the predictions referred to. True, the author is quite uniformly unfortunate, in his selection of prophecies, scarcely one of which has any reference to the subject matter to which it is applied.[1] But the object of the writer is apparent, all the same.

2. The comparative late composition of this work may be inferred from the many additions of incidents of a striking and marvelous character, not contained in the other gospels. Notably among these, are the earthquakes at the crucifixion and the resurrection, both of which were known to this historian only. Also, the opening of the graves, and the rising of the saints.

(1.) For some instances, see the comparisons between Matthew and the Infancy gospels.

Schleiermacher, in comparing Luke with Mark and Matthew, sees evidence that the corresponding narratives in the latter gospels, were originally more hastily taken down, or were obscured by passing through a great number of hands.[1]

Speaking of the account of casting out the devils, [Matt. 8. 28 to 33], he says:

"The alteration made here, by introducing two demoniacs, in itself improbable, as it is not usual for madmen to contract a close friendship and intimacy with each other, might, indeed, admit of a different explanation, as other instances of a similar duplication, are found in Matthew."—*Essay, p.* 137.

In regard to the feeding of the multitudes, notwithstanding the statement in Matthew 16, Schleiermacher thinks there was but one feeding, and that Matthew was misled, by having two different accounts of the same transaction.[2]

Speaking of Matt. 16. 13 to 28, he says:

"No one will readily believe, that Christ, in the same breath, as it were, would deliver to Peter the key of the kingdom of heaven, and then call him a Satan, who did not favor the things which be of God."—*Page* 153.

He thinks the manner in which Matthew represents the transfiguration, shows that the account had passed through several hands.

"In this narrative," he says, "one perceives the exclusive direction of the reporter's imagination toward the marvelous. On this account, the assertion that the two figures were Moses and Elias, appears far more confident than in Luke, in whose narrative, every attentive reader easily sees that it is founded merely on the expression of Peter, in a state between sleeping and waking." —*Page* 156.

"In the same way, we may remark, likewise, in the healing of the epileptic in Matthew, a distortion into extravagance."—*Essay, p.* 157.

After commenting at length upon the circumstance, he says:

(1.) Essay on Luke, p. 77.
(2.) Ibid. p. 144.

"Matthew therefore, either has had a less authentic reporter here, or perhaps only obscured the state of the case, by his habit of annexing analogous matter."—*Ibid. p.* 159.

In the account in Matthew, corresponding to Luke 9. 46 to 50, Schleiermacher thinks much is annexed, which was not spoken on the occasion.[1]

He comments on the incoherence in the narratives of Matthew.[2]

Referring to the duplication of the blind men at Jericho, he says, Matthew "had before done something of the same sort, in the case of the demoniac at Gadara." How the mistake happened, he does not undertake to determine.[3]

Speaking of Matt. 21. 1 to 17, he says:

"As to what is said in Matthew, somewhat strangely indeed, of two animals, I can only explain it by the attempt to make the application of the fact to the passage in Zechariah, as close as possible. Every other explanation appears to be lost labor. For if Matthew is to be reconciled with the rest, it must have been properly the πῶλος which Christ bespoke for himself; but when the πῶλος is able to bear the weight of a man, though it has never yet been ridden, the she ass no longer runs by its side, but has long left it to itself." —*Essay on Luke, p.* 258.

He thinks the rending of the vail poetical. So also, the opening of the graves, and the rising of the saints from the dead, as related by Matthew.[4]

3. One circumstance indicating a late date for this gospel, is the passage, Matt. 23. 35:

"That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew, between the temple and the altar."

In Luke, this is quoted from an apocryphal book, called the "Wisdom of God;" and is applied to Zacha-

(1.) Essay, p. 162.
(2.) Ibid. pp. 190 to 199.
(3.) Ibid. p. 249.
(4.) Ibid. p. 305.

rias who perished between the altar and the temple." [Luke, 11. 49 to 51.]

The passage was not in Marcion. In Luke, though the place of the death of Zachariah is not described with entire correctness, it is generally considered that the reference is to Zachariah, the son of Jehoida. [See 2d Chron. 24. 20, 21.] But this was ending, a long way back, the list of prophets whose blood had been shed unjustly. The author of Matthew, wishing to bring it down to a later date, adds, "son of Barachias." This changes the personage at once, and brings the scene down to a date subsequent to the time of Christ. Zacharias, son of Barouchos, was massacred by the zealots, inside the temple, shortly before the siege of Jerusalem; about A. D. 69.[1] [See Apendix, II.]

It is evident that this portion of the Gospel of Matthew was written, not only after the destruction of Jerusalem, but a long time after. It will be noticed that these words are not here, as in Luke, quoted from the Wisdom of God. They are put into the mouth of Jesus himself, who is made to allude to an event as in the past, which took place more than thirty years afterward. No one, writing immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, could have made such a mistake. But a writer living more than a hundred years afterward, might do so. Suppose, a thousand years hence, a history should be under examination, which should represent Andrew Jackson as speaking of something as then past, which has occurred in our own times; say the death of Senator Chandler. Would not that be evidence that the history was written, not only after the death of Chandler, but a long time after?

4. In Matt. 27. 8, after stating that the chief priests

(1.) Josephus, Jewish War, bk. 4, ch. 5. 4.

took the silver pieces which Judas had thrown away, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in, it is added,

"Wherefore, that field was called the field of blood, until this day."

The phrase "until this day," implies a very long time between the transaction and the time of relating it.

So again, Matt. 28. 15. In relating the bribing of the soldiers by the chief priests, there is the following:

"So they took the money, and did as they were taught; and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

5. Evidence of the late construction of Matthew, is to be found in the attempt in the 16th chapter, to specially connect Peter with the foundation of the Christian church. The narrative of the conversation between Jesus and Peter, as given in Luke and Mark, contains nothing of the kind.

That this was a later interpolation in the gospel history, made in the interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, then being established, will become more manifest by comparing the accounts in the synoptic gospels, as follows:

LUKE, ch. 9.	MARK, ch. 8.	MATTHEW, ch. 16.
His disciples were with him; and he asked them, saying: Whom say the people that I am?	And by the way, he asked his disciples, saying unto them: Whom do men say that I am?	He asked his disciples, saying: Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?
They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others say that one of the old prophets is risen again.	And they answered, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others, one of the prophets.	And they said, Some (say) John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets.
He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answering, said, The Christ of God.	And he saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ.	He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but

LUKE, ch. 9.	MARK, ch. 8.	MATTHEW, ch. 16.
		my Father who is in heaven.
		And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.
		And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.
And he straitly charged them, and commanded them, to tell no man that thing.	And he charged them, that they should tell no man of him.	Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man, that he was Jesus the Christ.

From the closeness of the parallel, it is obvious, that the account was taken from a common manuscript, or from a common tradition.

The saying of Christ to Peter "Blessed art thou," &c. if it had ever been uttered, was too important to be omitted by the other historians. Besides, the word translated church was not in use earlier than the latter part of the second century.

About this time, A. D. 180 to 190, a violent dispute had arisen, concerning the celebration of Easter. The church at Rome was endeavoring to control the question, and to make it the occasion for the establishment of a supreme power. The Asiatic churches had rebelled against its pretensions. It was very important to conciliate them. Let us suppose that at this juncture, this gospel had appeared at Alexandria, whose bishop supported the Pope. It would at once be adopted in the churches of Africa, Gaul and Italy, all of which were favorable to the papal claims. It would then be circulated in Asia Minor, among the churches embued with Jewish traditions, and among whom the

name of Peter was all powerful, and would have an immense influence in favor of consolidation.

The epistle of Clement of Rome to James, was, it is to be presumed, already in circulation. In that it was stated that Peter had, at Rome, given to Clement, in in the presence of the congregation, the keys of the Kingdom, and had used almost the very words here attributed to Jesus. Peter had said of Clement, to the church,

"Wherefore, I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to every thing which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. He shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed, as knowing the rule of the church."

It only needed a gospel, showing that Christ had conferred this power upon Peter, and the chain of title of the Roman pontiff was complete.

WHEN, WHERE AND BY WHOM WRITTEN.—No writer of the first centuries ever assigned a date to the Gospel of Matthew, except Irenæus, whose testimony is generally discarded. He states that it was written for the Jews while Peter and Paul were founding the church at Rome.[1]

"If," says Bishop Marsh, "the arguments in favor of a late date for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, be compared with those in favor of an early date, it will be found that the former greatly outweigh the latter."—*Notes to Michaelis, vol.* 3, *pt.* 2, p. 98.

According to the law of accretion, Matthew would stand next to Luke, in point of antiquity.

On the other hand, it has been seen, that several considerations point forcibly to a late date for its composition.

It remains to be considered, whether there is any theory which will explain these seemingly contradictory phenomena. We venture to make a suggestion,

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. 3. 1.

which, if not entirely correct, may lead to such inquiries as will result in a correct solution.

About A. D. 180, Pantænus was sent from Alexandria, as a missionary to India. It is said that he there found a Gospel of Matthew, which had been left in India many years before, by Bartholomew, who had preached in that country. There has been much discussion, as to what this Gospel of Matthew, sometimes called the Gospel of Bartholomew, was. Let us suppose, it was a copy of the Oracles of Matthew, to which had been attached some brief narrative of the ministry of Christ. It would be, in that case, one of the oldest copies in existence.

Suppose this copy was brought back to Alexandria, accompanied with some old manuscripts of genealogies. That some zealous Christian in that city, wishing to aid in the consolidation of the church then going on, untertook, from these and other materials, to write a new gospel. That it was published in Alexandria.

Such a work would fulfill all the conditions, and would exhibit the complex character now found in the Gospel of Matthew. The Oracles and accompanying narrative would furnish, in some cases, the most authentic records, and in the shortest and simplest form of any yet published; and this would of itself justify an addition to the gospels then in circulation.

The author would have before him, the gospels of the Infancy and the Gospel of Mark.

That Pantænus was a Jew, we learn from Clement of Alexandria, who speaks of him as a Hebrew of Palestine, whom he found concealed in Egypt, and who "was the true Sicilian bee, gathering the spoil of the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow."—[Stromata, bk. 1, ch. 1.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

Acts of the Apostles.

The book entitled the "Acts of the Apostles," does not much differ in its general character, from other writings of the kind which were in circulation among the Christians of the second century. There were Acts of the Apostles supposed to have been written by Lucius; there were The Acts of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, The Acts of Peter and Andrew, The Acts of Philip, The Acts of Paul and Thecla, &c.

The same bold appeal to the love of the marvelous —the same disregard of historical facts, and geographical and chronological accuracy, which are to be seen in those writings, characterize also, the Acts of the Apostles.

Gaza is spoken of as a desert place, though at that time it was a flourishing city.

In Acts, 5. 34 to 36, Gamaliel is represented as referring, in a speech, to Theudas, and to acts of his, which were not performed until some forty years after the time referred to, and more than ten years after the time when Gamaliel was delivering his address. Again, the reference in the 21st chapter, to the Egyptian im-

postor, does not at all agree with the historical account of the same transaction, as given by Josephus.

There is the same loose reference to the prophecies, as in John and Matthew.

This work had but an indifferent standing among the fathers. As late as at the commencement of the fifth century, Chrysostom said,

"This book is not so much as known to many. They know neither the book, nor by whom it was written."—*Prolegomena to Acts. See also Mill, Præf. in Act. p.* 254.

The text has always been very uncertain.[1] The Cambridge M. S., (Codex Bezæ), has six hundred interpolations.[2]

The author is supposed to have been the same as the compiler of the Gospel of Luke; a theory based upon the preface to each, and which finds some confirmation in linguistic peculiarities, and similarity of style.

That it was written late in the second century, may be safely assumed.

The following passage is from the writings of Aristides, the sophist, who flourished about A. D. 176.

The similarity in style and incidents to the 27th chapter of Acts, will be at once apparent.

"We were going to Cephallenia, and again we had a high sea, and a contrary wind, and we were tossed up and down, to the great detriment of my health, and beyond what my constitution could bear. Afterward, the like happened in the straits of Achaia, when truly the good marines would put out from Patræ, at the very time of the equinox, against my will, and very much to my prejudice, under my indispositions. The like things happened again, in the Ægean Sea, through the obstinacy of the master of the ship, and of the mariners; when they would sail, though the winds were contrary; nor would they hearken to me. So we were carried about by the tempest, over that whole sea, for fourteen days and nights, and were oftentimes without food, and at length, with difficulty, got to Miletus."—*Sacrorum Sermon.* 2, *tom.* 1, *p.* 306.

(1.) Westcott, Canon, p. 215.
(2.) Mc Clintock & Strong, Article "Cambridge MS."

There is no reason to believe that Aristides had ever seen the Acts, or any other book of the New Testament.

That the Acts of the Apostles also, was written in the interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, must be obvious to any one who will give the matter careful consideration.

In the Acts, a prominence is given to Peter, not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, if we except the two passages already spoken of. It was Peter who made a speech, showing the necessity of selecting another apostle, in place of Judas, (the Catholic historians add, that he presided over the election of Matthias)—it was Peter who made the great speech on the day of pentecost—it was Peter who first preached to the Jews—it was Peter who first announced that the gospel was to go to the Gentiles—it was Peter whom Paul came to Jerusalem to see, and as Bossuet says, to "study"—it was Peter who was a prominent actor at, (and as the Catholic historians have it, who presided over), the council of Jerusalem. Peter is everywhere prominent; every where making speeches, and directing the affairs of the church. He is the "pillar apostle," of both Jews and Gentiles.

Several of these accounts, giving such prominence to Peter, are in direct conflict with the writings of Paul. It was the policy of the author of the Acts, writing in the interest of the Catholic Church, and aiming at unity of doctrine, to ignore the well-known differences that existed all through the early age of the church, between Peter and James, and their Judaistic followers, on the one hand, and Paul and the Gentile Christians on the other. Accordingly, in the Acts, Paul is represented as preaching to the Jews at Samaria and Jerusalem, immediately after his conversion; although he himself distinctly informs us, in the epistle to the

Galatians, that he preached to the Gentiles seventeen years, before preaching to the Jews at all. Three years after his conversion, he went up to Jerusalem, but saw only Peter and James. Fourteen years afterward, he went up by revelation, and communicated to the Jews, even then privately at first, the gospel which he had been preaching among the Gentiles. [Galatians, ch. 2.]

In the Acts, not only does Paul preach at once to the Jews, but Peter becomes an apostle to the Gentiles. He is made to say,

"Ye know how that a good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth, should hear the word of the gospel, and believe."—*Acts*, 15. 7.

Thus the distinction so much dwelt upon by Paul, between himself as the apostle of the Gentiles—of the uncircumcision, and Peter, as the apostle of the Jews—the circumcision, is entirely broken down. Peter preaches to Gentiles and Jews, and Paul to Jews and Gentiles. This is contrary to what is known of the history of the Christian church in the first century, and inconsistent with the declaration of Paul:

"The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, as the gospel of the circumcision was to Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles."—*Galatians*, 2. 7, 8.

Even after the conference at Jerusalem, Paul was obliged to withstand Peter face to face, at Antioch. [Galatians, 2. 11.]

It is plain that the Acts of the Apostles was written in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church, and in support of the tradition that the Church of Rome was founded by the joint labors of Peter and Paul.

This tradition has no foundation except in the writings of one or two fathers of the latter part of the second century; fathers who had in view the same general object, as the author of the Acts of the Apostles.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Origin and History of Christian Doctrines.

A complete history of Christian doctrines would require volumes. It is obvious, that within the limits of a single chapter, but a meager outline can be given. The completeness of our work requires at least a brief sketch of the doctrines prevailing in the first two centuries.

The Immaculate Conception.

The first allusion to the immaculate conception, is in the Epistles of Ignatius; A. D. 115.

The belief in the miracles of Jesus, a belief which became common early in the second century, was naturally connected with his deification, and his assignment to a supernatural origin. A being who can disregard and overthrow the laws of nature, must needs be a god, and a god must be begotten by a god. Thus the three doctrines may be said to postulate and prove each other.

The doctrine of the immaculate conception, when once announced, rapidly grew into favor, and was firmly established as a doctrine of the church, before the close of the second century.

It has always been a favorite doctrine of the Catholic Church. The Protestants have not placed so much

stress upon it, but have accepted it, as apparently the only consistent explanation of the divinity of Christ.

The Miracles of Jesus.

The first mention of these was in the Epistle of Barnabas, A. D. 130, and in the Acts of Pilate and other apocryphal gospels, which are supposed to have been written about the same time.

A hundred years of silence, by Christian writers, is at least wonderful, if such miracles were then believed. And equally wonderful is the fact, that no Jewish or heathen historian, during that period, has recorded that such events were reported of Jesus, and believed by his followers.

It is not probable that Christ ever claimed or pretended to work miracles. Such pretensions would have detracted from his exalted character, and would have placed him upon a level with Simon Magus, Apollonius, and other miracle-workers of that age.

Miracles in the Church.

Beyond what is contained in the epistles of Paul, it does not appear that any claim was made to the power of working miracles in the church, until about the middle of the second century.

The Material Resurrection.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the material body of Christ, must be placed in the same category.

Nothing is heard of it earlier than in the Gospel of the Hebrews, which is generally thought to have been written early in the second century. In the writings of the fathers, the doctrine first appeared in the middle of the second century.

According to the opinion of many in the first century, the soul or spirit of Jesus had gone below, to a

place understood as hades, under or beneath the earth, and the resurrection was the calling back of the soul to earth, and its ascension to heaven. To this doctrine Paul may have alluded, when he asked "Who shall descend into the deep? That is, to bring up Christ again from the dead?" [Romans, 10. 7.]

The prevailing view of the resurrection, however, as taught by the earlier fathers, is well explained by Neander, the celebrated church historian. He quotes from Origen, who distinguished "from the mutable phenomenal form, the proper essence lying at the foundation of the body, which remains the same through all the changes of the earthly life, and which, moreover, is not destroyed at death. This proper essence, lying at the foundation of the body, would by the operation of the divine power, be awakened to a nobler form, corresponding to the ennobled character of the soul; so that as the soul had communicated its own peculiar stamp to the earthly body, it would then communicate the same to the transfigured body."[1]

The spiritualism of the first century was destined to be obscured, after the death of its most illustrious advocates, Paul and Clement. The Christians of the second century required a grosser form of doctrine.

Justin Martyr argued for a resurrection of the flesh.[2]

So Athenagoras, in his Treatise on the Resurrection, maintained, that every particle of matter which constitutes the human body, would be brought back to its proper place, and thought it a reflection on the power of God, to object that the same particles of matter enter into the composition of different bodies.

Tertullian thought the dead would be raised with a

(1.) Neander's Christian Hist. vol. 2, p. 436.
(2.) Works of Justin, Ante-Nicene, vol. 2, p. 345.

material body, and afterward, the bodies would be changed. A real fleshly body was to be reproduced, and when Christ should appear, it was to be caught up into the air, and then the material body would be changed into a spiritual body.[1]

Irenæus maintains the identity of the future, with the present body.

In the midst of all this materialism, however, Clement of Alexandria and Origen maintained the spiritualistic views of Paul and Clement of Rome.

In the construction of the canonical gospels, the materialistic side prevailed. We there find the resurrection of a material body, which required the stone to be rolled away from before the sepulcher.

Divinity of Christ.

Paul, though drawing a broad distinction between God and Jesus Christ, through all his epistles, repeatedly designating the latter as a man, "of the seed of David," at the same time, in other passages, [Philippians, 2. 5, 6; 2d Cor. 5. 19, &c.], used language capable of another construction; and from which was drawn a doctrine, which, by successive steps, ended in the complete deification of Christ, as an essential part of a Triune God.

The Jewish Christians, and many of the Gentiles, steadily maintained that Jesus was a man only, born in the ordinary course of generation. To which the Gnostics added, that Christ, as an æon or divine spirit, entered into him at the time of his baptism; from which time he was divinely inspired.

Among the mass of Gentile Christians, however, the tendency to deify their great teacher and exemplar,

(1.) Tertul. adv. Marcion, bk. 5, ch. 20.

was early manifested, and rapidly gained in strength and power.

This tendency can be traced among all the orthodox fathers. Ignatius speaks of him as "Jesus Christ, our God;" and similar expressions are to be found in other early Christian writers.

The testimony of Pliny is, that the Christians were accustomed to meet before day-break, and sing a responsive hymn, ("carmen dicere secum invicem"), to Christ as to God. ("Christo quasi Deo.") [1]

Whether in so doing, they were not giving countenance to polytheism, the Christians of that day did not stop to inquire. They were too enthusiastic in the new religion, to formulate scientific creeds, or to take time to establish consistency of doctrine.

Justin Martyr was the first who undertook to give a definite shape to the doctrine. He maintained that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who appeared to Moses in the flaming bush, was the Word, or Christ, who he says, was also called angel and apostle. While he was God, he was entirely distinct from God the Father, in every respect, except that he was begotten, or produced from him, by emanation, as a ray of light proceeds from the sun. [2]

He is very emphatic in maintaining that Christ is really different from the Father.

"This rational power," he says, "is not, like the light of the sun, merely nominally different (from the Father), but really another, numerically." (*Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τί ἐστι.*)—*Dialogue with Trypho*, chs. 128, 129.

This he illustrates by fire kindled from a fire; "which," says he, "we see to be distinct from it." [3]

He repeatedly speaks of Christ as God, but so far

(1.) Ep. 10. 97.
(2.) 1st Apology, chs. 13, 63; Dialogue with Trypho, chs. 113, 128, 129, &c.
(3.) Dialogue, ch. 128.

from asserting his identity with the Father, either in person or essence, he says:

"They who affirm that the Son is the Father, are proved neither to have become acquainted with the Father, nor to know that the Father of the Universe has a son."—1*st Apology, ch.* 63.

In the same passage, he asserts the divinity of Christ, and says he was the first-begotten Word of God.

Not only does Justin deny the identity of the Son with the Father, but he is equally explicit in excluding the idea of equality between them. Speaking of the Son, he says,

"We esteem him in the second place. (χώρα.)" "For they proclaim," says he, "our madness to consist in this; that we give to a crucified man, a place second to the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of all."—1*st Apology, ch.* 13.

The tendency to polytheism, which naturally resulted from an attempt to deify Christ, had thus culminated in Justin Martyr. Here were two Gods, the one entirely distinct from, and subordinate to the other. A reaction followed, which resulted in the doctrine of the trinity. The divinity of Christ could not be abandoned. It had taken too firm a hold upon the hearts of the multitude of his disciples. It must now be reconciled with monotheism. This required that the Son should, in some way, be identified with the Father. The object was accomplished through the growth and development of the doctrine of the Logos. In the writings of Philo, in the first century, the doctrine of the Word, as the only begotten Son of the Father, existing with Him, as the creative power, was fully taught and elaborated. But Philo, a Jew, knew nothing of Jesus Christ, as the Word.

Justin Martyr applied this doctrine to Christ, who then became, to the Christians, the Logos so much dwelt upon by Philo. But Justin did not, as we have

seen, identify the Son, or the Word with the Father. It remained for the author of the Gospel of John, a quarter of a century later, boldly to announce, without qualification, that "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

This was the culmination of the doctrine of the Logos, and at the same time, the foundation of the doctrine of the trinity. The disposition to deify Christ, had been gaining ground for nearly a century, and had finally prevailed, without overthrowing monotheism, which was an essential part of the Christian system.

No wonder that a gospel which thus so distinctly struck for the first time, the key note of that grand anthem, which was already in the hearts of multitudes, waiting only for expression, should at once become popular—should be received as canonical—should take its place among the gospels which had already been selected—that it should be ascribed to an apostle, and should maintain its ground, without any examination of its authenticity, as an apostolic production.

The Trinity.

A solid foundation for the doctrine of the trinity, having thus been laid, the completion of the structure was the work of the next century and a half. The doctrine was scientifically formulated at the Council of Nice, A D. 325.

From what has been said, it will be seen that it was not a belief of the first two centuries. Those who would trace the doctrine to that age, refer to the formula of baptism, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Those who used this formula, however, did so, without any adequate conception of the doctrine of the trinity, so far as we have any evidence from the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers. Dr.

Shedd, speaking of the formulas employed in the so-called apostle's creed, says:

"This is as definite a statement of the doctrine of the trinity as was made in any public document, previous to those Sabellian and Arian controversies, which resulted in the more exhaustive and technical definitions of the Nicene symbols."—*History of Christian Doctrine, by William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit. in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.*, 1871, *vol* 1, *p.* 262.

Again,

"Those of the primitive fathers who speculated at all upon the trinity, confined their reflections mostly to the relations of the first and second persons." —*Ibid. vol.* 1, *p.* 268.

Origen speaks of the trinity, in de Principiis, bk. 4, 1. 30, according to the Latin of Rufinus, which is not very reliable.

Nature of the Soul.

Tertullian held that both body and soul are propagated.

"The soul of a man," he says, "like the root of a tree, is drawn out, (deducta), into a physical progeny, from Adam, the parent stock."—*De Anima, ch.* 19.

And again, "Both substances (body and soul), are conceived, finished and perfected together."—*De Anima, ch.* 27.

In the third century, Origen advocated pre-existence.[1]

Immortality of the Soul.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not appear to have been generally held at that time.

"The soul is not in itself immortal, O Greeks," says Tatian, "but mortal. If, indeed, it knows not the truth, it dies, and is dissolved with the body, but rises again at last, at the end of the world, with the body, receiving death by punishment in immortality."—*Address to the Greeks, bk.* 1, *ch.* 13.

Similar views were held by Theophilus of Antioch, who says:

"Neither immortal, nor yet mortal did he make him, but capable of both." —*Ad Autolycum, bk.* 2, *ch.* 27.

(1.) De Princip. 4. 1. 16; Ibid. 2. 9, 3. 5; Contra Celsum, 4. 39.

The nature of the soul, as explained by Tertullian, has been seen to be entirely inconsistent with its immortality.

Free Will and Predestination.

Justin Martyr argued in favor of the freedom of the will, and against predestination.[1]

The Alexandrian fathers, while they conceded the apostacy, held that the human will has a plenary power of good action, and is able to turn by its own inherent energy.[2]

Clement of Alexandria asserts that to believe or disbelieve, is as much at the command of the will, as to philosophize or not philosophize. That the first act in regeneration proceeds from man.

The Atonement.

Dr. Priestly, in his work on the corruptions of Christianity, claims that the atonement is not taught in the New Testament, The statement, as applied to the doctrine in its theological sense, may be correct. But we do not see how it can be denied, that Paul preached, in general terms, a doctrine of atonement.

The earlier fathers generally followed the language of Paul, without attempting any definite statement of the doctrine. They do not appear to connect it with original sin or total depravity.

"For our sins," says Polycarp, "he has even taken death upon himself."—*Epist. to the Philippians.*

Basilides maintained that penal suffering, or suffering for purposes of justice, of necessity implies personal criminality in the sufferer, and therefore cannot be endured by an innocent person like Christ.

(1.) 1st Apology, 43, 10.
(2.) αὐτεξούσιον.

According to Marcion, the suffering was not real; it was only apparent.

Clement of Rome speaks of the blood of Christ, shed for our salvation, and of being justified by faith.[1]

"There was" says Dr. Shedd, "no scientific construction of the doctrine of the atonement, in the writings of the apostolic fathers."—*History of Doct. vol.* 2, *p.* 208.

Clement of Alexandria and Origen held qualified views in regard to the atonement.

It was a favorite view with Ignatius, that the death of Christ brings the human soul into communion with him.

Original Sin.

Wiggers says,

"All, or at least the greater part, of the fathers of the Greek Church before Augustine, denied any real, original sin."—*Augustinism and Pelagianism, p.* 43. *Emerson's Translation.*

The doctrine had a gradual growth, and was fully developed by Augustine. A. D. 420.

The maxim of Tertullian was, "Tradux animæ, tradux peccati." "The propagation of the soul, is the propagation of sin."

Dr. Shedd says, no controversy arose, respecting original sin and regenerating grace, until the fifth century.[2]

Inherited guilt was first distinctly anounced by Augustine.

Eternal Punishment,

Was taught by Justin Martyr, and some others of the second century.

"We believe," says Justin, "that those who live wickedly, and do not repent, are punished in everlasting fire."[3]

(1.) Epistle to the Corinthians, 7, 32.
(2.) History of Doctrines, vol. 2, "Anthropology."
(3.) 1st Apology, ch. 21.

The eternal duration of future punishment was denied by Origen and Clement of Alexandria.

"The good God" says Clement, "corrects for these three causes: First, that he who is corrected, may become better than his former self; then, that those who are capable of being saved by examples, may be driven back, being admonished; and thirdly, that he who is injured, may not readily be despised, and be apt to receive injury."—*Stromata, bk.* 4, *ch.* 24.

Origen believed in the final restoration of the whole human race.

The Intermediate State.

Justin Martyr represents the souls of the righteous as taking up a temporary abode in a happy, and those of the wicked, in a wretched place; and stigmatizes as heretical the doctrine, that souls are immediately received into heaven at death.[1]

Tertullian held that martyrs went at once to the abode of the blessed, but that this was a privilege peculiar to them, and not granted to other Christians.[2]

Providence.

Neander considers that the doctrine of providence, as now held throughout Christendom, is peculiarly new.[3]

We look in vain for any distinct statement of the doctrine, in the words of the Ante-Nicene fathers.

Creation out of Nothing.

This was held by some of the fathers. It is distinctly announced in the Shepherd of Hermas; the author of which speaks of God, "who brought all things into being out of nothing."[4]

Inspiration.

There was at this time, says Neander, "no coherent and systematic doctrine of inspiration."[5]

(1.) Dialogue with Trypho, 5, 80.
(2.) De Anima, 55; De Resur. 43.
(3.) Hist. of Doct. vol. 1, p. 123.
(4.) Commandment, 1.
(5.) Hist. of Doctrines, vol. 1, p. 90.

The Old Testament was held to be inspired, and inspired men were spoken of, under the new dispensation.

Hagenbach says, that Irenæus first taught the doctrine of inspiration, as connected with New Testament books; and cites Irenæus against Heresies, 3. 16. 2.

Millenarianism.

Barnabas, Hermas and Papias were millenarians. So also were Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian.[1]

Justin not only held to the doctrine, but he declared it the belief of all but the Gnostics.[2]

The Sabbath.

The Jewish Christians insisted upon maintaining the Jewish institutions, particularly, circumcision and the sabbath.

Paul protested against it, and urged that the Christians were freed from those observances. He cautioned them against permitting any man to judge them in respect of the sabbath.—[Colossians, 2. 16.]

There is no evidence of the transfer of the Jewish sabbath to the first day of the week.

On that day, Christians met, to commemorate the resurrection of Christ.

Baptism.

Peculiar efficacy was attached to this rite, by the early Christians.

That the form of baptism was by immersion, or at least by a washing of the whole body, must be the conclusion from an impartial examination of the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers.

The constitution of the church of Alexandria, which

(1.) Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho; Irenæus, adv. Hær. 5. 25. 36; Tert. adv. Mar. 3. 24.

(2.) Dialogue with Trypho.

is thought to have been established about the year 200, required the applicant for baptism to be divested of clothing, and after the ordinance had been administered, to be anointed with oil. [See ch. 2 of this work.]

Justin Martyr speaks of the laver, and of baptism as a washing.[1]

When the mother of Clement was converted, she was baptized in the sea.[2]

Nothing is heard of infant baptism before Irenæus. He is supposed to refer to it in the chapter on the ministry of Christ, which is quoted at length, in another part of this volume.

Transubstantiation.

This doctrine is expressly sanctioned by Justin Martyr, who says:

"So likewise have we been taught that the food which and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of the Jesus who was made flesh."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 66.

The doctrine is apparently sanctioned, also, in the Epistle to the Smyrnæns, incorrectly attributed to Ignatius, and in other early writings of the church.

Religious Intolerance.

Tertullian did not admit the right of the heretics to use the scriptures:

"We oppose to them," said he, "this step above all others, of not admitting them to any discussion of the scriptures. If in these lie their resources, it ought to be clearly seen to whom belongs the possession of the scriptures, that none may be admitted to the use thereof, who has no title at all to the privilege."—*Prescription against Heretics*, *ch.* 15.

Secret Doctrines and Ceremonies.

There were exoteric and esoteric doctrines. The esoteric were taught only to members of the church.

(1.) 1st Apology, ch. 65. He speaks of the ceremony "in the water."—Ch. 61.
(2.) Recognitions, bk. 7, ch. 38.

The instruction in these may have been what is meant by the initiatory proceedings occasionally spoken of in the writings of the early Christians.

In the 38th chapter of the 7th book of the Recognitions, a work written in the second or third century, it is stated of the mother of Clement, who had been converted,

"She was then baptized in the sea, and returning to the lodging, was initiated in all the mysteries of religion in their order."—*Ante-Nicene Ch. Lib. vol.* 3, *p.* 358.

The secret character of some of the proceedings among the early Christians, is alluded to by Dr. Dollinger in the following terms:

"The vail of mystery in which the Christians shrouded their assemblies for divine service, from the beginning, fostered the suspicion of indulging in a criminal secret worship."—*First Age of the Church*, *p.* 100.

The mysteries of the church must be distinguished from the mere secrecy of their meetings, which was a necessity in times of persecution.

The esoteric and exoteric doctrines are alluded to by Origen, who says:

"To the carnal they taught the gospel in a literal way; preaching Jesus Christ, and him crucified. But to persons further advanced, and burning with love for divine, celestial wisdom, they communicated the Logos."—*Origen, Pref. to Comm. on John, Opera, vol.* 2, *p.* 255.

Whether there were other secrecies than those of doctrine, is uncertain. This feature of the church, whatever may have been its exact extent and purport, does not appear to have ante-dated the formation of the papal hierarchy.

Doctrine of the Messiah.

That Christ was the Messiah whose advent had been predicted by the prophets, was believed by all the fathers, and is a doctrine too well understood, to require further comment.

Antiquity of Christian Doctrines.

Many of the more prominent doctrines of the Christian religion, prevailed among nations of antiquity, hundreds, and in some instances, thousands of years before Christ.

The doctrine of an Immaculate Conception of an infant deity was not uncommon in very ancient times. The story of Chrishna has already been told. Zoroaster also was believed to have been born of an immaculate conception by a ray from the Divine Reason. Mars was conceived by Juno touching a flower, and she conceived Vulcan by being overshadowed by the wind. An ancient work entitled Codex Vaticanus, gives an account of the immaculate conception of Quexalcote, the Mexican Savior. One of the sects of China worshiped a savior named Xaca, who was conceived by his mother, in her sleep, seeing a white elephant.[1] Ya, the first Chinese monarch, was conceived by his mother being struck with a star while traveling.[2] Another legend is that Yu, (probably the same as Ya), was conceived from a water-lily. Many cases might be mentioned of mortals who had an immaculate conception. Plato, Pythagoras, Tamerlane, Gengis Khan, Apollonius of Tyana and Augustus Cæsar, were all supposed to have been the product of immaculate conceptions.

Stars also presaged the birth of several of them.

At the birth of Confucius, five wise men from a distance, came to the house, celestial music filled the air, and angels attended the scene.

The title of Son of God was very common among the ancients, and at the commencement of the Chris-

(1.) History of China, by Alvarez Semedo, p. 89.
(2.) History of the Rajahs, by Col. Tod, p. 57.
(3.) See the Five Volumes.

tian era. St. Basil says, "Every uncommonly good man was called the Son of God." When Apollonius, standing before Domitian, was asked, why men called him a god, his reply was, "Every good man is entitled to that appellation." An answer which Dr. Albert Reville, a theologian of Rotterdam, thought might throw a bright light upon the divinity of Christ.[1]

MIRACLES.—The belief in miracles has been common in all ages of the world. From the time of Uranus, father of all the gods, down through all the ages, the world has been filled with wonders. Esculapius raised Hippolytus from the dead—Hercules rescued Alcestis from the very hand of death—Actæon was changed to a stag—the walls of Thebes builded themselves to the music of the flute, while those of Jericho fell before the blasts of the priests of Israel. The daughters of Anius the high priest, changed every thing they chose, into corn, oil and wine, and the hair of Berenice was changed to a constellation of stars. Meanwhile Prometheus lay bound on Mt. Caucasus, the vultures devouring his vitals, which grew as fast as eaten.

The heavens were full of gods, and earth, air and sea swarmed with myriads of angels, spirits and demons.

RESURRECTION.—Many cases of resurrection from the dead, are handed down in the ancient mythologies. Mithras, the "Mediator" of Persia, is said to have risen, after three days.[2] So also, Quexalcote, of Mexico, Osiris of Egypt, and others.

Some of these, after their resurrection, ascended into heaven. Chrishna, after rising from the dead, and appearing to his disciples, ascended to Brahma, in heaven.

(1.) See chapter entitled "Apollonius."
(2.) Pitrat, p. 105.

THE ATONEMENT.—This doctrine, has in some form pervaded the religion of all countries. Offerings of propitiation, to appease the wrath of an offended God, or to satisfy the demands of justice, have been common in every period of the world. Sometimes they have consisted of fruits of the earth; at other times, of animals and men. As nations have advanced in civilization, the offerings have become less bloody in their character. In the Sandwich Islands, anciently, human beings were thrown as a sacrifice into the crater of Kileaua, the great volcano. Afterward, animals were substituted, and finally products of the earth. The propitiatory system of the Jews is well known. This is considered by Paul as a type of the higher Christian system.

THE TRINITY, was an essential feature in the religion of many oriental nations. The Holy Ghost was the third member, under various appellations. In the Hindoo trinity, it was Siva; the other members of the trinity being Brahma and Vishnu.

Mr. Maurice says, This notion of a third person in the deity, was diffused among all the nations of the earth. [1] Mr. Worsely considers the doctrine one "of very great antiquity, and generally received by the Gothic and Celtic nations." [2] In the Hindoo system, this third person was the Holy Breath, by which living creatures were made. [3] The Holy Ghost became visible in the forms of a dove, a tongue of fire, &c.

The Holy Ghost was sometimes the agent in immaculate conceptions. In the Mexican trinity, Y Zona was the Father, Bascal the Word, and Echvah the Holy Ghost, by the last of whom Chimalman conceived and

(1.) Ind. Antiq. vol. 4, p. 247.
(2.) Voyage, vol. 1, p. 259.
(3.) M. Dubois, p. 293.

brought forth Quexalcote.[1] When Sesostris invoked the oracle, to know who, before him, could subjugate all things, the answer was, "First God, then the Word, and with them the Spirit."[2] Plutarch, in his 'Life of Numa,' shows that the incarnation of the Holy Spirit was known to the ancient Egyptians.

The doctrine of the Word, as the creative power, is also very ancient. The Chinese bible states that "God pronounced the primeval Word, and his own eternal and glorious abode sprang into existence." According to the Zend-Avesta, it was by the Word, more ancient than the world, that Ormuzd created the universe. The ancient Greek writer, Amelias, speaking of the God Mercury, says, "And this plainly was the Logos, by whom all things were made," &c.

Plato taught a trinity of the soul, in which it is easy to see analogies, pointing to a higher form of the doctrine.

It is said there was an ancient Greek inscription on the great obelisk at Rome; thus; 1. The Mighty God; 2. The Begotten of God; and 3. Apollo the Spirit.

Confession and Remission of Sins.—These doctrines prevailed anciently in India; also among the ancient Persians, and Parsees.[3] In China, the invocation of Omito, was held to remit the punishment of the greatest crimes.[4]

The doctrines of Original Sin, Fall of Man, and Endless Punishment, are all to be found in the religious systems of several ancient nations.

(1.) Mexican Antiq. vol. 6, p. 1650.
(2.) Nimrod, vol. 1, p. 119.
(3.) Volney, p. 211.
(4.) Rev. Mr. Pitrat, p. 232.

SPRINKLING with water was a religious ceremony of much antiquity.[1] This may in some degree account for the change of the form of Christian baptism from immersion to sprinkling. The practice prevailed among the ancient Romans.[2]

THE SACRAMENT OR EUCHARIST, has also an ancient original. It was practiced among the Brahmins of India, and was introduced into the mysteries of Mithras. It prevailed also, among the ancient Mexicans.[3]

THE GOLDEN RULE was taught hundreds of years before Christ, by Confucius, Aristotle, and many others.[4]

(1.) See Potter's Antiquities, and Herbert's Travels.

(2.) Consult the writings of Virgil, Cicero and others.

(3.) Travels of Father Acosta; Memoirs of Mr. Marolles, p. 215.

(4.) Those who may wish to pursue this subject further, will find a mass of useful facts in the "Anacalypsis" of Sir Godfrey Higgins; a work in the preparation of which he was employed for twenty years; and from which some of the foregoing references, concerning the antiquity of prominent features of the Christian system have been taken. Consult also, "The World's Sixteen Crucified Saviors, or Christianity before Christ," by Kersey Graves; a work which contains, mixed with some erroneous statements, a fund of very valuable information."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.

A. D. 170 to A. D. 185.

MARCUS—ARISTO OF PELLA—DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH—MILTIADES—MAXIMUS—PINYTUS—MODESTAS—MUSANUS—CHURCH OF VIENNE AND LYONS—FLORINUS—BLASTUS—MELITO OF SARDIS—ATHENAGORAS—CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS--THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH—BARDESANES--HERMOGENES--BACCHYLUS OF CORINTH—PANTÆNUS—MARCIA—HEGESIPPUS.

MARCUS.—About A. D. 170.

Marcus was a native of Palestine, and a disciple of Valentinus. "Valentinianism," says Baring-Gould, "assumed two forms; broke into two sects; the Marcosians and the Ophites." [1]

Marcus was considered a heretic. The most that has been preserved concerning him, comes through Irenæus, who treats of him and his followers, in the work on Heresies, as follows:

"But there is another among these heretics, Marcus by name, who boasts of himself as having improved upon his master. [Valentinus.] He is a perfect adept in magical impostures, and by this means drawing away a great number of men, and not a few women, he has induced them to join themselves to him, as to one who is possessed of the greatest knowledge and perfection, and who has received the highest power from the invisible and ineffable regions above. thus it appears as if he were really the precursor of Anti-Christ."

(1.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 287.

After describing some of the magical proceedings of Marcus, he continues:

"Again, handing mixed cups to the women, he bids them consecrate these in his presence."

Stating that, after the consecration of the cups, Marcus would fill larger cups from the smaller ones, Irenæus proceeds as follows:

"It appears probable enough, that this man possesses a demon as his familiar spirit, by means of which he seems able to prophecy, and also enables as many as he counts worthy to be partakers of his Charis, themselves to prophecy.

"He devotes himself especially to women, and those such as are well bred, and elegantly attired, and of great wealth; whom he frequently seeks to draw after him, by addressing them in such seductive words as these:" [Here giving what purports to be an address of Marcus, to the women, exhorting them to receive Charis, or the spirit of prophecy.] The effect of this speech, he says, is, that the woman, "vainly puffed up and elated by these words, and greatly excited in soul by the expectation that it is herself who is to prophecy, her heart beating violently, [from emotion], reaches the requisite pitch of audacity, and idly as well as impudently utters some nonsense as it happens to occur to her, such as might be expected from one heated by an empty spirit."

Our author does not hesitate to add, that the woman, deeming herself a prophetess, out of gratitude to Marcus, rewards him, not only by large possessions, but by yielding up to him her person.[1]

Aristo of Pella.—A. D. 175.

The Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, has been attributed to Aristo. Westcott thinks it uncertain whether he was the author. The same writer adds that the words of the Dialogue do not prove anything as to the existence of a New Testament Canon.[2]

Of the Apology which Aristo is said to have delivered to Hadrian,[3] nothing is known.

In the 22d volume of the Ante-Nicene Collection, are

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. bk. 1, 13.
(2.) Canon, pp. 84, 85.
(3.) Chron. Pasc. 477, of Routh, p. 104.

five small fragments attributed to Aristo. Four of these are from the Dispute between Jason and Papiscus, cited by Jerome and others. The other is from Eusebius.

Dionysius of Corinth.—A. D. 175.

Some fragments from this writer are supposed to have been preserved by Eusebius, who, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives what purport to be extracts from his writings.

There has been some controversy over certain passages, which Canon Westcott supposes to refer to the New Testament; his conclusions being strongly attacked by the author of Supernatural Religion. It is not necessary to notice the discussion further; since any fragments which appear only in Eusebius, are absolutely unreliable.

This is the writer whom Eusebius cites in reference to the teaching and martyrdom of Paul and Peter. After giving an alleged quotation from Caius, a writer whose works are lost, Eusebius says he "superadds" the testimony of Dionysius, in order that the truth of his history, may be still more confirmed.[1]

Miltiades—Maximus—Pinytus.—About A. D. 175.

But little is known of these writers. Maximus was Bishop of Jerusalem. He is probably the one referred to by Eusebius,[2] who says he wrote on the origin of evil, and on the creation of matter.

The same writer refers thus to Pinytus:

Speaking of the writings of Dionysius of Corinth, he speaks of an epistle to the Gnossians, in which Dionysius "admonishes Pinytus, not to impose upon the brethren without necessity, a burden in regard to purity, too great to be borne; 'but to pay regard to the infirmity of the great mass.' Pinytus in reply, admires and applauds Dionysius, but exhorts him, at the same time, to impart, some time or other, stronger food, and to feed the people under him

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 2. 25. (2.) Ibid. 5. 27.

with writings abounding in more perfect doctrine, when he wrote again," &c. —*Ecclesiastical History*, 4. 23.

MODESTAS—MUSANUS.—A. D. 176.

These writers are mentioned by Dr. Lardner,[1] as writers of the second century, whose works are lost.

CHURCHES OF VIENNE AND LYONS.—A. D. 177.

An epistle is said to have been written by these, to certain eastern churches, and the extracts from it, occupy a prominent place in ecclesiastical history. The information comes through Eusebius. The epistle is supposed to contain references to the Protevangelion Gospel.

FLORINUS—BLASTUS.—A. D. 177.

Florinus was a presbyter of the Roman Church. Was ejected for heresy. He maintained that God was the author of evil. Blastus was of the same school.

MELITO OF SARDIS.—A. D. 177.

It is supposed that some fragments of the lost writings of Melito, have been preserved in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.[2] In these, some have found, as they supposed, allusions to the New Testament writings. The inference is by others denied. Michaelis was inclined to the opinion, also, that Melito had testified to the existence of a Syriac version. But Bishop Marsh shows that the inference of Michaelis, was illogical and unauthorized.[3] The fact is, we have not sufficient evidence as to what Melito wrote.

Some Syriac writings have appeared under the name of Melito, but they are not considered genuine. His Discourse or Apology, and some other supposed fragments, are given in the 22d volume of Ante-Nicene.

(1.) Lard. Works, vol. 1, p. 436.
(2.) Ecc. History, 4. 26.
(3.) Marsh's Michaelis, vol. 2, p. 552.

Athenagoras.—A. D. 177.

But little is known of Athenagoras, beyond the fact, that he was an Athenian philosopher, became a Christian, and about the date above mentioned, is reputed to have presented to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, an embassy or apology for Christians, which is still extant. A Treatise on the Resurrection is also attributed to him.

In his Apology, Athenagoras has been supposed to refer to some of the canonical gospels; but nothing definite can be determined in regard to it.

We may safely accept the conclusion of Dr. Donaldson, expressed as follows:

"Athenagoras makes no allusion to the inspiration of the New Testament writers. He does not mention one of them by name, and one cannot be sure that he quotes from any except Paul. All the passages taken from the gospels, are part of our Lord's discourses, and may have come down to Athenagoras by tradition."—*Hist. Ch. Lit. and Doct.* 3. *p.* 172.

The passages referred to differ also from those in the canonical gospels, and may have exactly corresponded with older gospels then extant.

The fact that Athenagoras nowhere mentions either of the four gospels by name, becomes the more remarkable when it is considered that he cites by name, Moses, Jeremiah, Jonah, Thales, Plato, Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Herodotus, Pythagoras, Euripides, Aristotle and others.

Though the Gospels of Luke and Mark, and possibly John, may then have been written, it is not probable that they were much known, or that any names of reputed authors were attached to them.

Claudius Apollinaris,—A. D. 178,

Was Bishop of Hierapolis. He is said to have participated in the great paschal controversy. In an extract, purporting to be from a work written by him on

the passover, there is a reference to what Matthew had said, and by implication, to the Gospel of Matthew. The extract is found in the preface to the Paschal Chronicle, a work of the seventh century. Its genuineness is, however, generally discredited.[1] Three fragments are given, in Ante-Nicene, vol. 22.

Theophilus of Antioch — A. D. 180.

This writer occupies a prominent place in all the works on the canon. He was Bishop of Antioch. Of his writings, three letters to Autolycus are preserved, in one of which the Gospel of John is expressly mentioned by name;[2] though it is not stated it was written by an apostle.

Theophilus is reputed to have written a Commentary on the gospels; which is lost.

Bardesanes—Hermogenes—Bacchylus of Corinth—Pantænus.—A. D. 180.

The works of these writers are lost; except a few fragments. "The Discourse on Fate," of Bardesanes, is given in Ante-Nicene, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 85.

Bardesanes was a native of Mesopotamia, and lived at Edessa. He was a man of learning.[3]

Some have attributed to Bardesanes, the authorship of the Recognitions. Eusebius mentions him, in his Ecclesiastical History, 20. 30.

Hermogenes ascribed matter to an irregular motion.[4]

Bacchylus of Corinth was zealous in defending the faith against heretics. He was one of the bishops

(1.) Donaldson, Hist. Ch. Lit. and Doct. 3. 247; Lardner, Credibility, &c. vol. 2, p. 296.

(2.) Ad Autolycum, 2. 22.

(3.) Jerome, in Or. c. 10, p. 301; Augustine, de Civitate Dei, liber 22, c. 24.

(4.) Lardner, vol. 4, p. 266.

who convened local councils, at the request of Victor of Rome, to settle the paschal controversy.

Pantænus has been spoken of in connection with the Gospel of Matthew.[1]

Alexandria was the scene of his labors. He preceded Clement of Alexandria in the presidency of the catechetic school, or seminary in that city. Soon after, he went as missionary to India. He is said to have been the author of commentaries on the scriptures.

Marcia.—A. D. 183.

Marcia was a concubine of the Emperor Commodus. Dion Cassius says of her,

"She is related to have had a great affection for the Christians, and to have done them many good offices; she having a great ascendency over Commodus."—*Hist. l.* 72, *p.* 819.

Hegesippus.—A. D. 185.

Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian of Jerusalem. He traveled extensively, in order to become acquainted with the condition of the church, and came to Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus; sometime between the years 160 and 170.

Afterward, about 185, he wrote, it is stated, a historical work, called 'Memoirs,' in five books. It is said to have been a complete history of Christianity, down to his own time. It is now lost, except a few short fragments, most of them being only such as Eusebius has thought proper to preserve.

Hegesippus was an Ebionite, and like the others of that sect, was violently opposed to Paul. The virulence of these Christians against the great apostle of the Gentiles, is well illustrated by a fragment of Hegesippus, preserved by Gobarus, of the sixth century.

(1.) See chapter XXXI.

Referring to the words of Paul, in 1 Cor. 2. 9, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him," Hegesippus says:

"These words are vainly spoken; and those who say these things give the lie to the divine writings, and to the Lord, saying, 'Blessed are your eyes that see, and your ears that hear.' "—*Photius, Bib. Cod.* 232, *col.* 893.

This passage, cited by Hegesippus, is supposed to be taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews, which Eusebius says, Hegesippus used.[1] It will be noticed that the passage agrees in sense, while differing in phraseology from Matthew.

Hegesippus, though he traveled extensively over the Christian world, makes no mention of the canonical gospels. Some supposed quotations from them, have given rise to the usual discussion.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 4. 22.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REVIEW OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, PREPARATORY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAPACY—THE SUBJECT INVOLVED IN MYSTERY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION GONE—SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

Though we find no mention of the four gospels during the fifth period, with the single exception of the Gospel of John, there is reason to believe they were all written during this time, as a part of the structure upon which Roman Catholic dominion was to rest. This relation to Roman Catholicism, is more particularly to be noticed, in the Gospels of John and Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles. The Gospels of Luke and Mark may have been composed without any special reference to the hierarchy; the one to counteract the influence of Marcion and his Gospel, and the other, to preserve, in a complete and comprehensive form, some of the older traditions of the church, which had been in circulation in various forms, particularly in the Gospel of Peter.

The Gospel of John was adopted, as settling, in beautiful language, and in an acceptable form, the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, and as indicating the unity of the church under Peter. The Gospel of Matthew,

in still more explicit language, laid the foundations broad and deep, for the establishment of the supremacy of the papal power, on the authority of Christ as delegated to Peter; while the Acts of the Apostles bridged over the differences which had so long existed, between the followers of Peter and Paul.

While thus much is apparent upon the surface, if we attempt to go deeper into the subject, we find everything involved in mystery.

All the most reliable sources of information, are closed to the researches of the historian. Those writings of the second century to which he would naturally turn for information, commentaries and works written especially concerning the gospels then in circulation, are lost or destroyed, *without a single exception.*

Not one remains, to give its testimony on one side or the other, of any controverted question. Also many books written on the same subject, during the next two or three hundred years; while it is notorious that others, which have been preserved, have been tampered with and extensively interpolated.

Loss or Destruction of Evidence, concerning the Four Gospels.

The following is some of the evidence of the second century, which has disappeared.

1. The Commentaries of Basilides.—A. D. 125.

Basilides is said to have written a Commentary on "the Gospel," in 24 books. A gospel is also attributed to him. But the better opinion appears to be that the Commentaries and the Gospel were one and the same.

These commentaries must have thrown a flood of light upon the history of the gospels then in existence. They would at least disclose the number and character of the principal ones then in circulation.

2. Agrippa Castor,—A. D. 130,

Wrote in refutation of the heresies of Basilides. This has perished with the commentaries of his adversary.

3. The Works of Prodicus.—A. D. 120.

The followers of Prodicus boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster. His writings would probably have disclosed the connection between Persian mythology and the Gospels of the Infancy.

4. Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.—A. D. 126.

If these had been preserved, we could test the correctness of the assertion of Eusebius that the Apology of Quadratus referred to the miracles of Christ; which, in that case, would be, so far as known, the first reference to them in history. We would know also what is meant by the statement of the same historian, if there be any truth in it at all, that Quadratus and others, at that time, delivered to those who had not heard the faith, the books of the holy gospels. We would probably learn from their writings what gospels were extant in their day.

5. Aristion,—A. D. 130,

According to Papias, as coming through Eusebius, preserved traditions concerning Christ. These traditions would have thrown much light upon the gospel history, and upon the earlier gospels.

6. John the Presbyter.—A. D. 130.

John, like Aristion, appears in Eusebius as one of the informants of Papias, particularly concerning certain writings composed by Mark and Matthew; information which was long supposed to relate to the gospels bearing those names. It is now thought they cannot be regarded as referring to any of the canonical gospels.

Had we the original traditions, or statements, in full, they would at once settle the matter.

7. CERINTHUS,—A. D. 145,

Was the reputed author of a gospel. His gospel and writings are lost or destroyed.

8. VALENTINUS.—A. D. 150.

Valentinus had a gospel, called "The Gospel of Truth." Irenæus places it sharply in antagonism with the four gospels. Says they are false, if that of Valentinus was the Gospel of Truth; that if they are true, Valentinus' was false. As the work of Irenæus is preserved, and the four gospels, it is much to be regretted, and must be considered calamitous to the cause of impartial investigation, that we have not the Gospel of Valentinus, and his writings in support of it.

9. PAPIAS,—A. D. 150,

Is said to have written five books, entitled "Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord." This must have been a Commentary on the Oracles, or collections of the sayings of Christ; and would have been invaluable; giving those sayings, as they stood in the middle of the second century.

10. THE WRITINGS OF MARCION.

Pure Christianity has suffered no greater loss, than that of the writings of Marcion, the great theological thinker of the second century—the compiler of the first complete gospel—the collector of the epistles of Paul—the editor and publisher of the first New Testament.

While the elaborate work against him, written by Tertullian, who called him a "hound," has been preserved, and the work of Epiphanius, who bestowed upon him the euphonious appellation of "beast," the wri-

tings of Marcion have perished, except such as are found in the references and citations of his adversaries. His works have shared the common fate of the writings of the heretics of the second century, none of which, in their original form, have been permitted to come down to us.

Marcion was an educated man, and a profound thinker, and no relic of Christian antiquity, next to the Epistles of Paul, would to-day be more valuable, than his writings. Being himself a collector of gospel and New Testament manuscripts, his writings upon those subjects would forever set at rest the question, as to what gospels were then in circulation.

11. The Work of Justin Martyr against Heresies.

As his Dialogue with Trypho contains an exposition of the Old Testament, his work against heresies would probably have thrown light upon the gospels in circution in his day. It would at least have determined the much controverted question, as to the gospels used by Justin himself.

12. The Writings of Apelles.—A. D. 160.

Apelles was a Gnostic leader, who had a gospel of his own, and whose writings must have referred to other gospels. His works are lost or destroyed.

13. Peregrinus,—A. D. about 160,

An erratic but talented Christian philosopher, held for a time, a commanding position among the Christians of Palestine. "Some books" says Lucian, "he interpreted and explained, others he wrote." His writings would constitute an important chapter in the history of the times. We have sketches of the man from Lucian, Ammianus, Aulus Gellius and others, but his writings have all perished.

14. MARCELLINA.—A. D. 160.

It would scarcely be expected that the heretical writings of a woman would be preserved, amid such wholesale slaughter of the obnoxious works of the opposite sex. The writings of Marcellina have perished.

15. MONTANUS.—A. D. 170.

Much has been said about Montanism, but we have only such extracts from the works of its founder, as his adversaries have chosen to preserve.

16. THE WRITINGS OF TATIAN.—A. D. 170.

Tatian wrote, it is said, a Harmony of the gospels. Though it is quite evident that he made use of the Gospel of the Hebrews, and his work was even known by some under that name, an attempt has been made to connect his Harmony with the four gospels, on the unsupported and suspicious testimony of Eusebius. He says it was called the Diatessaron, which he explains as meaning of or from the four. If we had the writings of Tatian himself or his Harmony, the question could speedily be determined.

17. MARCUS,—about A. D. 170,

Had, according to Irenæus, an innumerable multitude of apocryphal writings. He probably wrote in explanation of these books, and of their origin. Both the books themselves, with a few exceptions, and whatever he may have written concerning them, have perished.

18. PANTÆNUS.—A. D. 180.

While it could not be expected that Pantænus, if he wrote the Gospel of Matthew, would admit the fact, yet if we had the account of his travels in India, and of his discovery there, as claimed, of an original Gospel of Matthew, we might have at least some light thrown upon the origin of that gospel.

19. The Chronicles of Hegesippus.—A. D. 185.

Hegesippus was the first church historian. He traveled over nearly all Christendom, for the express purpose of obtaining information, and then wrote the history of the church, from the beginning to his own time. This work is lost or destroyed. The extent of the loss cannot be overestimated.

Eusebius was the next historian, writing 140 years afterward.

He had the history of Hegesippus before him.

After referring to the death of James, and the statement of Clement, that James was thrown from a wing of the temple, and beaten to death with a club, he says:

"Hegesippus, also, who flourished nearest the days of the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, gives the most accurate account of him, thus:

Here follows a lengthy account of the death of James. Eusebius then adds:

"Such is the more ample testimony of Hegesippus, in which he fully coincides with Clement."—*Ecc. Hist. bk.* 2, 23.

Again, Eusebius gives an account of the grand-children of Judas, called the Lord's brother, who were examined before the Emperor Domitian. He concludes as follows: "Such is the statement of Hegesippus."[1]

Again, speaking of the martyrdom of Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem, he says:

"To this the same Hegesippus bears testimony, whose words we have already so often quoted."—*Ecc. H.* 3. 32.

He then quotes several passages, further, from the same author. Subsequently, referring to ecclesiastical writers, he says:

"Among these Hegesippus holds a distinguished rank, many of whose writings we have already quoted, where we have given some things as he has

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 20.

delivered them from apostolic tradition. This author compiled, in five books, the plain tradition of the apostolic doctrine, in a most simple style of composition, and clearly shows the time in which he lived, where he writes respecting those who began to erect idols, &c." Here follows a quotation from Hegesippus, concerning the erection of cenotaphs and temples, &c.—*Ecc. Hist.* 4. 8.

Again, in the same book, he says:

"Hegesippus, indeed, in the five books of Commentaries that have come down to us, has left a most complete record of his own views. In these he states that he conversed with most of the bishops, when he traveled to Rome, and that he received the same doctrine from all. We may also add what he says after some observations on the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians."

He then quotes Hegesippus concerning the Church of Corinth.[1]

Continuing, Eusebius speaks of Hegesippus coming to Rome, and of the Roman Bishops Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherus.

" 'In every succession, however,' says Hegesippus, 'and in every city, the doctrine prevails, according to what is declared by the law and the prophets, and the Lord.' "

He then quotes what Hegesippus says, concerning the beginning of heresies, and the ancient heresies prevalent among the Jews.[2]

"He also speaks of many other matters," says Eusebius, "which we have in part already quoted, and introduced in their appropriate places. He also states some particulars from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and from the Syriac, and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he himself was a convert from the Hebrews. Other matters he also records, as taken from the unwritten tradition of the Jews. And not only he, but Irenæus also, and the whole body of the ancients called the Proverbs of Solomon, 'Wisdom,' comprehending every virtue. Also in discoursing on the books called apocryphal, he relates that some of them were forged in his day, by some of the heretics." —*Ecc. History*, 4. 22.

From the foregoing it will be seen how much of the history of Hegesippus, is incorporated into that of Eusebius. A few meager items, of comparatively no historical value;—the manner of the death of James, an examination of a few individuals before Domitian—

(I.) Ecc. Hist. 4. 22. (2.) Ibid.

the martyrdom of Simeon—the worshiping of idols—the journey to Rome, and a few words concerning the commencement of heresies.

Not a word of what was important to be known;—of the history of the progress of the church, and of the doctrines which had prevailed—of the controversies between the Jewish and Gentile Christians—of the history of Paul and Peter, and of the founding of the Church of Rome; and above all, of the history of the gospels and New Testament books which Hegesippus found in circulation, showing by whom they were written, and how they had been preserved.

So far as can be learned, Hegesippus was profoundly silent concerning the four gospels, and spoke only of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The History of Hegesippus must have been written after the accession of Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, and probably about A. D. 185. This was, if we have read history aright, in the infancy of the four gospels. Whether Hegesippus met with them, and if so, what estimate he formed of them, in comparison with the Gospel of the Hebrews, is a question of the utmost importance, but one upon which Eusebius is silent.

Since Eusebius had the history of Hegesippus in his possession, why did he not take measures to have it preserved, or else incorporate into his own history, the most important portions of it, and particularly the evidence, if any, in favor of the four gospels?

According to Eusebius, Hegesippus said, that in every city, the doctrine prevailed, according to the law and the prophets, and the Lord, and that he received the same doctrine from all. Eusebius would have his readers believe, that the doctrine of a Jewish Christian of the second century, was precisely the same as that which prevailed in every city. Again, Eusebius says

that Hegesippus derived his information concerning apostolic doctrine from tradition. Is that consistent with the existence of gospels, which were every-where received in the church as authoritative? Such gospels would have been superior to, and would have taken the place of all tradition, concerning apostolic doctrine.

20. Commentaries of Heracleon.—A. D. 190.

It is claimed that Heracleon wrote Commentaries on Luke and John. Clement of Alexandria quotes Heracleon in such a way as to indicate that he had commented on Luke or Marcion, or on some other gospel, containing the sayings of Christ. The Commentaries on John are inferred from some passages in Origen.

If these commentaries existed, their loss is irreparable.

21. The Writings of Serapion.—A. D. 190.

These, of which we have but a brief extract in Eusebius, would have enlightened us further in regard to the transaction at Rhossus. From Serapion, we could have learned something of the four gospels which he was substituting in place of the Gospel of Peter. He could inform us how long the four gospels had been in circulation—where he obtained them—what other gospels he had been obliged to suppress, to make way for them, and whether he was acting under the direction of the Church of Rome. His writings have perished.

22. Clement of Alexandria,

Is said to have composed a work, specially upon the scriptures, which were considered authoritative.

Eusebius says, that in the work called Hypotyposes, Clement gave abridged accounts of all the canonical scriptures.[1]

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 6. 14.

The reader will appreciate the value of this work, when he reflects how frequently, in the foregoing pages, he has met with evidence of the use by Clement, of books afterward pronounced apocryphal. This work has perished, while most of the other more important writings ot Clement have been preserved.[1]

This ends the list of works of the second century, either written expressly concerning the gospels and New Testament books in circulation at that time, or which would have thrown more or less light upon the subject. More than fifty books, by more than twenty authors.

Not one of the whole number has been permitted to see the light of subsequent ages. The list might be extended considerably further, and would cover most of the writings of the third century, upon the same subject.

Nearly every thing written concerning the gospels to the year 325, and all the copies of the gospels themselves to the same period, are lost or destroyed.

(1.) Besides the Hypotyposes, (Ὑποτυπώσεις), consisting of eight books of exposition of scripture, Clement wrote an Ecclesiastical Canon; (*Κανὼν Εκκλησιαστικὸς.*) This also, has perished.

SIXTH PERIOD.—A. D. 185 to A. D. 200.

CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ASTERIUS URBANUS—CASSIANUS—HERACLEON—MURATORIAN FRAGMENT—PTOLEMÆUS—MAXIMILLA—VICTOR—SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH—THEODOTUS OF BYZANTIUM—NARCISSUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM—RHODON—PALMAS—POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS—MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM—NOETUS—PRAXEAS—SYMMACHUS—HERMAS—SELEUCAS—PISTIS SOPHIÆ—ARTEMON—SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT—JULIUS AFRICANUS.

ASTERIUS URBANUS.—A. D. 188.

Of this writer, but little is known. According to Cave, he flourished about the year 188.

CASSIANUS.—A. D. 190.

Julius Cassianus was a writer of the second century, who was quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, thus:

> Wherefore Cassianus saith, that when Salome asked (Christ), when the things should be known, concerning which she enquired, our Lord answered, "When you shall despise," &c. [See p. 71 of this vol.]

Which, Clement adds, was to be found in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. From which it is to be inferred that Cassianus made use of that gospel.

PTOLEMÆUS—HERACLON.—A. D. 190.

These were prominent Gnostics.

Ptolemæus wrote a letter to Flora, which occupies a

distinguished place in the literary history of the times.[1]

In this letter, Ptolemy, having commented upon the ceremonial and typical laws of the Pentateuch, as having been annulled by the appearing of the truth, adds:

"These things the other disciples of Christ taught, and also the apostle Paul." After which he tells Flora, that "he will explain to her the particulars of that doctrine he had just been mentioning, by the help of tradition received from the apostles, and handed down to them." But he adds, "All must be tried by, and made to square with, the doctrine of the Savior himself, which was to be the rule."—*Append. ad Iren. pp.* 360, 361. *Grabe, Spi. Pat. vol.* 2, *p.* 77.

Heracleon is quoted by Clement and Origen, and is said to have written Commentaries on Luke and John. This again, is denied by some critics. Origen shows that Heracleon made use of the Gospel of Peter.

The Muratorian Fragment.—About A. D. 190.

Nothing could better illustrate the paucity of materials, from which to make up a correct judgment concerning the New Testament writings of the second century, than the prominence which has been given to an anonymous manuscript, discovered in the last century, by the Italian scholar, Muratori.

This celebrated manuscript was found in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in a manuscript containing other writings of little importance.

It speaks of "the third book of the Gospel according to Luke," of "the fourth of the Gospels of John, one of the disciples;"—of the Acts of the Apostles; 13 Epistles of Paul, an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, (supposed to be the Epistle to the Hebrews), "forged in the name of Paul, after the heresy of Marcion;" and "many others which cannot be receiv-

(1.) See Epiphanius, Hær. 30. 3-7.

ed by the Catholic Church, as gall must not be mixed with vinegar."

The Epistle of Jude, and the 2d and 3d Epistles of John are spoken of, doubtfully, as among the received books. So also the Book of Wisdom. The Apocalypses of John and Peter were received, but some objected to reading in the church, the apocalypse of Peter. Special reference is made to the Pastor of Hermas, the writer thinking it should be read privately, but not publicly in the church.

It will be seen that the document exhibits a very confused condition of the canon.

The manuscript was estimated by Muratori himself, to be about a thousand years old. It bears internal evidence of being a transcript of an older document. How often it had been copied, cannot be known, nor even in what language it was originally written. It appears in Latin, and the text is very corrupt.

It is supposed by some, to have been written in the latter part of the second century; the supposition being based, principally, upon the reference to the Pastor of Hermas. This it states, "was composed very recently, in our own times, in the City of Rome, the Bishop Pius, his brother, sitting in the chair of the Church of the City of Rome." Pius was bishop, about the middle of the second century.

There are eminent critics, however, who hold, that the original was not written earlier than the third century.[1] Their opinion is based upon internal evidedce; particularly the expression, "sitting in the chair of the church."[2]

The document itself, a production of about the eighth century, cannot be looked upon as very satisfactory

(1.) Donaldson, Hug, Tayler, Eichhorn and others.
(2.) Donaldson, Ch. Lit. and Doct. 3. p. 212.

evidence of the condition of the canon in the second century.

VICTOR—SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH—MAXIMILLA. A. D. 190.

We are not aware, that any of the writings of these are extant, except a fragment or two of Serapion. They are given by Eusebius, and relate to the interdict of the Gospel of Peter, and the substitution of the canonical gospels, in its stead.[1]

THEODOTUS, OF BYZANTIUM.—A. D. 192.

A considerable fragment from this writer, is given by Clement of Alexandria. Theodotus taught that Christ was a man only. He used and cited the Preaching of Peter. He was excommunicated by Victor, Bishop of Rome.[2]

RHODON—NARCISSUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—A. D. 195.

There is a fragment in Eusebius, attributed to Rhodon, in which he vindicates the character of Apelles.[3]

The same historian relates of Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, that when the oil failed, at the vigils of the great watch of Easter, Narcissus commanded that water from a neighboring well should be poured into the lamps. Whereupon Narcissus having prayed over it, the water was changed into oil; of which, Eusebius says. a specimen had been preserved until that time.[4]

The same writer relates, that three men having slandered Narcissus, and sworn to their falsehoods, with imprecations of death upon themselves, by a miserable disease, by fire, and blindness, respectively, if their statements were not true, in each case the curse which

(1.) See page 7 of this volume.
(2.) Darras, Hist. Cath. Church, vol. 1, p. 163.
(3.) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. 5. 13.
(4.) Ecc. Hist. 6. 9.

had been invoked, was inflicted upon them by an omnipotent Providence.[1]

PALMAS—POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS.—A. D. 196.

These bishops were deputed by Victor, Bishop of Rome, to convene councils, to consider the question of the celebration of Easter.

Palmas convened the bishops of Pontus, and Polycrates those of pro-consular Asia. The latter refused to endorse the decree of the Italian Council, which provided that Easter should be celebrated on Sunday. Thereupon the Asiatic churches were excommunicated.[2]

Eusebius says, Polycrates wrote a letter to Victor, and gives extracts from it.[3]

MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—A. D. 200.

According to Eusebius, Maximus wrote on the origin of evil, and on the creation of matter.[4] A lengthy extract is given by Eusebius.[5]

NOETUS.—A. D. 200.

About this time, the controversy concerning the nature of Christ, was carried on with much spirit, by Theodotus, Hermogenes, Noetus, Vero, Beryllus and Sabellius, on the one side, and Artemon, and Paul of Samosata, on the other.

Noetus was a native of Asia Minor. He maintained, that Christ was the one God, both Father and Son. He was excommunicated.

The views of Noetus led to much discussion, which resulted in the Arian controversy, and the establishment of the doctrine of the trinity.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 6. 9.
(2.) See next chapter.
(3.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 31, and 5. 24.
(4.) Ecc. Hist. 5. 27.
(5.) Evangelical Preparation, 7. 22.

PRAXEAS—SYMMACHUS—HERMAS—SELEUCAS.—A. D. 200.

These writers flourished near the close of the second century. But little is known concerning them. Seleucas is reputed to have written a number of the books in circulation in the second century, which were afterward pronounced apocryphal.

There is a strange confusion among the fathers, in regard to his name. He is called Seleucas, Lucianus, Lucanus, Leucius, Lucian, Leuthon, Lentitius and Leontius. Also Leucius Charinus. It was Seleucas who had published a version of the Gospel of the Infancy, which rendered it necessary for Jerome to give the bishops a better version.[1]

PISTIS SOPHIÆ.—A. D. 200.

This is a religious work, of the close of the second century, the author of which is unknown.

SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.—A. D. 200.

It is supposed to have been written about this time. The divinity of Jesus, which was not distinctly taught in the earlier Clementines, (but rather the contrary doctrine), now more clearly appears.

ARTEMON—JULIUS AFRICANUS.—A. D. 200.

But little is known of Artemon, beyond the fact, that he was prominent in the Noetian controversy.

Africanus was the writer cited by Eusebius, in his forgery upon Thallus. [See p. 294.]

These names close the list of the more important Christian writers of the first two centuries, except the three great fathers, who will be briefly noticed in the next chapter.

(1.) See Supposed Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

IRENÆUS—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA—TERTULLIAN.

Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Egypt, and Tertullian in Northern Africa, were the three fathers, by whose influence, the four gospels were introduced into general circulation, and who laid, broad and deep, the foundations of Roman Catholic supremacy.

It is not easy to form a just estimate of these men. That they were so far above the masses, in general intelligence, as to give them an immense and controlling influence in the church, is certain; while, judged by the standard of more enlightened times, they themselves appear at a disadvantage.

The Rev. Dr. Davidson says of them,

"Irenæus was credulous and blundering; Tertullian, passionate and one-sided; and Clement of Alexandria, embued with the treasures of Greek wisdom, was mainly occupied with ecclesiastical ethics."—*Davidson, Canon, p.* 121.

Again, "Irenæus argues that the gospels should be four in number, neither more nor less, because there are four universal winds, and four quarters of the world. The Word or Architect of all things gave the gospel in a four-fold shape. According to this father, the apostles were fully informed concerning all things, and had a perfect knowledge after their Lord's ascension.

"Matthew wrote his gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome, and founding the church. [Citing Iren. adv. Hær. 3. 1. 1.] Such assertions show both ignorance and exaggeration.

"Tertullian affirms, that the tradition of the apostolic churches, guaranties

the four gospels, [Citing adv. Marc. 4. 5.], and refers his readers to the churches of Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, &c., for the authentic epistles of Paul. [Citing de Præs. Hær. 36.] What is this but the rhetoric of an enthusiast?

"Clement contradicts himself in making Peter authorize Mark's Gospel to be read in the churches; while in another place, he says the apostle "neither forbade nor encouraged it." [Citing Clement according to Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 2. 15, and 6. 14.]"—*Ibid.*

The same writer continues thus:

"The three fathers of whom we are speaking, had neither the ability nor the inclination to examine the genesis of documents surrounded with an apostolic halo. No analysis of their authenticity and genuineness was seriously attempted. In its absence, custom, accident, taste, practical needs directed the tendency of tradition. All the rhetoric employed to throw the value of their testimony as far back as possible, even up to or very near the apostle John, is of the vaguest sort. Appeals to the continuity of tradition and of church doctrine, to the exceptional veneration of these fathers for the gospels, to their opinions being formed earlier than the composition of the works in which they are expressed, possess no force.

"The ends which the fathers in question had in view, their polemic motives, their uncritical, inconsistent assertions, their want of sure data, detract from their testimony. Their decisions were much more the result of pious feeling, biassed by the theological speculations of the times, than the conclusions of a sound judgment. The very arguments they use to establish certain conclusions, show weakness of perception. What are the manifestations of spiritual feeling, compared with the results of logical reasoning?"—*Davidson on the Canon, pp.* 123, 124.

One great work of these fathers, was the establishment of the four gospels, which had now appeared, and were being introduced into the churches.

Immediately connected with this was the establishment of the papal power.

That this end was had in view by at least one of the fathers mentioned, we have the clearest evidence.

Irenæus, in the third book against Heresies, written, about A. D. 190, gave the opinion, that every church should agree with the Church of Rome on account of its pre-eminent authority. [See next chapter.] About five years afterward, he was called upon by the Roman Bishop Victor, to assemble a council of the bishops of Gaul, to consider the subject of the celebration of Easter; the question having already been passed upon

by a council of Italian bishops. Irenæus presided in the council, and the result of its deliberations was, the approval of the decree of the Italian council. Other councils were in like manner held throughout the Christian world, and the result, with a single exception, was everywhere the same. The object of the movement was, to furnish a precedent for the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, over all questions of the kind.

Doubtless, the pre-eminent authority, which Irenæus had already conceded to the Church of Rome, had more to do with the result, than any critical discussion of the question at issue.

It will be seen in the next chapter, that the views of Tertullian, concerning the pre-eminence of the Roman Church, were, notwithstanding his difference with some of the Roman bishops, scarcely less decided than those of Irenæus.

As to Clement, he is less explicit in the assertion of any supremacy or even superiority of the Roman Church. On the contrary we might fairly infer from his writings, the equality of all the churches. At the same time, we find no protest against the assumption of power on the part of Victor. Victor was sustained at Alexandria, where the influence of Clement was all powerful.

There is little room to doubt that there existed an understanding among these fathers, and a concert of action, in upholding and establishing, at the same time, the four gospels, and the authority of the Roman Bishop.

A brief sketch of the lives of these distinguished men, must here suffice.

Irenæus was Bishop of Lyons. The chronological confusion that prevails, concerning the most important dates of this period, is well illustrated in the case of Irenæus. He was born, according to Dodwell, in the

year 97. According to Dr. Grabe, A. D. 108; Tillemont, about 120, Du Pin, about 140. The last is probably the nearest correct.

About the year 178, he was sent by the Church of Lyons, to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, with an epistle, describing their sufferings during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. On his return, he was elected Bishop of Lyons, in the year 180. He is supposed to have been martyred about A. D. 202. His martyrdom is denied by some critics.

Clement of Alexandria was born either at Athens or Alexandria, about the year 160. From 190 to 202, he presided over the catechetic school, at Alexandria. In the latter year, he was compelled to leave that city, by the persecution under Severus. It is supposed by some, that he returned A. D. 211. His return is doubted by others. He died about the year 220.

Tertullian was the first Latin father, whose works have been preserved. He was born at Carthage, about the middle of the second century, and lived to a very advanced age.

He was converted about the year 185, and was married the year afterward. Was admitted to the priesthood, in 192; became a Montanist, in 199, and died about 220.

He was a vigorous, and at times, powerful writer. But his works abound in looseness of argument, and in whimsical applications of Scripture, such as were common in that day.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY.

It was during the sixth period, that the foundations were laid, of that great ecclesiastical power, which dominated the Christian world for thirteen hundred years, and whose supremacy is still acknowledged throughout a large part of Christendom.

For more than a hundred years after the foundation of the Church of Rome, there is no trace of its jurisdiction over other churches, outside of the Italian provinces.

In the latter part of the second century, a dispute existed, concerning the celebration of Easter. The Latin churches claimed it should be on Sunday. The Eastern churches had been celebrating it on the fourteenth day of the moon. The controversy had lasted nearly half a century. About A. D. 150, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome, and explained the views of the Eastern churches. He was treated by Anicetus, who was then bishop, as an equal; no attempt was then made to impose a different day upon the Asiatic churches. On the contrary, Polycarp and others celebrated Easter, according to their own views, in the City of Rome.

But in the time of Victor, the controversy becoming more heated, an attempt was made to settle it. A council was called of all the churches of Italy. At this council it was decreed that Easter should be celebrated on Sunday. Victor then issued a general letter, requesting local councils to be assembled by the following bishops: Theophilus of Cæsarea, Irenæus of Lyons, Bacchylus of Corinth, Demetrius of Alexandria, Palmas of Pontus, and Polycrates of Ephesus.[1]

The local councils were held. One consisted of the bishops in Gaul; another, of those in Palestine, another in Egypt, &c. All these approved the decree of the Italian Council, except the churches of pro-consular Asia, presided over by Polycrates. These refused to conform.

Thereupon Victor, encouraged and strengthened by all the other councils, proceeded to excommunicate the non-conforming Asiatic churches. [About A. D. 195.]

This appears to be the first assumption of supreme power by any Roman bishop. From this time, the supremacy of the Church of Rome rapidly culminated, both in theory and practice. It is true, that for a long time, some churches remained rebellious, but they were considered by the great body of Christians, as without the pale of the church universal, as it had been established by Christ, and had been represented by a regular succession of supreme pontiffs, commencing with Peter. For, as soon as the supremacy of the Roman

(1.) The Catholic Historian Darras, [Genl. History of the Catholic Church, vol. 1, p. 160], calls this letter an "order." According to Eusebius, it was a request. He quotes Polycrates, as writing to Victor, thus: "I could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested to be summoned by me, and whom I did call."—*Euseb. Ecc. Hist.* 5. 24. It is more probable, the letter was in the form of a request. The council called by Victor himself, consisted of all the bishops of Italy; which may be looked upon as indicating the extent of his jurisdiction at that time.

Church was once admitted, the Christians of that day found no difficulty in believing that such supremacy had continued from the times of the apostles. They were no more disposed to trace back the title of a power which they found established, than they were to investigate the origin of books which they found in circulation.

Protestant writers have claimed, that the power of the papacy was not established, nor its claims admitted in the writings of the fathers, until several hundred years after Christ. Even the fair minded Neander does not see in the writings of Irenæus or Tertullian, any acknowledgment that "the Roman Church held a prominence as the Cathedra Petri, over all the other apostolic churches."[1] Whether as Cathedra Petri, or as the Church of Peter and Paul, not only the prominence, but the supremacy of the Church of Rome, would seem to be pretty clearly acknowledged, in the following passage from Irenæus:

"Since, however, it would be very tedious, in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vain-glory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings; (we do this) by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church, founded and organized at Rome, by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our times by means of the successions of the bishops.

"For it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its pre-eminent authority; that is, the faithful every where, inasmuch as the apostolic tradition has been preserved continually by those who exist everywhere."

"The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus, the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him, succeeded Anacletus, and after him, in the third place, from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric."

(1.) Church Hist. vol. 1, p. 290.

He then gives the names of nine bishops, following Clement, and proceeds as follows:

"In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles, and the preaching of the truth have come down to us. And this is most abundant proof, that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the church, from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth."—*Irenæus adv. Hær.* 3. 3.

In the time of Tertullian, some twenty years later, the Roman bishops issued peremptory edicts, and appealed to the authority of their predecessors.[1] They called themselves bishops of bishops; episcopi episcoporum.[2]

Tertullian himself, was scarcely less explicit than Irenæus:

"Since, moreover," he says, "you are close to Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes, even into our hands, the very authority. How happy is its church, in which apostles poured forth all their doctrine, along with their blood! Where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! Where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's! Where the apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile! See what she has learned, what she has taught, what fellowship she has had, even with churches in Africa! One Lord God does she acknowledge, the Creator of the Universe, and the Christ Jesus of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God, the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh. The law and the prophets she unites in one volume, with the writings of evangelists and apostles, from which she drinks in her faith; this she seals with the water, arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the eucharist, cheers with martyrdom; and against such a discipline thus she admits no gainsayer."—*Tertullian, Prescription against Heretics, ch.* 36.

This passage is evidence, not only of the supremacy of the Roman Church, but that the New Testament then in circulation, had been compiled under the same authority. The New Testament of Marcion, consisting of the Gospel and the Apostolicon, had been superseded by a larger collection, containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Revelation of John, a larger number of Epistles of Paul, and in place of the one gospel, of

(1.) Tert. De Virg. Velandis. (2.) Ibid. De Pudicitia, ch. 1.

Marcion, four gospels, which were to stand as four pillars, to support the authority of the Church of Rome.

Irenæus, while he clearly concedes the supremacy of that church, at the same time shows the weakness of the foundation upon which the supremacy rested. He declares that the church had been founded by Peter and Paul, and that the episcopacy had been by them committed into the hands of Linus. From Linus it had gone to Anacletus, and "after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric." The tradition of the Catholic church has been, that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, and that the keys of the kingdom, as well as the bishopric, were delivered immediately by Peter to Clement. This tradition is in accordance with the letter from Clement to James, which was in circulation at an early day, but it is not sustained by Irenæus.

This discrepancy has been the occasion of much discussion. The most ingenious explanation is given by Rufinus, the Latin translator of the Recognitions. He conjectures that Linus and Anacletus merely assisted Peter in the management of the church, which was still, at the death of Peter, delivered over to Clement. But then what becomes of the continuous "succession," dwelt upon by Irenæus, in the chain of which, two of the links consisted of Linus and Anacletus?

The difficulty does not end here. According to Irenæus, the next bishop to Clement, was Evaristus. But this succession, though accepted by some Catholic writers, is found by others, not to accord with the traditions of the church. Accordingly, the Roman Almanac, entitled Gerarchia Catholica, interposes Anacletus between Clement and Evaristus. The third bishop, the second, exclusive of Peter, according to this authority, was Cletus, instead of Anacletus, while Anacle-

tus came after Clement, and ruled over the church twelve years; from A. D. 100 to 112. Darras, the Catholic historian, whose work received the indorsement of Pope Pius IX, has followed the succession as given by Irenæus; stating that his chronology is that of the Chronologique de l'histoire Ecclesiastique, on the model of the great work of the President Henault, on the History of France.

But this author does not agree with other Catholic authorities. He has the bishopric of Peter commence in the year 33, fixing the very day; the 29th of June. This is nine years earlier than the time given in the Almanac, which on this point is supported by Alzog's Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, a book very extensively used heretofore among Catholics, as a text book of church history.

Cletus, whose bishopric, according to the Roman Almanac, ends in 90, rules a year longer, according to Darras, his bishopric ending A. D. 91. Then comes Clement, his office terminating, according to both, in the year 100. After him, Evaristus, until 109, according to Darras, but according to the Almanac, until 121. Then Alexander, his bishopric, according to Alzog and Darras, ending in the year 119, but according to the Almanac, in the year 132.

After Alexander, the succession of the pontificates was as follows, according to these three authorities:

Sixtus,	according to the	Almanac,	A. D. 132 to 142.
do.	do.	Alzog,	" 119 to 127.
"	"	Darras,	" 119 to 128.
Telesphorus,	"	Almanac,	" 142 to 154.
"	"	Alzog,	" 127 to 139.
"	"	Darras,	" 128 to 138.
Hyginus,	"	Almanac,	" 154 to 158.
"	"	Alzog,	" 139 to 142.

Hyginus,	acccording to	Darras,	A. D. 138 to 142.
Pius I,	"	Almanac,	" 158 to 167.
"	"	Alzog,	" 142 to 157.
"	"	Darras,	" 142 to 150.
Anicetus,	"	Almanac,	" 167 to 175.
"	"	Alzog,	" 157 to 168.
"	"	Darras,	" 150 to 161.
Soter or Soterus,	"	Almanac,	" 175 to 182.
"	"	Alzog,	" 168 to 177.
"	"	Darras,	" 162 to 174.
Eleutherus,	"	Almanac,	" 182 to 193.
"	"	Alzog,	" 177 to 192.
"	"	Darras,	" 174 to 186.
Victor I,	"	Almanac,	" 193 to 203.
"	"	Alzog,	" 192 to 202.
"	"	Darras,	" 186 to 200.

Thus, in these eight pontificates, there are but two points in which any two of the three authors agree; the commencement of the bishoprics of Sixtus and Pius. In these particulars, Darras agrees with the Handbuch. But the Handbuch and Almanac do not agree in a single date; neither does Darras agree with the Almanac in a single date.

Darras and the Handbuch give the names of fourteen popes or bishops, previous to the year 200; the Almanac gives fifteen.

If Irenæus be brought into the comparison, while he does not give the dates of the pontificates, he differs from all these authorities, in neglecting to say that Peter was bishop of Rome at all. On the contrary, he states that the church was founded by Peter and Paul, and by them handed over to Linus.

If, during all this time, the bishops of Rome had exercised supreme jurisdiction, can it be possible, that nowhere throughout the Christian world, there would have been kept a record of so much importance as the

succession of the supreme bishops? Would it not have been possible to arrive at a more harmonious result than this?

It will have been observed, that the Roman Catholic Church was established about the same time, that the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were brought into general circulation. When Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, in the year 190, put aside the Gospel of Peter, and substituted in its stead the four gospels, he was engaged in the unification of the church.

And it is a significant fact, that Irenæus, the first writer who mentions the four gospels, was the first who acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REVIEW OF THE SIXTH PERIOD—TESTIMONY OF HEATHEN WRITERS—GENERAL REVIEW—CONCLUSION.

REVIEW OF SIXTH PERIOD.—1. The termination of the sixth period, which closes the century, finds the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles coming into general circulation, with most of the other New Testament writings.

The condition of the church in reference to the New Testament books at the time, is well summed up by Rev. Dr. Davidson, in the closing paragraphs to his two volumes of Introduction to the New Testament:

"The following propositions," says he, "are deducible from an impartial survey of the history of the first two centuries:"

The propositions condensed are as follows:

1. Before A. D. 170, no book of the New Testament was termed "scripture."

2. No certain trace of the existence of the fourth gospel, till after Justin Martyr. [This proposition might with equal truth be applied to the synoptic gospels, in their present form.]

3. The gospels of Matthew and Mark, cannot be identified with the "logia" of Matthew, and the things "said and done" by Jesus, which Mark wrote, mentioned by Papias.

4. The writings of Paul were either not used, or little regarded by the prominent ecclesiastical writers of the first half of the second century. After A. D. 150, they began to be valued.

5. The present gospels did not assume a canonical position, till the latter half of the second century.

6. No canon of the New Testament, i. e. no collection of New Testament literature like the present one, supposed to possess divine authority, existed before A. D. 200.

[Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2, p. 520. The last proposition cannot be accepted without some hesitation. The reader will remember the words of Tertullian, written about the year 200:

"The law and the prophets she (the Church of Rome) unites in one volume, with the writings of evangelists and apostles," &c.

There is reason to believe, that very soon after the four gospels appeared, somewhere between the years 180 and 200, they were published under the authority and by the direction of the Church of Rome, in a volume with the Old Testament, and with the other New Testament books then in circulation.]

2. Closely following the introduction into general circulation, of the books mentioned, was the establishment of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the universal catholic church; the Gospels of John and Matthew being used as powerful agencies in the consummation of that object. Not that the gospels were considered of higher authority than the traditions of the church, but those traditions themselves were established upon the firmest foundation, by the sanction of gospels bearing the names of two of the apostles of Jesus.

And here it is worthy of remark, that while in the earlier gospels, attributed to Luke and Mark, neither of whom was an apostle, had been recorded the older legends and traditions of the churches, when, to aid the Bishop of Rome in assuming authority over the entire Christian world, it was thought necessary to have still other gospels, they were both attributed to apostles of Christ.

Heathen Writers.—Something is said in almost every complete work on the canon, concerning the evidence of heathen writers. Such evidence is absolutely of no value in reference to the canon, because no mention is found in any heathen writer, of any of the Christian writings, before they are referred to by the Christians themselves.

OF CALIFO

Celsus, who, as quoted by Origen, is perhaps most relied upon as referring to the New Testament books, does not appear to have written the work cited by Origen, "The True Word," until early in the third century.

There is, however, important evidence concerning the life and death of Jesus at the time claimed by the Christians; facts which have been disputed by some learned writers.[1]

General Review—Conclusion.—In taking a general review of the first hundred and seventy years of the Christian religion, the first thing that strikes the mind, is the dearth of material, from which to construct a reliable history. It is seen at once, how much must rest upon probability in its different degrees—how much must be relegated to the province of speculation. The works of the only church historian who wrote during that period, lost or destroyed—the few fragments that are left, being of comparatively no value—the writings of Porphyry and others who wrote against Christianity, and those of the heretic Christians, all destroyed—there remain only the works of some of the orthodox fathers, and the text of those in a mutilated and corrupted condition.

As from a few bones, the scientist can re-construct the entire anatomy, so from these fragments can the historian arrive at the frame-work of the orthodox religion of the second century. But the complete and living form of Christianity is wanting.

With the exception of the epistle of Clement of Rome, written near the close of the first century, and a few scattering writings afterward, there is but little in the fathers of that day, to remind one of the pure

(1.) See Appendix, I.

and lofty morality of Jesus, or the fervid utterances of the apostle to the Gentiles. The fathers of the second century were, with united energies, engaged in the work of suppressing heresy. Justin Martyr was writing against the Jews, Tertullian, against Marcion, and Irenæus against all the heretics. This raid against those who differed from the established faith, left but little time to cultivate the more kindly Christian graces, and finally culminated in the establishment of a power which should be competent for the suppression of heresy by force.

Another thing that strikes the attention, in a comprehensive review of the period, is, the ignorance and superstition, even of the most enlightened, and best educated of the fathers. Their bigotry has been noticed—their ignorance and superstition were no less.

With rare exceptions, they were men who utterly despised that learning of the heathen, which consisted in attempts to ascertain the laws of the material universe. Construing in the narrowest and strictest sense, the maxim, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, they confined themselves, almost exclusively, to an exposition of the Jewish scriptures, and of the sayings of Christ, construed in the light of those scriptures; drawing oftentimes, in the application of the prophecies, the most fanciful and whimsical analogies.

Their credulity was unbounded. They had a sublime disregard for truth; not so much from perversity, as from carelessness, and indifference to its sacred character. Their unscrupulousness when seeking for arguments to enforce their positions, is notorious; as well as the prevalence among them, of what are known as pious frauds. Jones, himself a zealous Christian writer, says, that Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus

and Lactantius made use of testimonies out of forgeries and spurious books, to prove the very foundation of the Christian Revelation;[1] and it is believed on good grounds, that Irenæus was no better. This father, while engaged in the introduction of gospels which show that the ministry of Christ lasted from one to three years, not longer than three and a half, himself declares that it lasted about twenty years, and that he had the tradition from the elders of Asia, who had obtained it from John and the other apostles.

Such is the material at the hands of the historian. Of course he cannot rely implicitly upon the unsupported assertion of any such writer, for the truth of any historical fact whatever. In every instance, he is obliged to scrutinize carefully, and endeavor to ascertain whether any ulterior motives may have prompted whatever statement may be under consideration. If he can find none, and the fact stands uncontradicted by other writers, it is cautiously accepted. Under such circumstances, progress is slow and uncertain. The most that any writer can hope to accomplish, is to place in proper shape, what is already known, and to establish here and there a landmark, for the benefit of subsequent historians.

In conclusion, as the result of this investigation, it may be repeated, that no evidence is found, of the existence in the first century, of either of the following doctrines; the immaculate conception—the miracles of Christ—his material resurrection. No one of these doctrines is to be found in the epistles of the New Testament, nor have we been able to find them in any other writings of the first century.

As to the four gospels, in coming to the conclusion

(1.) Jones, vol. I, p. 374.

that they were not written in the first century, we have but recorded the conviction of the more advanced scholars of the present day, irrespective of their religious views in other respects; with whom, the question as now presented is, how early in the second century were they composed?[1]

Discarding, as inventions of the second century, having no historical foundation, the three doctrines above named, and much else which must necessarily stand or fall with them, what remains of the Christian religion?

All that is of any value—all that is in harmony with the immutable laws of the universe, still remains.—We have still the divine teachings of Christ. The more important of these, though more or less interpopolated and corrupted, have been preserved and handed down, both by tradition and in writing; and unlike the books referred to, can be traced back to well authenticated records of the first century.

These teachings impress upon the mind and heart, the highest and purest form of morality. They have never been improved upon by any theological speculations. After all the systems of theologians shall have passed away, they will stand forth, shining brighter and brighter, even unto the perfect day.

(1.) Dr. Davidson does not think either of the four gospels, in its present form, written before the year 100. The Gospel of John, not before 150. See his Introduction to the New Testament.

APPENDIX.

I.

JESUS CHRIST AS A HISTORICAL PERSONAGE.

Some able writers, observing the confusion and uncertainty existing in the chronology of nearly all the events connected with the early history of Christianity, have doubted whether such a person as Jesus Christ lived at the time alleged. These doubts have, in some instances, been expressed by writers of much learning, and cannot well be disregarded.

There are three good and reliable witnesses of the first century; one a Christian, one a Jew, and the other a heathen:

1. PAUL.—The Epistles of Paul stand out as a fact, utterly unexplainable, and incomprehensible, except upon the hypothesis of the life and suffering of the central figure of them all.

That Paul wrote his Epistles in the first century, is attested by Clement of Rome, A. D. 97, who refers to one of them expressly, and by the fathers and writers of the first half of the second century, particularly Marcion, who, about 145, made a compilation of those then in circulation; ten in number.

2. JOSEPHUS; who gives an account of the death of James, the brother of Jesus, in the 9th chapter of the 20th book of the Antiquities. While narrating the particulars of the death of James, he speaks of him as "the brother of Jesus who was called Christ." We know of no good reason for doubting the authenticity of this passage.—[See ante, pp. 34, 35.]

3. TACITUS; who, in the 44th chapter of the 15th book of the Annals, speaks of Christus, "who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the procurator, Pontius Pilate."—[See p. 330.]

II.

ZACHARIAS.

There were four persons by that name, who have been referred to in the apocryphal and canonical gospels, and in the writings of the fathers, in such an indiscriminate manner, as to create great confusion.

1. Zacharias or Zechariah, the son of Jehoida. He was stoned to death, in the court of the temple."—2. Chron. 24. 20, 21.

2. Zacharias or Zechariah, the prophet, who was the son of Berechiah.—Zech. 1. 1. We have no account of his death.

3. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist.

In the Protevangelion, it is stated that because he would not disclose the hiding place of his son John, who had been concealed from Herod, he was murdered "in the entrance of the temple." [See ante, p. 130.]

This account is referred to and accredited by the earlier fathers, including Tertullian and Origen. It does not appear who was the father of this Zacharias.

4. Zacharias, the son of Barouchos, who was murdered inside the temple, about A. D. 69.—[Josephus, Jewish War, bk. 4, ch. 5, 4.]

Thus it will be seen, that three of the persons by that name, were put to death in or near the temple. Of these, the first was the son of Jehoida; the father of the second, not named, and the third was the son of Barouchos. This comes the nearest to the description of the Zacharias mentioned in Matt. 23. 35. We have therefore adopted the opinion of able writers, who consider the last the one referred to by the author of Matthew.

GENERAL INDEX.

(The figures in bracketts indicate the year when the person lived or flourished.)

Aaron, the High Priest, John the Baptist of the family of, 60.

Abbott Prof., doubtful passages, 188.

Abulfaragius, [1256], 168, 169.

Abgarus, King of Edessa, first picture of Christ sent to, 196;
correspondence with Christ, 287;
" probably a forgery, 295.

Abraham, worshiped by heathen emperors, 100.

Acosta Father, [1640], 391.

Actæon, 388.

Accommodation, a mode of construing scripture, 145.

Acts of the Apostles, when brought into general circulation, 429;
not historical, 23, 369-372;
not referred to by the apostolic fathers, 55; Cambridge MS. contains 600 interpolations, 187;
not in Marcion's N. T., 241;
critically considered, 369-372;
referred to in Murator'n frag., 412;
references to passages in, 105, 288, 289, 356;
its relation to Roman Catholicism, 400, 401, 424, 428.

Acts and Martyrdom of Andrew, abstract of, 125.

Acts of Andrew and Matthias, 125.

" of Barnabas, 124.

" of John, 89.

" of the Apostles, by Lucius, 369.

" of Paul and Thecla, 23, 124, 369.

" of Peter, 89.

" of Philip, 369; abstract of, 125.

" of Peter and And. 31, 89, 125, 369.

Acts of Peter and Paul, 124, 369; containing Letter of Pontius Pilate, 218; also account of Peter and Simon Magus before Nero, 111, 112, 113.

Acts of St. Mary, 89.

Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas, 125.

Acts and Martyrdom of St, Matthew, 125.

Acts of Pilate, 126, 214, 218, 332, 333, 374; one of the three most ancient gospels of the 2d century extant, 128; abstract of the gospel, and its standing with the fathers, 177-185; compared with the canonical gospels, 186-212; mentioned by Justin Martyr, 270, 274, 275, 276; written before any of the canonical gospels, 296; contains the most reliable account of the crucifixion, 331; Erasmus thought it was written before Luke, 344; contains the shortest and probably the oldest accounts of the miracles attributed to Christ, 189-198; newly discovered Acts of Pilate, 220, 221.

Africanus. See Julius.

Agrippa Castor, [130], 223; sketch of, 227; wrote against Basilides, his writings lost or destroyed, 227, 402.

Agrippa the Great, was brother of Herodias, 17.

Æons, 222, 325.

Ahaz, King of Judah, 142, 143.

Alvarez Semedo, 387.

Alford, Gr. Test., 35.

Alfonsa Sonsa, 174.

Alexander Abonotichus, [2d century], 101; sketch of him by Lucian, 114, 115, 282.

Alexander, Bishop of Rome, 426.

Alexander, Era of, 154.

Alexander Dr. on Hieronymian Versions of N. T., 305.

Alexandrians, Epistle to, [Supposed to be Ep. to the Heb.], 412.

Albinus, Procurator of Judæa, 35.

Alzog, 232, 425-427.
Alexander, statue of, 282.
Alcestis, rescued from death by Hercules, 388.
Amasis, King of Egypt, 95.
Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer, 3d century, 282, 404.
Amelias, an ancient Greek writer, 390.
Ambrose, Latin father of 4th century, 10, 83, 131, 343.
Amuphis, an Egyptian magician, 122.
Antonius, an ascetic, [3d cent.], 75.
Annas and Caiaphas, High Priests, 15, 16, 179, 183, 185, 209.
Anius, the High Priest, 388.
Anna, the grandmother of Jesus, 128, 129.
Anna, the prophetess, see Hannah.
Antoninus Pius, Emperor, [138 to 161], 267, 295.
Ananus, High Priest, 35.
Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, 398, 407, 421, 427.
Antonius, father of Simon Magus, 106.
Anacletus, Bishop of Rome, 423, 425.
Antonine column, sculpture on, 123.
Ananias and Sapphira, 28.
Announcement to Mary, 129, 135, 136, 162, 271, 321.
Andrew, the Apostle, 59, 356.
Anonymous Writings, 228, 229.
Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian, worshiped as a god, 116.
Angels in the Jewish system, 117, 118.
Antiquity of Christian Doctrines, 387-391.
Apollo, 115, 390.
Apollonius, Christ'n writer, [3d cent.], 284.
Apollonius, of Tyana, [1st cent.], 114, 116, 282, 283, 374, 387, 388; Biography of, by Philostratus, 90-99; estimate of his character by different writers, 99-101; extracts from his epistles, 101-103.
Apocalypse of John, in N. T., 36, 124, 269, 270, 413, 424; not generally received by the ancients, 33; omitted from the canon by the Asiatic churches 34; reference to passages in, 86, 279; supposed to have been written by John the presbyt'r, 228; not in Marcion's New Test., 241.
Apocalypse of John (another), 89, 124.
Apocalypse of Esdras, 124.
Apocalypse of Paul, 89, 124.
" of Moses, 124.
" of Cerinthus, 33.
" of Peter, 89, 413.
" of Bartholomew, 89.
Apocryphal Gospels, and Writings, 79-89, 124, 227, 310, 405, 410.
Apocryphal Acts, Epistles, Revelations, &c., 89, 124.
Apostolic Fathers, 37-55, 232.
Apuleius, pagan philosopher, of the 2d century, 116.
Apostles of Christ, 20-36, 417, 433.
Apelles, [160], a Gnostic leader, sketch of, 280, 281; his writings lost, 404.
Aquila, brother of Clement of Rome, 40, 106, 107.
Archelaus, King of Judæa, 149, 161, 322.
Aristides, [126], author of an Apology, 402; sketch of, 225, 226; Epistle to Diognetus attributed to, 238.
Aristides, the Sophist, [176], 370, 371.
Arnobius, Christian writer, early in 4th cent., 121.
Artemon, [200], 415, 416.
Aretas, King of Petræa, 18.
Aristeas, of Proconnesus, 116.
Aristo, of Pella, [175], 393, 394.
Aristotle, 92, 166, 301, 391, 396.
Aristion, [130], 228, 236, 402.
Arian Controversy, 415.
Asterius Urbanus, [188], 411.
Asterius, writer, [4th cent.], 196.
Asceticism, 72-75.
Atonement, the, 381, 382, 389.
Athenagoras, [177], an Athenian philosopher, and Christian writer, 267, 268, 282; sketch of, 396; held to a material resurrection, 375.
Athanasius, [373], 152.
Augustus Cæsar, 123, 139, 154, 387.
Aurelian, [Emp. 270-275], 100.

Austin, [600], Christ'n writer, 132, 280.
Aulus Gellius, early in 2d century, 282, 283, 404.
Aurelius, Marcus, [Emp., 161-180], 45, 122, 268, 396, 420.
Aurelius, Lucius Commodus, 268.
Augustine, [420], 80, 239, 307, 343, 356, 397; relates astonishing miracles, 122; discussion with Faustus, the Manichæan, 298-303; his explanation of the genealogy of Christ, 320; developed the doctrine of original sin, and inherited guilt, 382.
Avenging of the Savior, 220.

Baring-Gould, Rev. S., 11, 12, 58, 75, 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 225, 241, 243, 244, 392; exonerates Marcion from having corrupted the Gospel of Luke, 252, 253.
Baptism, 384, 385, 386; form of, was immersion, 384; change from immersion to sprinkling, 391.
Baptism of Jesus, 15, 60, 62, 151, 152, 159, 274, 280, 315.
Baptizing women, 23.
Baptizing by women, 23; taught and permitted by Marcion, 240, 241; also by a sect of Montanists, 284.
Barachiah, (Barachias), 63.
Bardanes, 93.
Basil, [375], 388.
Basnage, thought Luke the first of the canonical gospels, 345.
Bacchylus of Corinth, [180], sketch of, 397, 398, 422.
Bardesanes, [180], sketch of, 397.
Bayle, M., 100.
Barnabas, [1st century], 85, 86, 226; preaches at Rome, 40.
Barnabas, Epistle of, [130], 84, 85, 226, 227, 232; no evidence for the N. T., 53; attributed by the fathers to the companion of Paul, 226; such authorship rejected by modern scholars, ib.; one of the first books mentioning the miracles of Christ, 374; the author a millenarian, 384.
Basilides, [125], a famous Gnostic, 80, 81, 222, 227, 234, 402; Irenæus' account of his doctrines, 224; sketch of, 223, 224; is said to have written a commentary on "the gospel," in 24 books, 223, 401; not a reliable witness for the four gospels, 224; maintained that Christ, being innocent, could not endure penal suffering, 381.
Barsabas, 236.
Barabbas, 63, 200, 312, 331.
Baronius, [1588], 65, 99, 123, 132, 229, 351.
Bartholomew, 36, 80, 81, 125, 368.
Baldæus, 170, 171.
Bopadeva, [12th century], 175, 176.
Bellarmine, [1600], 343, 351.
Berenice, 388.
Berwick, Rev. Edward, [1809], 91.
Beausobre, [1734], 65.
Bede, Venerable, [734], 80, 83, 281, 344.
Beryllus, [200–244], 415.
Bhagavat Purana, 170, 171, 172, 174; antiquity of, 175, 176.
Bible Revision, 188.
Bishops of Rome to the year 200, 425-428.
Blastus, [177], notice of, 395.
Blount, Charles, [1680], a celebrated deist, 91.
Bleek, a German writer, 47.
Book of Enoch, 117.
Book of the Helkesaites, 87.
Book of Joseph, the High Priest, 147.
Book of James, see Protevangelion.
Book of Tobit, 117.
Book of John, concerning the falling asleep of Mary, 124.
Bolingbroke, [1740], 52, 53.
Bossuet, [1688], 371.
Book of Wisdom, 413.
Bretschneider, [1830], 355.
Brahma, first person in the Hindoo Trinity, 388, 389.
Brahmins, 93, 96, 174, 176, 391.
Bunsen, [1850], 23.
Buddha, 166.
Burton, [1833], 268.
Byzantius, 229.

Caius, [210], 30, 394.
Carpocrates, [135], 60, 233, 283, notice of, and his doctrines, 230, 231.
Cassiodorus, [550], historian, 196.
Cainites, 84.
Canon of the N. T., 76, 77.
Cave, [1700], a writer, 411.
Cave, Christ born in a, 129, 130, 132, 139, 141, 144, 146, 148, 154, 155, 156, 171, 273.
Catholic Church, 373, 413.
Caiaphas, High Priest, 15, 16, 147, 179, 214.
Capuanus Catena, [455], 54.
Canticles, Book of, 62.
Cassianus, Julius, [190], 71, 411.
Camerarius, 80.
Caracalla, Emp., [211-217], 98, 100.
Casting out Demons, 117, 120, 121, 126.
Cambridge Manuscript, [MS. Bezæ], 187, 370.
Celsus, [210], 101, 114, 431.
Celibacy taught in the Gospel of the Egyptians, 77; also by Saturninus, 223.
Cephas, 29, 334.
Cerdo, or Cerdon, a Gnostic, [140], notice of, 231.
Cerinthus, [145], a celebrated Gnostic, 31, 32, 33; held that Jesus was the real son of Joseph, 60, 234; sketch of, 233, 234; had a gospel and a revelation, 234; Toland thought he might have written the Gospel of John, 234; Irenæus and Jerome assert that John wrote against him, 234, 357; his works lost or destroyed, 403.
Cerinthians, used the Gospel of the Hebrews, 59.
Centurio, 182, 193, 194.
Chromatius, [400], a Bishop, 215-217.
Chrishna, [B. C. 1156], 170-174, 175, 387, 388; parallel between Chrishna and Christ, 171; antiquity of the legends concerning, 175, 176.
Chimalman, mother of Quexalcote, 389.
Chrysostom, [407], 10, 46, 131; his testimony concerning the Acts of the Apostles, 370.
Chronicles of Hegesippus, 406-408.
Christ, see Jesus Christ.
Christus, 330.
Christ and Abgarus, alleged correspondence between, 287, 295.
Christian women, 22, 23.
Churches of Vienne and Lyons, Epistle from, [177], 395.
Christian Era, date of, when and by whom established, 330.
Charinus, 183, 184.
Church of Corinth, 4, 27, 418.
Church of Lyons, 420.
Church of Rome, 408, 409, 418, 419, 430; founded by Peter and Paul, 417.
Church at Sinope, 3, 4.
Church of Philippi, 418.
Church of Rhossus, 7.
Church of Ephesus, 418.
Church of Thyatira, 34.
Chrysippus, [B. C. 230], a Greek philosopher, 92.
Circumcision, insisted upon by Jewish Christians, 384.
Circumcision of Jesus, see Jesus Christ.
Cicero, [B. C. 50], 301, 391.
Claudius Apollinaris, [178], a Christian writer, 122, 123; notice of, 396, 397.
Claudius, Emp., [41 to 54], 32, 105.
Cleomedes, of Astypalæa, a miracle-worker, 116.
Cletus, Bishop of Rome, 425, 426.
Clement of Rome, [97], sketch of, 37-43; when Bishop of Rome, 423, 424, 425, 426; his views concerning the resurrection, 26, 27, 55, 375, 376; says nothing of the immaculate conception, or of the miracles of Christ, 28; not a witness to the four gospels, 37-39, 52, 53; his treatment of heretics, 42, 54; the keys of the kingdom given to him, by Peter, at Rome, 29, 367.
Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, (called the First Epistle

of Clement), 2, 23, 37-43, 53, 84, 85, 382, 407, 431; 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, attributed to Clement, [150-200], 39, 71, 416; Clement to James, Epistle, 29, 39, 367, 425; the foundation of the Inquisition, 29; Epistle of Clement in praise of Virginity, 39; the Canons attributed to him, 39; also Apostolic Constitutions, 39;

Clementines, or Clementine Writings, 32, 39, 66, 67, 86, 238, 416; attributed to Clement, consisting of Epitome, 39, 238; Homilies, 32, 39, 105, 238, and Recognitions; see "Recognitions"; Gospel of the Hebrews used in the Clementine writings, 86, 238.

Clementine Gospel, probably the Gospel of the Hebrews, 86.

Clement, mother of, 385, 386.

Clement of Alexandria, [200], 66, 72, 234, 381, 382, 398, 406, 409, 412, 414, 417-420, 432; references to, and quotations from his writings, 10, 24, 57, 70, 71, 76, 77, 84, 85, 120, 170, 226, 229, 231, 232, 319, 368, 383, 411, 414; some of his lost works, 409, 410; held to the spiritual view of the resurrection, 376; denied the eternal duration of future punishment, 383.

Council of Nice, [325]; doctrine of the trinity established, 379.

Council of Laodicea, [365], forbade the ordination of women, 22; excluded the Apocalypse from the canon, 34.

Council, Italian, called by Victor, 418, 419, 422.

Councils, Local, ibid.

Constantius Porphyrogenitus, 196.

Constantine, Emp., [306-337], 33, 60; by his edict the works of Porphyry were burned, 294.

Codex Bezæ, see Cambridge.

Confucius, [B. C. 598], Magi attended his birth, from a distance, 387; golden rule taught by, 391.

Confession and Remission of Sins, 390.

Commodus, Emp., [180 to 192], 396, 398.

Credner, [1836], 8, 11, 13, 238, 270, 278, 351.

Creation out of nothing, taught by Hermas, [145], 383.

Crucifixion of Jesus, See Jesus Christ.

Cureton, Prof. [1845], 43, 229.

Cyrenius and the Taxing, 154, 268, 272, 273, 291, 322, 323.

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, [375], 10, 33, 131, 152.

Cyprian, [250], 121, 274.

Dardanus, 166.

Damis, [1st cent.], 91, 93, 96, 97, 99.

Damascene, [725], 132.

Damasus, [366], 307.

Darius Hystaspes, [B. C, 500], 166.

Darras, [1855], 414, 422, 426, 427.

Daille, 81.

Davidson, Dr., 6, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 45, 76, 224, 227, 235, 237, 238, 269, 275, 278, 303, 304, 308, 357, 417, 418, 429, 430, 434.

De Wette, [1825], 243.

Descent into Hell, 184.

Death of Pilate, 219.

Demetrius, a philosopher, of the first century, 97, 98.

Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, [195], 422.

Desposyni, see Genealogies.

Descent from the Cross, by John, 86.

Demi-Ourgos, 105, 240.

Demas, 201-204.

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, [175], 30; notice of, 394.

Dionysius, Exiguus, [525], 330.

Discussion between Peter and Simon Magus, 107-110.

Dion Cassius, [229], 90, 122, 123; what he says of Apollonius, 98; of Marcia, 398.

Diocletian, Emp., [284-305], 308.

Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, 393, 394.

Diognetus, Epistle to, [140], notice of, 238.

Divinity of Christ, 20, 278, 354, 355, 388, 400, 416; origin and history of the doctrine, 376 to 379.

Diatessaron, 284, 285, 297, 405.

Diapente, 285.
Dositheus, "The Standing One," 106, 107.
Dodwell, Dr. [1700], 124, 295, 419.
Dollinger, Dr. [1867], 23, 24, 26, 386; what he says as to the punishment inflicted by Peter, 28.
Docetae, a sect of Gnostics, who believed that Jesus and Christ were different, 11, 280.
Donaldson, Dr. [1860], 396, 397, 413.
Domitian, Emp., [81 to 96], 32, 96, 97, 116, 388, 406, 407; his assassination at Rome detailed, at the same time at Ephesus, by Apollonius of Tyana, 98.
Domna, Julia, wife of Septimius Severus, [210], 90.
Doctrines, Christian, 13, 26, 32, 40, 48, 55, 68, 77, 105, 224, 278; origin and history of, 373-386; antiquity of, 387-391.
Doctrine of Peter, see Peter.
Dubois, M., [1800], 389.
Du Perron, translation of the Zend-Avesta, [pub'd in 1771], 165-168.
Durant, [pub'd in 1606,] 196, 197.
Du Pin, [1688], 30, 65, 81, 101, 420.
Dumachus and Titus, 148.

Easter, 366, 367, 414, 415, 418, 421, 422.
Ebionites, [2d cent.], 25, 59, 60, 63, 68, 81, 398, 399.
Egyptian Impostor, 369, 370.
Eichhorn, [1794], 66, 313, 317, 318, 413.
Eisenmenger, 118.
Elders quoted by Irenæus, 236.
Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, 407, 408, 420, 427.
Ellicott, Bishop, [1856], 149, 198-200, 211.
Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, 60, 129, 130, 134, 136.
Elijah, 75.
Electra, mother of Dardanus, 166.
Enoch and Elias, 214.
Epiphanes, [140], sketch of, 231.
Ephraim, the Syrian, [378], 308.
Epistles of N. T., 37, 38.
Epiphanius, [385], 10, 73, 80-82, 84, 86, 130, 132, 196, 233, 234, 239, 241, 242, 252, 253, 258, 264, 284, 358, 403; references to his writings, 59, 60, 61, 72, 74, 75, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 130, 131, 132, 152, 217, 218, 233, 234, 258, 264, 273, 274, 280, 284, 285, 344, 358, 412; he thought the Gospel of Cerinthus, [A. D. 145], written before that of Luke, 344.
Erasmus, [1520], 72, 77, 83, 343; thought the Acts of Pilate written before the Gospel of Luke, 344.
Esculapius, 115, 116, 388.
Essenes, 72--75.
Esoteric, and Exoteric Doctrines, 385, 386.
Eternal Punishment, 382, 383, 390.
Eternal Gospel, 86, 87.
Eusebius, [325], 7, 10, 13, 33, 35, 56, 73, 83, 100, 103, 111, 178, 179, 221, 223, 225, 228, 229, 237, 285, 286, 297, 394, 398, 402, 405, 406-409, 414; references to, and quotations from his writings, 7, 12, 13, 24, 29, 30, 34, 35, 56, 57, 59, 73, 83, 86, 87, 103, 121, 122, 123, 124, 131, 152, 195, 196, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232, 236, 237, 273, 284, 285, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 343, 394, 395, 397, 399, 402, 405, 406--409, 414, 415, 418, 422; value of his testimony as a witness, 287-295; his falsehoods and forgeries, 288; forgeries on Josephus, 288-291; forgery on Phlegon, 291-293; forgery on Thallus, 293, 294; forgery on Porphyry, 294, 295; other forgeries, 295.
Euthimius, [1120], 131.
Eunapius [400], 100, 101.
Euodius, [410], 132.
Eucharist, 424; of ancient origin, 391.
Eudocia, 99, 100.
Euripides, 396.
Evagrius, [594], 46.
Evaristus, Bishop of Rome, 425, 426.
Ewald, [1800], 3, 6, 50, 228, 278, 315.

Faber, [1840], 165, 166, 167, 169.
Farrer, 205.
Faustus, a celebrated Manichæan Bishop, [400], 298--303, 356.
Fabricius, [1703], 3, 80, 86, 88, 89, 105, 125, 178, 285.
Fall of Man, an ancient doctrine, 390.
False Gospels of Lucianus, see Gospel of Lucius.
False Gospels of Hesychius, 87, 88.
Festus, Governor of Judæa, [62], 35.
Feuardentius, 54.
Final Restoration, believed in by Origen, 383.
Fire in the Jordan, 229, 274.
Fire Worshipers, 148, 160.
Flora, [190], 310, 411, 412.
Fleury, 269.
Florinus, [177], 395.
Forbe's Oriental Memoirs ,[1800], 175.
Fontenelle, [1700], 295.
Froude, the historian, 101, 114, 115.
Freedom of the Will, 381.

Galba, Emp., [68-69], 95.
Gamaliel, 369.
Galilee, 311.
Genealogy of Jesus, see Jesus Christ.
George, Bishop of Nicomedia, 132.
Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, [715], 132.
Gestas, 201, 203, 204.
Gelasius, Pope, [494], 81.
Gelasius, Decree of, [494], 11, 64, 76, 78, 80, 83, 84, 87-89, 132, 233.
Genealogies of the Desposyni, 86.
Gerarchia Catholica, the Roman Almanac, 425-427.
Gfroerer, [1850], 117.
Gengis Khan, [1220], 387.
Gibbon, [1780], 100.
Giving up of Pontius Pilate, 219.
Gnostics and Gnosticism, 49, 79, 80--82, 105, 223, 231, 234, 235, 280, 283, 284, 376, 384, 411.
Gobarus, [6th cent.], 398, 399.
Golden Rule before Christ, 391.
Gospel of Paul, one of the lost gospels of the first century, 3--6, 9, 12, 14, 76; the foundation of the Gospel of Marcion, 3; also of the Gospel of Luke, 14.
Gospel of Peter, another lost gospel of the first century, 3, 6--12, 13, 14, 75, 76, 131, 228, 288, 400, 412, 428; was part of the material entering into the Gospel of the Hebrews, 68; supposed to be very similar to it, 11, 87; cited by Justin Martyr, 7, 8, 270, 274; the basis of the Gospel of Mark, 9, 14, 346, 350; suppressed by the bishops in 2d century, to make place for the canonical gospels, 6, 7, 409, 414, 428.
Gospel of the Egyptians, 70 to 78, 411; frequently cited by Clement of Alexandria, 70, 71; written before Luke, 71, 72, 343, 344.
Gospel of the Hebrews, 11, 14, 56-69, 76, 80, 82, 86, 87, 105, 163, 237, 266, 274, 278, 374; claimed by Jerome and Epiphanius to be the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, 59--64, 358, 359; written before the canonical gospels, 71, 72, 343, 344; used by Justin Martyr, 238, 297; supposed to have been used by Tatian, 285, 405; used by Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, 399, 407, 408.
Gospel of James, see Protevangelion.
Gospel of Nicodemus, see Acts of Pilate.
Gospel of the Infancy, attributed to Thomas, 49, 79, 80, 140, 144, 146, 147, 148--176, 188, 215, 216, 217, 218, 273, 279, 309, 321, 323, 324, 361, 368, 402, 416; one of the three most ancient extant gospels, 128; known to Justin Martyr, 273, 274; written before Luke and Matthew, 71, 296; synopsis of its contents, 147-151; testimonies of the fathers, 151-153; compared with the first two chapters of Luke and Matthew, 154-164; origin and history of, 165-176.
Gospel of Marcion, 3, 4, 5, 19, 38, 39, 88, 89, 163, 224, 241, 242, 321, 337-343, 349, 350, 364, 400, 409, 424, 425; founded on the Gospel of Paul, 3, 4; written before the Gospel of Luke, 19, 252--

266, 296, 343, 344; contained no history of the infancy and childhood of Christ, 163, 242, 339, 350; the gospel reproduced, 243--251; the question of priority as between Marcion and Luke, 252--266; Marcion's Gospel interpolated by the author of Luke, 254--263, 321, 339--343.

Gospel of Perfection, 79, 80, 82, 149; mentioned in the Gospel of the Infancy, 80, 149.

Gospel of Andrew, 80; written before Luke, ib.

Gospel of Bartholomew, 71, 80, 81, 344, 368; written before Luke, 71, 344.

Gospel of Philip, 80, 81, 82, 225.

Gospel of Matthias, 71, 83, 344; written before Luke, ib.

Gospel of Judas, 83, 84, 88; mentioned by Irenæus, 83.

Gospel of Basilides, 71, 86, 224, 344; written before Luke, 71, 344.

Gospel of Cerinthus, 86, 89, 233, 234, 344, 403; written before the Gospel of John, 234; before Luke, 344.

Gospel of Truth, 89, 234, 235, 403; referred to by Irenæus, 403.

Gospel of Valentine, the same, 234.

Gospel of Apelles, 71, 72, 84, 281, 344; written before Luke, 71, 72, 281.

Gospel or Harmony of Tatian, 11, 86, 89, 163, 297, 405; did not contain the Infancy, 163; history of, 284--286; not a harmony of the four gospels, ib., 297; based on the Gospel of the Hebrews, 285, 405.

Gospels, the Four Canonical, 6, 10, 27, 37-99, 49, 51-55, 56, 65, 71, 72, 78, 126, 149, 172, 186-212, 224, 226, 233, 235, 240, 269-271, 275-277, 285, 286, 295--368, 376, 396, 399, 400, 403, 405, 408, 409, 417, 419, 425, 428, 429, 433, 434; when written, 317; selected for the use of the churches, from a large number of gospels, 10, 310; a support to Roman Catholic supremacy, 425, 428.

Gospels, the Synoptic, 13, 311-318, 324, 329, 331, 333, 346, 353, 354, 365, 366.

Gospel according to Luke, 4--6, 9, 14, 15, 19, 38, 52, 71, 72, 77, 80, 126, 129, 133--146, 152, 154--164, 170, 172, 188, 191--195, 201--206, 209--211, 224, 231, 241--266, 271--273, 281, 291, 296, 309, 312--317, 319, 331--333, 335, 337--350, 362, 367, 370, 396, 400, 409, 412, 429, 430; first two chapters compared with the Protevangelion, 133--146; with the Gospel of the Infancy, 154--164; reference to specific passages in, 4, 17, 38, 50, 58, 72, 80, 133--146, 152, 154--164, 191--195, 197, 201--206, 243--266, 271, 281, 338--343, 345-349, 352, 353, 359--361, 363, 364--366; subsequent to Apelles, 281; founded on the Gospels of Paul and Marcion, 6--14; written subsequent to Marcion, 252--266; when written, 317; critically examined, 337--345.

Gospel according to Mark, 9, 11, 14, 17, 39, 52, 58, 75, 76, 78, 191, 192, 210, 211, 237, 238, 258, 265, 266, 296, 309, 312, 313--317, 331--333, 335, 352, 353, 362, 368, 396, 400, 402, 418, 429, 430; reference to specific passages in, 4, 8, 18, 76, 188, 202--205, 208, 209, 332, 365, 366; founded on the Gospel of Peter, 9; when written, 317; critically examined, 346--351.

Gospel according to John, 34, 36, 52, 126, 169, 202, 211, 228, 238, 269, 276, 279, 284, 296, 309, 311, 316, 317, 324, 325, 328, 329, 331--333, 335, 336, 370, 396, 397, 400, 409, 412, 429, 430, 434; reference to specific passages in, 188--193, 203, 206, 265; written subsequent to Cerinthus, 234; not known to Justin Martyr, 269, 270, 276; when written, 317; the first canonical gospel mentioned in Christian history, 302, 303, 397; radically different from the synoptics, 311, 312; critically examined, 352--357.

Gospel according to Matthew, 14, 30, 38, 39, 53, 57--68, 80, 81, 85, 130, 133--146, 154, 155--164, 169, 170, 172, 188, 191, 192, 193, 197, 211, 236, 237, 238, 255, 271, 296, 309, 312--317, 319, 320, 330-333, 335, 340, 346, 347, 350, 357, 370, 397--400, 402, 405, 417, 429, 430; reference to specific passages

in, 4, 12, 17, 18, 50, 52, 57, 58, 62, 63, 76, 130, 141--146, 159--163, 200--208, 265, 332, 333, 335, 340, 352, 353, 356; first two chapters compared with the Protevangelion, 133-146; with the Gospel of the Infancy, 154-164; an original Greek gospel, 30, 67, 304, 314; when written, 317; critically examined, 358-368.

Gospel of the Syrians, or the Syriac Gospel, probably same as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 56, 82.

Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, another name for the Gospel of the Hebrews, 59, 61, 62, 71, 278, 297, 343, 344.

Gospel of the Nazarenes, the same, 65, 80, 82.

Gospel of the Ebionites, a version of the same, 65.

Gospel of the Birth of Mary, (a supposed gospel), nothing but a translation by Jerome, of a portion of the Gospel of the Infancy, 215-218, 323, 416; this gospel was asserted by Jerome, to be in the hand-writing of Matthew, 64, 216, 309.

Gospel of Thomas, same as Gospel of the Infancy, 71, 147, 152, 173, 174, 344.

Gospel of Eve, a doubtful gospel, referred to by Epiphanius, 79, 82, 83.

Gospel of the Encratites, referred to by Epiphanius, 86.

Gospel of Jude, same as Gospel of Judas Iscariot.

Gospel of Barnabas, 84-86.

Gospel of Merinthus, same as Gospel of Cerinthus, referred to by Epiphanius, 344.

Gospel of the Gnostics, properly no such gospel, though the term sometimes used, 87.

Gospel of Justin, sometimes employed to designate the gospel principally used by Justin Martyr, 87; this supposed to have been the Gospel of the Hebrews, ib.

Gospel of James the Less, same as the Protevangelion, 87, 88.

Gospel of the Lord, same as the Gospel of Marcion, 88.

Gospel of Lucius, one of the false gospels of Lucianus, so called; these pronounced apocryphal by the Decree of Gelasius, 88.

Gospel of Life, a gospel of the Manichæans, 88.

Gospel of Longinus, 88.

Gospel of Manes, [3d cent.], same as the Manichee Gospel, 88.

Gospel of Scythianus, 89.

Gospel of Simonides, or of the Simonians, (followers of Simon Magus), 89.

Gospel of Simon Magus, the same.

Gospel of Thaddæus, 89.

For other gospels, see Clementine, Acts, Eternal, &c.

Gregory Nazienzen, [380], 33, 229.

Gregory Nyssen. [380], 132, 217, 218, 273.

Grotius, [1640], 72, 77, 178, 343.

Griesbach, [1800], 188, 238, 253, 266, 347.

Graves, Kersey, [1876,] 391.

Grabe, Dr., [1710]. 72, 77, 78, 83, 84, 85, 229, 269, 310, 412, 420.

Grynæus, [1600], 54, 135, 137, 185, 275.

Guericke, [1833], 47, 238.

Gymnosophists, 96.

Hannah, the prophetess, 148, 157, 158.

Hadrian, Emp., [117-138], 74, 116, 225, 393; letter to his brother-in-law, Servianus, 74.

Hahn, [1830], 242, 243, 253, 340, 341.

Hades, 375.

Hagenbach, [1840], 384.

Hercules, 388.

Hesiod, [B. C. 800], 396.

Heliodorus, [400], a Catholic bishop, 215--217.

Herbert, [1634], 391.

Hermogenes, [180], 397, 415; notice of, 397.

Heracleon, [190], 10, 229, 409, 411, 412; used the Gospel of Peter, 412; notice of, 411, 412.

Henault, [1744], 426.

Hermas, companion of Paul, 232.

Hermas, 2d. [145], 232, 233, 384; sketch of, 232, 233; the Shepherd or Pastor of Hermas, a celebrated book, in the early age of the church, 53, 232, 233, 383, 413.

Heathen writers, 430, 431.

Herodotus, [B. C. 450], 396.

Hermas, 3d, [200], 416.

Heresy defined by Dr. Lardner, 222.

Heresy and Heretics, 222--225.

Hegesippus, [185], 56, 66, 67, 82, 238, 398, 399, 406--409; the first Jewish historian, 406; sketch of, 398, 399.

Hermodorus, [B. C. 450], 166.

Hermippus, [B. C. 270], 166.

Herod the Tetrarch, 15, 17, 18, 60, 185, 209, 210.

Herod the Great, 17, 130, 143, 144, 145, 148, 153, 159, 160, 161, 291, 321, 322, 331.

Herod Agrippa, 288, 289.

Herod, half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, 17.

Herodias, 17, 18, 19.

Hindoos and Hindoo Religion, 166, 167, 170--176.

Higgins, Sir Godfrey, [1830], 391.

Hilary, [390], 131, 307.

Hierocles, [305], 91, 103, 116.

History of Joseph the Carpenter, 213, 214.

Hippocrates, [B. C. 400], 300, 301.

Hippolytus, restored by Esculapius, 388.

Hippolytus, [3d cent.], 223, 224, 234.

Hilgenfeld, 46, 243, 270.

Historical evidence, its proper place, 303.

Homer, 93, 97, 396.

Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost, 27, 28, 57, 60, 62, 72, 85, 135, 136, 141, 157, 159, 260, 271, 274, 389, 390, 424; the Holy Ghost of the feminine gender, 57, 62, 87.

Hug, [1808], 355, 413.

Hyde, [1700], 168, 169.

Hyginus, Bishop of Rome, 231, 426, 427.

Ignatius, [115], 43--50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 66, 382; his Epistles, 43--50, 53, 68, 187, 373; swollen from 12 to 100 pages, 188; their genuineness considered, 44--47; references to, and quotations from, 46--49.
- Epistle to the Ephesians, 43, 48.
- Epistle to the Romans, 43, 47, 48.
- Epistle to Polycarp, 43, 47, 49, 50, 51.
- Vossian Epistles, 43, 47, 53.
- Cureton or Syriac Epistles, 43, 46, 47, 187; these the genuine epistles, 187.
- Epistles ascribed to Ignatius:
- Epistle to the Magnesians, 43.
- Epistle to the Trallians, 43.
- Epistle to the Philadelphians, 43.
- Epistle to the Smyrnæans, 43, 63, 64, 68, 385.
- Eight others formerly attributed to him, 43.
- Martyrdom of Ignatius, 44--47, 51.

Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, [1562], 33.

Immaculate Conception, 13, 19, 20, 28, 32, 41, 55, 68, 77, 129, 130, 169, 170, 171, 240, 271, 272, 319, 374, 433, 434; first allusion to, extant, 48, 49, 373; immaculate conceptions, 168, 169, 387.

Imperfect Commentary on Matthew, 173.

Immersion as Baptism, 384.

Immortality of the soul, 380, 381.

Internal criticism, its proper place, 303.

Intermediate State, 383.

Inherited Guilt, 382.

Inspiration, 383, 884.

Infant baptism, 385.

Intolerance, 385.

Irenæus, [190], 6, 8, 12, 32, 33, 46, 47, 51, 54, 84, 223, 224, 328, 329, 357, 367, 376, 384, 403, 405, 407, 412, 417-420, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 433; references to, and quotations from his writings, 6, 30, 48, 83, 105, 120, 152, 223, 224, 230-232, 234, 236, 310, 325--328, 367, 384, 392, 393, 423, 424; the first writer who mentioned the four gospels, 302, 325, 385, 428;

the first who acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of Rome, 428.

Isidorus, [150], notice of, 234.

Isaiah, see Old Testament.

James, the son of Zebedee, brother to John, called also James the Elder, 7, 8, 29, 34, 35, 59, 76.

James the son of Alphæus, called James the Less, and James the Just, 29, 34, 61, 128, 130, 180, 240, 334, 371, 372; whether he was brother to Jesus, uncertain, 34.

James, the brother of the Lord, 34, 61, 131, 149, 150, 213, 406, 407; death of, 34, 35.

James, surnamed Panther, 131.

James, Epistle of, 35, 36, 433.

Jairus' Daughter, 126.

Jewish Institutions, 384.

Jewish Superstitions, 117, 118.

Jewish Christians, 355, 384.

Jerome, [400], 4, 26, 58, 65, 68, 73, 74, 77, 80, 81, 83, 152, 178, 215-218, 229, 234, 307, 309, 323, 357, 358, 394, 416; special references to, and quotations from his writings, 23, 57, 61--64, 71--75, 83, 87, 215--218, 227, 232, 239, 273, 281, 344, 397.

Jesus Christ, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 16-20, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 42, 43, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 84, 87, 91, 100, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 116, 117, 120, 126, 127, 136, 142, 213, 214, 218-221, 223, 224, 227, 229, 230, 234, 235, 237, 240, 243-266, 270, 272, 274, 275, 277-280, 285, 287, 289, 295, 298-301, 310-312, 314, 315, 319-336, 340, 341, 342, 346, 348, 352-357, 363--367, 374--376, 379, 380--382, 386, 399, 401, 411, 412, 414, 415; a historical personage, Appendix, I.
Canonical history of, 319--336.
Conception of, see Immaculate Conception.
Genealogy of, 60, 271, 319, 320.
Birth of, 49, 66, 130, 132, 134, 139, 143, 146, 148, 154, 155, 162, 170, 268, 291, 320--324, 330.
Christ born in a cave, 130, 132, 139, 141, 146, 148, 154, 273.
Infancy and Childhood of Jesus, 140, 144, 147--176, 216, 320--324, 350.
Ministry of, 6, 11, 19, 243--250, 311, 324--330, 352, 357, 368, 385, 433.
Crucifixion of, 20, 63, 73, 110, 116, 177--212, 214, 218--220, 224, 250, 251, 262, 274, 275, 291--294, 312, 315, 330, 331--333, 354.
Resurrection of, 13, 26, 27, 41, 55, 61, 63, 64, 69, 77, 78, 182, 183, 206--212, 218, 220, 229, 251, 263, 312, 334--336, 354, 363, 374--376, 433, 434.
Ascension of, 27, 208, 210, 334.
Brothers and sisters of, 12, 62, 129.
Relations of, 86.
Miracles of, see Miracles.

Jones, Rev. Jeremiah, [1726], 9, 11, 13, 67, 68, 76, 77, 80, 83, 84, 132, 152, 153, 179, 287, 343, 344, 359, 432, 433.

Jones, Sir Wm., [1790], 166.

Joachim, father of Mary, 128, 129.

Jortin, Dr., [1750], 124, 295.

Joseph the father of Jesus, 9, 10, 13, 78, 129--131, 135, 137--139, 141--144, 148--150, 152--155, 157--162, 179, 180, 213, 214, 230, 234, 255, 271--273, 319--321, 323, 324.

Joseph, who found the Gospel of Matthew, 60.

Joseph of Arimathea, 182--184, 199, 206, 212, 214, 215, 263, 335, 353.

Josephus, [70], 15--19, 34, 35, 73, 118, 161, 288--291, 322, 323, 355, 356, 364, 370.

Jose, brother of Christ, 131, 149.

John, the Apostle, 8, 23, 32, 33, 75, 76, 87, 89, 233, 234, 236, 240, 269, 270, 276, 309, 327, 329, 354-356, 418, 424, 433; his writings, 33, 233, 234; the gospel attributed to him, see Gospel of John; 1st Epistle of John, 33; 2d and 3d Epistles of John, 33, 36, 228, 413; Apocalypse or Revelation of John, see Apocalypse.

John the Baptist, 15--19, 59, 60, 62, 130, 184, 340, 365.

John the Presbyter, [130], 34, 233, 236, 237, 354, 402, 403; notice of, 228; supposed to have written the Revelation, 34, 228; also believed to have been the author of the Epistles of John, especially the 2d and 3d, 228.

John of Parma, [13th cent.], 87.

Julian, Emperor, [361], 196.

Julius Africanus, [200], 294, 416.

Justification by Faith, 382.

Jupiter Pluvius, 123.

Julius Capitolinus, [3d cent.], 122.

Juno, immaculate conception by, 387.

Judas Iscariot, 29, 36, 59, 83, 149, 214, 235, 236, 371.

Judas Thaddæus, called also Lebbæus, 29, 36, 180, 347; whether he was Judas, the Lord's brother, uncertain, 36.

Judas, the Lord's brother, 131, 406.

Jude, the son of James, probably not the same as Judas Thaddæus, 347.

Jude, Epistle of 33, 36, 413, 433.

Judas, of Galilee, 355, 356.

Julius Cassianus, see Cassianus.

Justin Martyr, [150–160], 11, 13, 28, 66, 87, 89, 119, 132, 141, 151, 177–179, 199, 221, 229, 238, 267–279, 284, 294, 297, 342, 377–379, 404, 429, 432; references to, and quotations from his writings, 7, 8, 105, 116, 221, 223, 267–275, 319, 375, 377, 378, 381–385; did not mention the canonical gospels, 269; was acquainted with and used other gospels, 271–276.

Kennedy, Col. Vans, 175, 176.

Kitto, [1850], 305.

Lardner, Dr., [1727], 7, 16, 19, 26, 70, 84, 91, 105, 229, 231, 235, 239, 250, 281–283, 289–291, 322, 395, 397.

Lactantius, [310], 10, 116, 121, 229, 294, 433.

Landon's Manual of Councils, 22, 34.

Latin Versions, 304–307.

Lampridius, [310], 100.

Lucius Charinus, Lucianus, Lucanus, Leucius, Lucian, &c., see Seleucas.

Le Clerk, [1716], 179.

Legal Priesthood of Christ, 88.

Less, Dr., [1768], 52, 53, 226, 227, 233.

Lightfoot, Dr., [1875], 44, 47, 118.

Lipsius, 47.

Linus, Bishop of Rome, 423, 425, 427.

Literary Accretion, 186–198, 200, 202, 204, 255–266, 316–318.

Logos, 148, 169, 278, 279, 306, 378, 379, 386, 390, 417.

Lœffler, [1800], 253.

Lost Gospels, 1–14, 56–89, 163.

Loss or Destruction of Evidence, 401–410.

Lubke, 196.

Lucian, Author of the Dialogues, [165], 101, 114, 115, 281–283, 404.

Luna, wife of Simon Magus, 106, 107.

Luther, [1530], 35, 36.

Luke, 73, 309; see Gospel.

Matarea, Mathura, 148, 171.

Malcolm, [1839], 167.

Maurice, [1795–1800], 170–173, 389.

MSS. of the New Testament, 187, 188, 404.

Marcus, [170], sketch of, 392, 393; his writings have perished, 405.

Manichæus, or Manes, [3d cent.], 300.

Manichæans, 88, 298.

Marcia, [183], notice of, 398.

Matthias, 371.

Marcellinus, [300], 100.

Marcellina, [160], notice of, 283; her writings lost, 405.

Marcellians, 283.

Malalas, [600], 46.

Maimberg, 288.

Marcosians, 152, 392.

Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, [175,] 394.

Maximus, the Ægean, [1st. cent.], 91.

Maximus, Emp., [235–238], 196.

Marolles, [1650], 391.
Maximilla, a prophetess, [190], 414.
Marcion, [145], 3–5, 12, 88, 89, 231, 238, 239–268, 280, 307, 317, 382, 400, 403, 404, 412; New Testament of, see New Testament; Gospel of, see Gospel; his writings and doctrines, 240; did not corrupt the Gospel of Luke, 252, 253; knew nothing of it, 242, 266.
Mark, the Evangelist, 9, 72–75, 237, 238, 309, 402.
Matthew, the Apostle, 3, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 216, 237, 309, 356, 397, 402.
Mars, Conception of, 387.
Mahabad, same as Menu, or Buddha, 166.
MSS. of the Gospels, 308, 309.
Marcus Aurelius, see Aurelius.
Mary, the mother of Jesus, 9, 48, 78, 129–132, 134-144, 148, 149, 151–161, 180, 189, 213, 215, 216, 234, 255, 271, 272, 319–221, 323, 324; sometimes called the mother of James, 213.
Mary, the sister of Jesus, 131.
Mary, the mother of James and Joses, 211.
Mary Magdalene, 210, 211, 312, 335, 336, 353.
Mayerhoff, 47, 270.
Magi, 130, 139, 140, 143, 144, 148, 159, 160, 163, 165, 167–169, 173, 274, 321, 387.
Maffæus, [1588], 174.
Marsh, Bishop, [1802], 53, 66, 252, 308, 313, 314, 359, 367, 395.
Manuscripts in Luke, 338.
Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the High Priest, 17.
Mariamne, who was changed to a glass chest, 125.
Mc Clintock and Strong, 31, 187, 269, 305, 370.
Messiah, Doctrine of the, 146, 386.
Melito, Bishop of Sardis, [177], 395.
Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, [300], 196, 197.
Mercury, the Logos, 390.
Menander, [120], sketch of, 222, 223.
Menu, same as Buddha, 166.
Memoirs of the Apostles, alluded to by Justin Martyr, 89, 270, 278, 297.
Melitine Legion, 122, 123.
Meragenes, 92.
Miracles and Miracle-Workers, 28, 39, 90-127, 129, 130, 167, 219, 220, 388.
Miracles of Apollonius, [1st cent.], 94–98, 102, 103.
Miracles of Simon Magus, 107–113.
Miracles of the Fathers, 118–124.
Miracles in the Church, 118–125, 374.
Miracles of Paul, 27, 28.
Miracles of Peter, 31.
Miracles of the New Testament, 125–127.
Miracles of Christ, 13, 28, 40, 41, 55, 63, 69, 77, 78, 91, 126, 127, 151, 181, 182, 188–198, 212, 218, 220, 234, 243–265, 275, 276, 402, 433, 434; first reference to, according to Eusebius, 225; first reference to, extant, 227, 374; not probable that Christ claimed to perform miracles, 374.
Miracles of Jesus, in his Infancy and Boyhood, 80, 148–153, 161.
Miraculous Conception, 171.
Michaelis, [1777], 36, 65, 66, 187, 205, 234, 345, 350, 395.
Minucius Felix, [3d cent.], 121, 294.
Miltiades, [175], 394.
Miller, [1840], 223.
Mithras, a god of Persia, 388, 391.
Midwife of our Savior, Book of, 89.
Milman, [1850], 205.
Mill, Dr., [1707], 11, 13, 65, 77, 78, 83, 229, 370.
Middleton, [1752], 118, 119.
Minucius, Rescript to, 225.
Millenarianism, 235, 384.
Montanus, [170], 284, 405.
Montanists and Montanism, 284, 405, 420; Tertullian a Montanist, 420.
Mohammed, [620], 85.
Mosheim, [1726], 39, 104, 105, 234.
Moyle, [1720], 123, 282.

Modestas, [176], 395.
Mozly, 127.
Moses, [B. C. 1500], 396.
Musanus, [176], 395.
Muratorian Fragment, 31, 232, 412–414.
Muratori, [1672], 412, 413.

Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, [195], 123, 124, 414, 415.
Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, 214, 215.
Nathaniel, Apostle, 36.
Nazarenes, 7, 11, 13, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68.
Nathan's Embassy, 220.
Nero, Emp., [54-68], 94, 95, 111-113, 218.
Nerva, Emp., [96-98], 96, 99.
Neander, [1840], 34, 238, 267, 281, 375, 383, 423.
Newman, Dr., [1840], 123, 124.
New Testament, 34, 36, 53, 59, 72, 77, 91, 277, 298, 299, 300-302, 304, 307, 308, 310, 371, 381, 393-396, 408, 410, 412, 429; published by the Roman Catholic Church, 424, 430.
New Testament of Marcion, [145], 26, 424; the first ever published, 241, 403; what it contained, 241.
New Testament of Eusebius, 33.
Niceta, a brother of Clement of Rome, 40, 106, 110, 111.
Nicodemus, 106, 181–185, 199, 206.
Niemeyer, Dr., [1790], 65.
Nimrod, 390.
Nicephorus, the historian, [800], 81, 85, 196.
Norton, [1846], 11, 32, 36, 66, 76, 79, 81, 269.
Noetus, [200], notice of, 415.
Noetian Controversy, 416.

Œcumenius, [950], 10, 235, 236.
Olshausen, [1830], 341.
Old Testament, 42, 61, 72, 117, 134, 138, 240, 270, 276, 277, 298, 299, 357, 384, 404, 430.
Genesis, 108; Exodus, 108, Psalms, 26, 84, 357; Isai., 142, 143, 273; Jeremiah, 144, 145. 396; Micah, 143, 146, 161; Hosea, 160; Deuteronomy, 299; Zechariah, 341; Proverbs of Solomon, 407; Pentateuch, 412.
Omito, a Chinese God, 390.
Ophites, 79, 82, 392.
Original Sin, 381, 382, 390.
Ormuzd, a Persian God, 390.
Original Acts of Pilate, 220.
Orpheus, [B. C. 1200], 100, 396.
Ordination of Clement of Rome, 29, 39.
Origen, [230], 10, 13, 39, 46, 57, 58, 61, 66, 72, 77, 128, 131, 132, 229, 264, 376, 382, 383, 409, 412, 431; references to, and quotations from his writings, 9, 10, 54, 71, 83, 116, 121, 130, 152, 226, 229, 232, 273, 291, 292, 310, 343, 380, 386.
Oracles of Christ, by Matthew, 3, 12–14, 38, 67, 68, 76, 237, 238, 315, 350, 368, 429.
Osiris, of Egypt, [B. C. 2000], 388.
Oschedermah, and Oschederbami, 168.
Otho, Emp., [69], 95.
Otto, [1150], 267.

Paulus, and Papinian, [210], 90.
Palmas, [196], 415, 422.
Pamphilus, [300], 61.
Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, [150], 12, 13, 59, 66, 228, 309, 384, 402, 403, 429; sketch of, 235–238.
Passing (Translation), of St. Mary, 89, 124.
Pantænus, [180], 80, 81, 368, 397, 398, 405.
Page, [1650], 267.
Paschal Supper, 342.
Paschal Controversy, 396, 398.
Paschal Chronicle, [7th cent.], 397.
Paulina, sister of Hadrian, 74.
Paul of Thebais, an Egyptian, the first Christian monk, 75.
Paul, of Samosata, [200–260], 415.
Paul, the Apostle, 3–6, 12, 20–28, 30,

41, 53, 82, 85, 113, 230, 232, 240, 241, 252, 277–279, 315, 367, 371, 372, 384, 389, 398, 401, 408, 412, 417, 423–425, 427; Paul a spiritualist, 26, 27, 41, 124, 334–336, 375, 376, 381, 394; Epistles of Paul, 2, 25, 26, 28, 37, 53, 241, 253, 277, 278; 374, 376, 396, 403, 404, 412, 424, 429, 433.

Epistle to the Romans, 4, 25, 27, 232, 241, 375.

1st Corinthians, 4, 25, 41, 53, 61, 241, 399.

2d Corinthians, 25, 27, 28, 241, 376.

Galatians, 4, 21, 25, 241.

Ephesians, 26, 53, 241.

Philippians, 53, 241, 376.

1st Thessalonians, 241.

2d Thessalonians, 4, 241.

Colossians, 241, 384.

1st Timothy, 26, 423.

2d Timothy, 26, 423.

Titus, 26.

Philemon, 241.

Hebrews, 25, 26, 36, 412.

Laodiceans, 241, 412.

Preaching of Paul, 10, 229, 274.

Pauline Gospels, 79, 82, 83, 84.

Peregrinus, [150–169], sketch of, 281–283; his writings have perished, 404.

Perpetua, story of, 24, 124.

Pearson, Bishop, [1672], 131, 178.

Persian History of Christ, 89.

Peshito Version, 31, 33, 36, 304, 307, 308.

Pepuzians, a sect who permitted women to baptize, 284.

Persians, and Persian Religion and Mythology, 165–170, 174, 402.

Pehlvian and Parsian Books of the Persians, 168.

Peter, 7-9, 22, 24, 28–32, 40, 59, 62, 64, 105-113, 167, 210, 218, 229, 230, 237, 240, 243, 245, 257, 277, 311, 312, 335, 336, 350, 356, 357, 365–367, 371, 372, 394, 400, 401, 408, 417, 418, 422–427; the first Bishop of Rome, according to some Catholic authorities, 425, 426; but not according to Irenæus, 427; his discussion with Simon Magus, 107–110; dispute with Simon, before Nero, 111–113; did Peter go to Rome? 30, 31.

Epistles of Peter, 31, 433.

1st Epistle of Peter, 31.

2d do. do. 31, 33, 36.

Epistle of Peter to James, 229.

Peter, Book of the Preaching of, 10, 68, 228, 229, 238, 414; written by Mark, 75.

Peter, Book of the Doctrine of, 68, 228, 229.

Petrine Gospels, 75.

Philostratus, [210], 90–99, 282.

Philo Judæus, [1st cent.], 72-75, 278, 279, 378.

Philumene, [2d cent.], 280, 281.

Photius, [877], 88, 196, 399.

Phlegon, [150], 74, 291–293.

Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis, 15, 17.

Philip, a writer, [170], 283.

Philip, Apostle and Evangelist, 3, 81, 82, 125, 236, 315.

Pious Frauds, prevalent among the fathers, 432.

Pinytus, [175], 394, 395.

Pistis Sophiæ, [200], 416.

Pitrat, 388, 390.

Pius I, Bishop of Rome, 232, 413, 427.

Pius IX, Pope, [1846], 426.

Plato, [B. C. 375], 92, 301, 387, 390, 396.

Pliny the Elder, [75], 166.

Pliny the Younger, [105], 377.

Plutarch, [100], 166, 390.

Porphyry, [300], 294, 295, 431; wrote against the Christian religion, 294; his works destroyed by order of the Emperor Constantine, 294, 295.

Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, [196], 415, 422.

Potter's Antiquities, [1700], 391.

Popes, or Bishops of Rome, to A. D. 200, 425–427.

Polytheism, 108, 378.

Polycarp, [116], 50–55, 236, 329, 421.

Epistle to the Philippians, 46, 50–54, 381.
Pontius Pilate, 15, 19, 31, 177–182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 192, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 206, 207, 209–212, 218, 219, 268, 275, 276, 312, 330–332, 341; Letter of, 218; Newly Discovered Acts of, 220, 221.
Praxeas, [200], 416.
Prideaux, Dr., [1700], 166, 167.
Prometheus, 93, 388.
Priestly, Dr., [1793], 278, 284, 381.
Providence, Doctrine of, 383.
Predestination, Doctrine of, 381.
Procla, wife of Pilate, 219.
Prodicus, [120], 170, 225, 402.
Prodiceans, followers of Prodicus, 82; a Christian sect who had the secret books of Zoroaster, 170, 225.
Proverbs of Xystas, 228.
Protevangelion, or Book of James, 9, 10, 87, 88, 128–146, 154, 159, 161-164, 165–176, 188, 266, 319, 361, 368, 395, 402; Justin Martyr acquainted with it, 271–273; written before Luke and Matthew, 133–146, 296.
Pseudo Matthew, 215.
Ptolemæus, [190], 327; Letter of to Flora, 310, 411, 412.
Puranas, Sacred books of the Hindoos, 175, 176.
Punishment, nature and object of, 383.
Punishment, Endless, see Eternal.
Pythagoras, [B. C. 530], 92, 224, 387, 396.

Quadratus, [126], Apology of, 225, 226, 402; Epistle of Diognetus attributed to, 238.
Quexalcote, 387, 388, 390.

Rachel, mother of Simon Magus, 106, 109.
Report of Pilate, 177–179, 218.
Reville, Albert, 100, 103, 388.
Resurrection of Saviors, 388.
Resurrection of Christ, See Jesus Christ.
Revelations of Adam, 87.
Revelations of Anti-Christ, 229.
For other Revela'ns, see Apocalypse.
Regenerating Grace, 382.
Recognitions, 25, 39, 40, 105–111, 167, 238, 385, 386, 425; attributed to Bardesanes 397.
Rhodon, [195], 414.
Ritschl, [1850], 243.
Rosenmuller, [1800], 66.
Roman Catholic Hierarchy, 357, 365, 366, 371, 372, 400, 401, 417–419, 421–428, 430.
Routh, [1814], 393.
Rufinus, [410], 39, 425.

Saturninus, [125], 222, 223.
Sabbath, the, 384.
Sapphira, 28.
Sanday, Rev. Mr., [1876], 44, 49, 50, 52, 317, 346, 351.
Salome, 70, 71, 76, 78, 130, 411; a daughter of Joseph, 131.
Sabellius, [200–250], 415.
Sabellians and Sabellianism, 72, 77, 380.
Sayings of Christ, 49–52, 106, 224, 228, 271, 276, 277, 358, 396, 409, 434.
Scaliger, [1600], 123, 287, 288, 293.
Scripture, when the term applied to New Testament books, 429.
Schmidt, J. Alexander, 253.
Schleiermacher, [1820], 133–135, 137–141, 156, 164, 197, 253, 266, 314, 315, 317, 321, 322, 324, 337–339, 346-349, 362, 363.
Scholten, 45.
Sesostris, [B. C. 1400], 390.
Seleucas, otherwise Leucius, &c., [200], 215–217, 416.
Severus, Septimius, Emp., [193–211], 90, 420.
Severus, Alexander, Emp., [222–235], 100, 196.
Secrecy of the Christians, 385, 386.
Serarius, [1600], 75.
Secret Books of Zoroaster, 170, 225.

Serapis, 74, 121, 152.
Semler, [1783], 253, 305.
Semisch, 267.
Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, [190], suppressed the Gospel of Peter, 7, 409, 414, 428.
Shepherd of Hermas, see Hermas.
Shepherds, the, 155, 156, 162, 321.
Shedd, Dr., [1871], 380, 382.
Siva, third member of the Hindoo Trinity, 389.
Sidonius Apollinaris, [475], 101.
Sibylline Oracles, 229.
Simon, the Cyrenian, 224, 331.
Simon, the High Priest, 17.
Simon, Father, [1689], 65, 343.
Simon Zelotes, 29, 59.
Simon Peter, see Peter.
Simon Magus, 40, 104–113, 218, 222, 223, 374; discussion with Peter, 107-110; before Nero, 111--113; his death, 113.
Sike, [1700], 147.
Sixtus Senensis, [1560], 229.
Sixtus I, Bishop of Rome, 426, 427.
Simeon, 148, 156, 157, 183, 184.
Simeon, 2d Bishop of Jerusalem, 406, 408.
Simeon, brother of Jesus, 131, 139.
Soul, nature of the, views of Tertullian and Origen, 380.
Son of God, 387, 388.
Slaughter of the Children, 130, 144, 161, 163, 175, 180, 321.
Smith's Bible Dictionary, 322.
Socrates, historian, [440], 273.
Sozomen, historian, [439], 75, 153, 196, 273.
Sosciosh, a prophetic son of Zoroaster, 168.
Soter, Bishop of Rome, 283, 407, 427.
Soterichus Oasites, 100.
Spanheim, [1680], 75, 178.
Strauss, [1865], 80.
Sprinkling, 391.
Spiritualism, 41, 120, 334.
Stowe, Prof., [1867], 295, 343.
Stars, 49, 165–170, 387; the Jews believed them to be animated beings, 117; so also Origen, 121; the star in the east, 143, 144, 148, 160, 165.
Stroth, [1780], 66.
Stephanus, who assassinated Domitian, 98.
Statue of Christ, 195, 196.
Suetonius, [125], 111, 113.
Suidas, [10th cent.], 85, 99.
Sunderland, Rev. Dr., 30.
Sunderland, J. T. [1878], 25, 315, 316.
Supernatural Religion, 28, 44, 118, 243, 270, 394.
Symmachus, [200], 416.
Syriac Documents, 229, 395.
Syriac Version, 35, 36, 56, 395.
Syriac Epistles, see Ignatius.
Syriac New Testament in 1562, 33.

Tacitus, [Annals, 117], 330.
Taxing, under Cyrenius, 139, 154, 162, 291, 322, 323.
Targums, 117.
Tattam, Archdeacon, [1842], 43.
Tanaquil Faber, [1665], 289, 290.
Tayler, Rev. J. J., 413.
Taschter, 166.
Tamerlane, [1400], 387.
Tatian, [170], 7, 297; sketch of, 284–286; used the gospel of the Hebrews, 66, 67, 238, 284; his writings lost, 405; his Gospel or Harmony, see Gospel; did not believe in the immortality of the soul, 380.
Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome, 426.
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 229.
Tertullian, [200–210], and his writings, 12, 13, 23, 26, 31, 32, 120–123, 127, 130, 132, 178, 179, 199, 221, 239–242, 252, 253, 259, 280, 282, 284, 294, 305–307, 350, 380–385, 403, 417–420, 423, 424, 430.
Tertullian v. Marcion, 4, 5, 8, 9, 127, 240, 259, 264, 306, 307, 375, 376, 384.
Therapeutæ, 72–75, 77.
Theodoret, [430], 7, 11, 84, 105, 285,

286.
Theodotus, [192], 229, 415; used and cited the Preaching of Peter, and taught that Christ was a man only, 414.
Theophilus, of Antioch, [180], 121, 294, 345, 380, 397; the first writer who mentioned any of the four gospels, 302, 303, 354.
Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, [3d cent.], 422.
Theophylact, [1075], 10, 72, 77, 130, 131, 196.
Thilo, [1850], 242.
Thales, [B. C. 575], 396.
Thales Milesius, 93.
Theudas, 290, 291, 369.
Theodore, of Mopsuestia, [394-429], 30.
Theodosius the Great, [390], 185.
Thirlby, [1750], 295.
Themistius, [380], 123.
Thundering Legion, 122, 123.
Thecla, 23.
Thaddeus, the apostle, 59.
Theodorus Lector, [6th cent.], 85.
Theurgy, 103.
Thallus, [220], 293, 294, 416.
Thomas, Apostle and Evangelist, 173, 174.
Titus, Emp., [79–81], 96, 103, 220.
Tillemont, [1690], 100, 101, 103, 269, 420.
Tiberius Cæsar, Emp., [14–37], 15, 16, 19, 20, 40, 177, 178, 185, 219, 220, 243, 254, 275, 276, 291, 292, 330, 435.
Timotheus, 82, 88.
Tischendorff, [1850], 26, 38, 66, 85, 213, 234, 235, 238, 272, 274, 275, 278, 284.
Todd, Col., [1825], 170.
Toland, [1700], 26, 31, 66, 83, 85, 229, 234.
Total Depravity, 381.
Trinity, Doctrine of the, 72, 379, 380, 389, 390, 415.
Trail, Dr., 16.
Traditions of Matthias, 83, 223.
Tradition instead of Gospels, 237, 309, 310, 409, 412.
Tradition as evidence of the Gospels, 301, 302, 418.
Traditions concerning Christ, 228, 236, 237, 402, 403.
Trajan, Emp., [98–117], 45, 46, 327.
Treatise on Re-Baptism, 274.
Transubstantiation, 385.
Trench, Archbishop, [1863], 127.

Ulpian, [210], 90.
Unitarians and Unitarianism, 284.
Uranus, 388.

Vandale, [1700], 295.
Valentinus, [150], 392; sketch of, 234, 235; had a gospel; his gospels and writings lost, 403.
Valesius, [1660], 123, 288.
Various Readings of the N. T., 150, 000, 188.
Vallancey, [1800], 169.
Varro, [B. C. 50], 301.
Veronica, 182, 195–197, 219, 220.
Vespasian, Emp., [69–79], 95, 96, 118, 220.
Vero, [200], 415.
Versions of the Gospels, 304.
Virgil, [B. C. 25], 391.
Vitellius, Emp., [69], 95.
Victor, Bishop of Rome, 398, 414, 415, 418, 419, 422, 427.
Victor, of Capua, 285.
Vishnu, 170, 389.
Volney, [1791], 390.
Vossius, [1650], 43.
Vopiscus, [300-310], 74, 100.
Volkmar, 45, 46, 243–245, 248, 264.
Vulgate, 304, 306, 307.
Vulcan, conception of, 387.

Weiss, 25.
Westcott, [1870], 3, 8, 26, 31, 33, 44, 47, 54, 104, 222, 223, 226–228, 233–235, 238, 253, 269, 270, 273, 287, 296, 303, 345, 350, 357,

370, 393, 394.
Whiston, [1710], 11, 13, 72, 73, 229.
Wisdom of God, 340, 363.
Wiggers, 382.
Wilson, Prof. H. H., [1864], 175, 176.
Worsely's Voyage, [1794], 389.
Woman in the Trinity, 105.
Word, the, 62, 169, 390, see Logos.
Worman, Prof., 269.

Xaverius, L. Hieronymus, [1600], 89.
Xaca, a Chinese Savior, 387.

Yu or Ya, first Chinese Monarch, 387.

Zend-Avesta, 165–168, 390.
Zaccheus, 106, 107.
Zaccheus, the Schoolmaster, 151.
Zacharias, or Zechariah, son of Berechiah, or Jeberechiah, 142, 436.
Zacharias, or Zechariah, son of Jehoida, 340, 364, 436.
Zacharias, the High Priest, father of John the Baptist, 60, 129–132, 134, 136, 436.
Zacharias, son of Barouchos, slain between the temple and the altar, 340, 341, 363, 364, 436, Appendix II.
Zeraduscht, 165, 166, 167, 169, see Zoroaster.
Zeno, Emp., [474–491], 85.
Zoroaster, 49, 148, 160, 165–170, 173, 174, 387, 402.
Zoradascht, (the same), 148, 159, 160.
Zumpt, [1854], 322, 323.

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A COMPLETE HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

TO A. D. 200.

BY

CHARLES B. WAITE, A. M.,

This is one of the most important books of the present century. It is the result of years of laborious investigation, in a field which has heretofore been passed over very lightly.

All the writings of the first two centuries have been consulted, and those of the fathers of the church, in the languages in which they were written.—A flood of light has been thrown upon many questions hitherto involved in obscurity.

The time has been divided into periods, and events have been arranged in regular and consecutive order.

The author has written in the interest of no church, creed or dogma. He has aimed to produce a reliable history, and all of his statements are based upon historical records.

The work includes, the origin and history of

ALL THE GOSPELS,

Not only the four which became canonical, but those which have been called apocryphal. Accounts are given of *more than Forty Gospels.* The author has taken up the three most famous of the so called apocryphal gospels, which are still extant, and has instituted critical

COMPARISONS WITH THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

For the purpose of determining which were first written. It is believed that this is the first time that such comparisons have been made. The extracts are

given in parallel columns, and constitute an important feature of the work.

One chapter is devoted to

THE LOST GOSPELS OF THE FIRST CENTURY;

Another, to the famous

GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS;

In which is given every citation from it to be found in the works of the fathers, and every fragment of the gospel which has been preserved.

THE GOSPEL OF MARCION,

Compiled, A. D. 145, is reproduced, and is shown to have preceded the Gospel of Luke, and to have been the principal gospel then in circulation.

CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

Sketches are given, of nearly a hundred Christian writers of the first two centuries, with a notice of their works. Great pains have been taken to give a correct chronological position to each writer.

Of the earliest of these, the APOSTOLIC FATHERS, a full account is given, with extracts from their writings.

MIRACLES OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

A full history is given, of the miracles and miracle-workers of the first century, including Simon Magus, and Apollonius of Tyana, of each of whom an interesting biography is given.

JESUS CHRIST NOT A MIRACLE-WORKER.

The silence of Paul, concerning the miracles of Christ, together with the uncertainty as to when the four gospels were written, and the quite general agreement among scholars of all classes, at the present time, that they were not composed in the first century, induced a thorough examination of the subject of the miracles attributed to Jesus, with the result above indicated.

DOCTRINES.

A complete history is given of the origin and progress, to the year 200, of the principal Christian doctrines of that day.

RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

The author finds that the Christians of the first century held to the spiritual resurrection taught by Paul; but that the material resurrection of the crucified body of Jesus, is a doctrine which originated in the second century.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

A full and complete account is given, of the origin and establishment of the authority of the Church of Rome over the other churches, in the latter part of the second century. Extensive interpolations of the scriptures are found to have been made in the interest of that hierarchy.

AUTHORITIES.

Many references are made to authorities, ancient and modern. The object has been to make this not only a reliable history, but a work of reference for those who may wish to pursue the subject further.

The book consists of nearly 500 pages, octavo, handsomely printed on heavy paper, and contains, besides a general index, table of contents, &c., a complete list of all the writers and writings of the first two centuries, arranged in chronological order.

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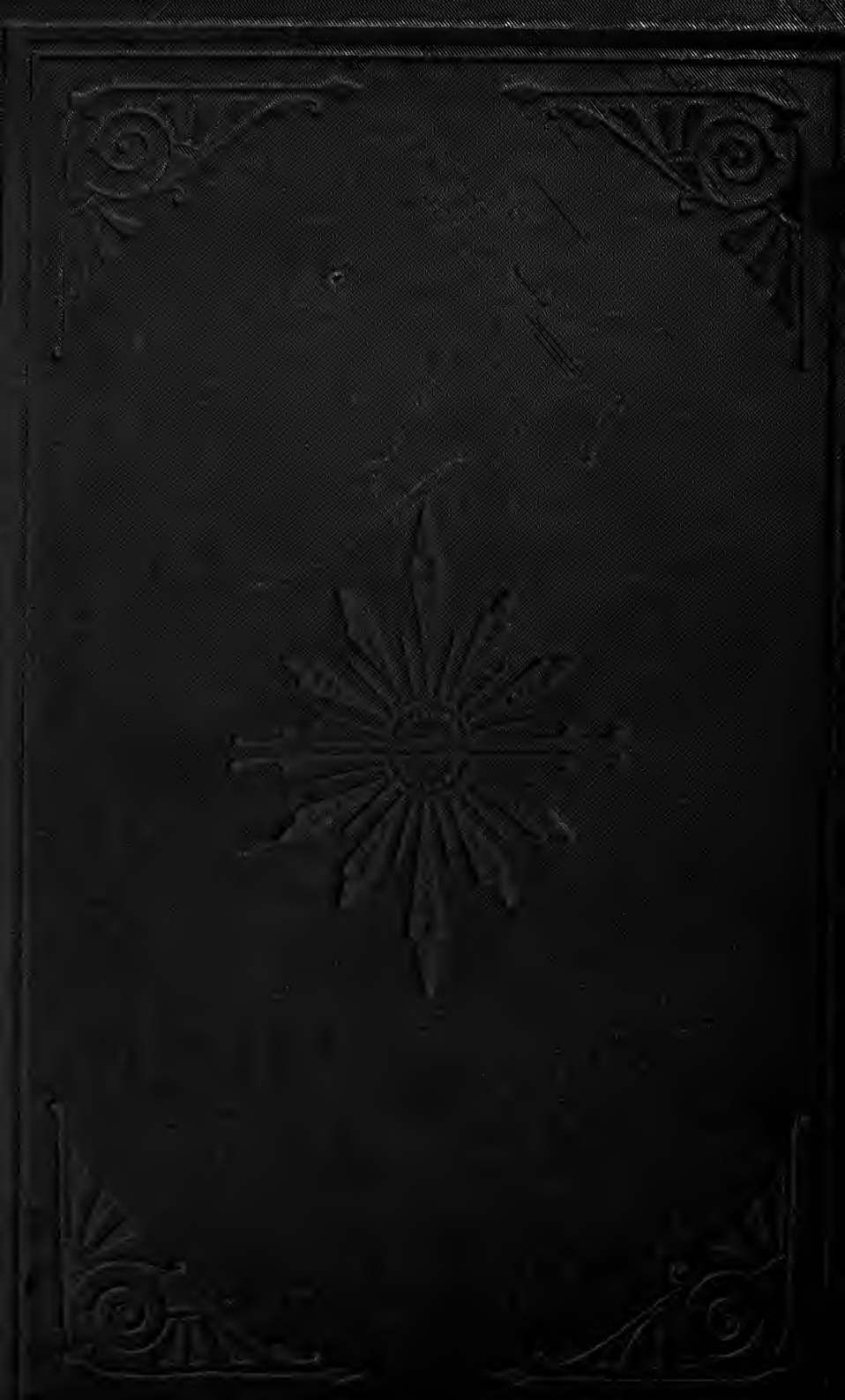

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CHAS. B. WAITE'S HISTORY.

A LAWYER'S EFFORT TO DISPROVE THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPELS.

His Argument as to the Authorship of the Evangelists' Narratives—Indications of Profuse but Uncritical Learning.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION TO THE YEAR TWO HUNDRED, by Chas. B. Waite, is the contribution of a Chicago lawyer and Judge to anti-Christian literature. Like most writers of his class, Mr. Waite has a hypothesis of his own by which to explain the origin of Christianity on natural grounds, or rather he has pieced up two or three old theories, of which only the garnishing is original. By repudiating or omitting to say a good deal that has been said before, he shows his dissatisfaction with former attempts, and it now remains to see whether his own plan will prove more effectual. He admits the historical existence of Christ and the genuineness of ten Pauline epistles, but denies that the four gospels came into existence before A.D.170–185, asserting that the miraculous birth of Christ, His miracles and material resurrection were not known in the first century. He contends that Marcion's garbled version of Luke was the primitive third gospel, cites every mention that the fathers have made of apocryphal writings, and endeavors to make it appear that the early church was overrun with documents of this kind before the present canonical gospels were known. While maintaining that belief in the supernatural characteristics of Christ was a late evolution, he inconsistently enough ascribes priority to the existing apocryphal gospels of the Protevangelion, the Infancy, and Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate, as the last named is often called. These, as is well known, swarm with absurd stories, while in other respects they harmonize with the general run of the narratives of the canonical gospels. Thus, in this instance, the evolution of myth has gone backward, and the later developments of alleged fables are the more free from extravagances. Furthermore, he contends that these apocryphal gospels were largely importations from India. The accounts of the star of Bethlehem are founded on an old prophecy of Zoroaster, while Krishna, as described in the Bhagavat Purana, was a prototype of the wonder working Christ. Mr. Waite professes great reverence for the "divine teachings of Christ," yet, singularly enough, endeavors to lower His character by repeating by way of comparison, the fables which Hierocles told respecting Apollonius of Tyana, a century and a quarter after the latter's death, taking advantage of a time when the Christians were suffering from persecution for the publication of his romance. Our author also finds a fit parallel for the suffering Redeemer in Alexander of Abonoteichus, the juggler exposed by Lucian.

Thus much for his scheme of denial. In reply we have to say that much of it is not new, and what is new is absurdly untenable. In the first place, no skeptic of honesty and ability pretends to ascribe so late a date as 170, even for the composition of the Gospel of John. Most unbelieving German scholars—if we are not mistaken, Mr. Waite is unacquainted with German—refer it to a period earlier than 130, while they unhesitatingly admit that the three synoptical gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, were productions of the first century, and some of them hold that they were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Dr. Ezra Abbot, in his External Evidences of the Apostolic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, has well nigh demonstrated its use by Justin Martyr as early as A. D. 145, and the remaining links of evidence connecting it with the close of the first century are equally strong. Even that obstinate leader of a forlorn hope, the author of Supernatural Religion, has been obliged to concede that Luke anticipated Marcion, not Marcion Luke, and in this has taken up the universal voice of antiquity and the well nigh universal declaration of modern criticism. Why he did so in his seventh edition, after affirming the contrary in the first six issues of his work, the reader will see by consulting the arguments of Dr. Sanday's masterly little volume, The Gospels in the Second Century, a work to be found in our Public Library.

Second, there is abundant evidence that the church and all the heretics, save one little sect whose name Mr. Waite misspells, accepted from the first certain facts as true regarding the origin of Christianity, and that these facts are precisely those recorded in our Gospels. As soon as sufficient time had elapsed from the apostolic period for the substitution of the citations of works for the record of well remembered events, our present Gospels were named with special and exclusive reverence. The quotations of their substance where the authors are not mentioned are no more merely substantial than those from the Old Testament in the New, or than many similar citations in modern authors. Mr. Waite obscures this by endeavoring to make it appear that the fathers treated the canonical Gospels (after he allows that they existed) and the ephemeral and heretical apocryphal utterances just alike. He is not always careful to confess that these quotations were most generally made in a different manner, just as a modern Methodist would differ in his citations from John Wesley, and one of Wesley's non-Methodist contemporaries. Any one who will consult Lardner's great work on the Credibility of the Gospel History, or even its meager synopsis in Paley's Evidences, will see the fallacy of Mr. Waite's claims for equal honors. He only repeats the fallacies which Toland broached nearly 200 years ago, and which were repeated in the Examen Critique des Apologistes de la Religion Chretienne, falsely attributed to the illustrious Freret.

The evidence for the genuineness of the canonical Gospels is far greater than that of any of the Greek or Roman classics. Many more manuscripts are in existence, and the slight discrepancies in style affect no important doctrine. According to the estimate of Norton, very high authority, the Christians of the latter part of the second century must

have had as many as 60,000 copies. They existed in all parts of the then known world, and their material falsification of any one copy would be impossible, since both the orthodox and heretics appealed to them. It was not an uncritical age for the Christian who wrote the story of Paul and Thecla, as a pious fraud was disciplined for his misconduct. No one could now alter the text of a book, copies of which existed in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and San Francisco, without a discovery of the fraud, and such an act would have been equally difficult in regard to manuscripts deemed sacred, but on certain statements of which religious differences held to be important were based. The Muratorian Fragment, a document dating back to about 170, declares that the canonical books differed from the apocryphal forgeries as honey from gall, and it would have been at no time possible for any schemers to supersede the genuine books by others; still more if the latter contained statements not in accordance with prevailing tradition. We find, as we might expect, that the apocryphal books enjoyed only a limited and qualified respect in the early Church, and as their real character became established they were repudiated and forgotten. But even without the Gospels we have information in the New Testament books, conceded to be genuine by Mr. Waite, which shows that early Christianity was what the four Gospels affirm it to be.

Any careful student of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, etc., will find the resurrection, heavenly origin, and divine power of Christ emphatically asserted. These letters are addressed to believers, supposed to be already convinced of the facts of the gospel histories; hence it is not to be expected that these last would be repeated in detail, as if heathens were being argued into conviction of their truth. The greater includes the less, and so declarations of the voluntary humiliation of One, who came from heaven, who rose from the dead, and who justified all believers through His blood, virtually include the working of miracles. At all events, there is no evidence that any of the early Christians thought differently, and the heathen Pliny, A. D. 110, represents the believers of his day as singing hymns to Christ as God, while Celsus, A. D. 178, repeats about everything in the Gospels, ascribing, however, Christ's miracles to magic. He was critical enough in various particulars to show that he was no blind conceder of his opponent's claims, and has furnished even the unbelievers of our own day with many of their stock arguments. Yet he never pretended to deny the statements of the Gospels. He only tried to explain them away. It will never do, as long as Pliny and Celsus continue to speak, or the Pauline epistles to be read, to affirm that there was no belief in the supernatural points repudiated by Mr. Waite. Furthermore, it is nonsense to say that the resurrection, to which minute testimony is borne in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, on the evidence of apostles, and of 500 brethren, many of whom were then alive—leaving out Paul's own experience near Damascus—was not a material one, but a mere subjective phenomenon. Such refinements may be labor saving inventions, but Mr. Waite would have been more candid to admit with Baur the inexplicability of the resurrection history.

Finally, in ascribing priority or authority to the three surviving apocryphal gospels, Mr. Waite is not only in conflict with all Christian critics, orthodox and heterodox, but flies directly in the face of both Strauss and Renan, each of whom regards them as late, and mentions them with contempt. The Oriental origin which he has devised for [illegible] is equally ridiculous. The Zoroastrian prophecy of the star can not be shown to be pre-Christian, for it does not occur in the Zend Avesta and even the Zend Avesta, as we have it, is a compilation of the third Christian century. Abulfaragius, who tells the story, was an Armenian Bishop of the thirteenth century. The Bhagavat Purana, which attributes to Krishna exploits very much like those of the apocryphal gospels, and also parallels a few of the miracles of the canonical gospels, is not as old as the days of Mohammed, being perhaps three or four centuries later. This is no assertion of ours, but the carefully formed opinion of German and English scholars entirely free from theological bias.

Such are the main points of a pretentious book issued with a great flourish of trumpets as a work which Christians would not be allowed to dismiss with a sneer. We think we have said enough about it, though we might add that we have noticed some needless blunders which show that the author is not as well versed in dealing with patristic literature as with legal questions. For example, he mentions in text and index Victor Capuanus Catena as a church writer. There was a Victor Capuanus, or Victor of Capua, but Catena is the name of a classified collection of extracts, and not of a man, as he seems to believe. He has no doubt been industrious, but he quotes a strange medley of authorities, many of them obsolete, and so largely on one side as to show that his opinion was made up before he began his work. Indeed, the book is obviously that of a special pleader. The production of a mere advocate, it never rises to the dignity of candid argument. It aims, as we have seen, to diminish the reputation of Christ, by comparing Him with unsavory personages; it browbeats Irenæus and Eusebius because they are important witnesses on the other side. It permits its own witnesses to tell only so much as is good for the cause, and to crown all, were its hypothesis admitted to be the true one, Christianity would exist as a causeless and inexplicable effect. Mr. Waite has not broken the array of Christian evidences, and he has made no addition to the really sharp assaults which have been directed against them. 8vo. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

TO THE

YEAR TWO HUNDRED.

By CHARLES B. WAITE, A. M.

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PREFACE.

This volume is the result of an investigation. extending through several years, and instituted for the satisfaction of the author.

Two years of the time were spent in the Library of Congress, which is peculiarly rich in the department of Biblical Literature. It contains the writings of all the earlier fathers, in the original, and an immense collection of the works of later writers.

The intent to publish was formed upon ascertaining facts and arriving at conclusions, which appeared of great importance, and which had never before been fully made known.

To the accomplished librarian, who furnished the author with every facility for the prosecution of his work, and gave him much valuable information, he returns his sincere thanks. Also to the assistant librarians, for the promptness with which the treasures of the library were from time to time placed at his disposal.

It is believed that this will be found to be the most complete record of the events connected with the

Christian religion during the first two centuries, which has ever been presented to the public.

The time has been divided into six periods, and the different writers and events are carefully arranged in regular chronological order. In fixing the dates of the various writers, it was found that the subject was involved in much confusion.

In each case, the different dates were carefully examined, and the one selected which appeared the most consistent, and supported by the best authority.

A comprehensive view is given of the gospels of the first two centuries, with a brief sketch of those of a later date. The comparisons which have been instituted between the canonical and certain apocryphal gospels, is a peculiar feature of this work, and one which is believed to be of great importance, in arriving at correct conclusions.

The Gospel of Marcion has been reproduced from the writings of the fathers, principally from the Greek of Epiphanius. This is something which, so far as the author is aware, has never before been attempted in this country.

The references to authorities will be found useful to those who may desire to pursue further the investigation of the questions discussed.

The reader will find considerable repetition in the following pages. The importance of the subject, and the necessity of examining many of the questions from different points of view, would seem to jus-

tify, if not absolutely to demand, a re-statement from time to time, of the same facts and propositions in different chapters.

In the preparation and publication of this work, the author has proceeded upon the assumption that the ascertainment of the truth is all important, and that its promulgation cannot fail to result in the permanent benefit of the human race.

The author is under special obligations to the Hon. William Birney, of Washington, formerly Professor in the University of France, who took a deep interest in the prosecution of the work, and devoted many hours to its examination and criticism.

The final result of the undertaking is submitted to the public, in the hope that it may add something to the pages of reliable history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

First Period.—Apostolic Age. A. D. 30 to A. D. 80.

CHAPTER I.
The Lost Gospels of the First Century.

CHAPTER II.
John the Baptist—Jesus Christ—Paul—Peter and the other Apostles—The Epistles of the New Testament.

Second Period.—Apostolic Fathers. A. D. 80 to 120.

CHAPTER III.
Clement of Rome—Ignatius—Polycarp.

CHAPTER IV.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Gospel of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER V.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Continued. Gospel of the Egyptians.

CHAPTER VI.
Lost Gospels of the Second Century.—Concluded.

CHAPTER VII.
The Age of Miracles.—Apollonius of Tyana.

CHAPTER VIII.
Age of Miracles.—Continued. Simon Magus.

CHAPTER IX.

Other Miracles and Miracle-Workers—Jewish Superstitions—Miracles of the Fathers—Miracles of the New Testament.

Third Period.

The Three Apocryphal Gospels.—A. D. 120 to 130.

CHAPTER X.

EXTANT APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

The Protevangelion, or Book of James.

CHAPTER XI.

The Protevangelion and the First Two Chapters of Luke and Matthew compared.

CHAPTER XII.

Gospel of the Infancy.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Gospel of the Infancy compared with the First Two Chapters of Luke and Matthew.

CHAPTER XIV.

Origin and History of the Gospels of the Infancy.

CHAPTER XV.

Acts of Pilate; or The Gospel of Nicodemus.

CHAPTER XVI.

Acts of Pilate and the Canonical Gospels compared.

CHAPTER XVII.

Other Extant Apocryphal Gospels.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Writers of the Third Period—Menander—Saturninus—Basilides—Barnabas, and others.

Fourth Period.—Forty Years Of Christian Writers.—A. D. 130 to 170.

CHAPTER XIX.

Writers from A. D. 130 to A. D. 150.—Carpocrates—Hermas—Cerinthus—Valentinus—Papias, and others.

CHAPTER XX.

MARCION.—A. D. 145.

CHAPTER XXI.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—A. D. 150 to 160.

CHAPTER XXII.

WRITERS FROM A. D. 150 TO 170. CONTINUED.—APELLES—PEREGRINUS—MARCELLINA—MONTANUS—TATIAN, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY OF EUSEBIUS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIEW OF THIRD AND FOURTH PERIODS.—A. D. 120 to 170.

FIFTH PERIOD.—THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.
A. D. 170 to A. D. 185.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FOUR GOSPELS AS A GROUP.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF JESUS AS GIVEN IN THE GOSPELS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES.—THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—MIRACLES OF CHRIST—HIS MATERIAL RESURRECTION—HIS DIVINITY—THE TRINITY—ATONEMENT—ORIGINAL SIN, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WRITERS OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.—ATHENAGORAS—THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH—PANTÆNUS—HEGESIPPUS, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REVIEW OF FIFTH PERIOD.—DESTRUCTION OF THE LITERATURE OF THE GOSPELS—LIST OF GOSPEL WRITINGS OF THAT AGE LOST OR DESTROYED.

SIXTH PERIOD.—CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.
A. D. 185 to A. D. 200.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WRITERS OF THE SIXTH PERIOD.—HERACLEON—SERAPION—PTOLEMÆUS, AND OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

IRENÆUS—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND TERTULLIAN.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FORMATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REVIEW OF SIXTH PERIOD—TESTIMONY OF HEATHEN WRITERS—GENERAL REVIEW—CONCLUSION.

LIST OF CHRISTIAN WRITERS

AND WRITINGS, OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

Chronologically Arranged.

	A. D.
Oracles of Christ, by Matthew,	50
Gospel of Paul,	do.
Gospel or Recollections of Peter,	"
Paul's Epistles. (See Note.)	
1. 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians,	52
2. 1st do. " "	53
3. 1st " " Corinthians,	57
4. 2d " " "	"
5. Epistle to the Galatians,	58
6. " " Romans,	"
7. " to Philemon,	62
8. " to the Colossians,	"
9. " " Philippians,	63
10. " " Ephesians,	"
The General Epistle of Peter, (1st Peter),	80
" James,	"
" Jude,	"
First Epistle of Clement of Rome, to the Corinthians,	97
Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans,	115
" " " Ephesians,	"
" " to Polycarp,	"
Gospel according to the Egyptians,	"
Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians,	116
Proverbs of Xystas,	119
Menander, Prodicus,	120

	A. D.
Preaching of Peter, Doctrine of Peter,	125
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,	"
Sibylline Oracles, later form, Preaching of Paul,	"
Some Syriac Documents,	"
Gospel according to the Hebrews,	"
Gospel of Perfection, Gospel of Philip,	"
Gospel of Matthaias, Gospel of Judas Iscariot,	"
Gospel or Harmony of Basilides, Book of the Helkesaites,	"
Midwife of our Savior, Gospel of Thaddæus,	"
And many other gospels now lost, written about this time.	
Acts of Peter, Acts of Paul,	"
Acts of Peter and Andrew, Acts of John, Acts of St. Mary,	"
And more than 30 other books of Acts, some of which are extant.	
Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalpse of Paul, of Bartholomew,	"
And many other books of Revelation, written about the same time.	
Saturninus, Basilides,	"
The Protevangelion, or Book of James,	"
Aristides, Quadratus,	126
Gospel of the Infancy, attributed to Thomas,	130
Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus,	"
Epistle of Barnabas, Epistle to Titus, attributed to Paul,	"
First and Second Epistles to Timothy, attributed to Paul,	"
General Epistle of John, (1st John),	"
Second and Third Epistles of John,	"
Agrippa Castor, Aristion, John the Presbyter,	"
Revelation or Apocalypse of John,	"
Carpocrates,	135
Epistles to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans and Philadelphians, attributed to Ignatius,	140
Epiphanes, Cerdon, Epistle to Diognetus,	"
Epistle to the Laodiceans, attributed to Paul,	"
Hermas, Author of The Shepherd,	145
Cerinthus and his Gospel,	"
Marcion and his New Testament,	"
Isadorus, Valentinus, and The Gospel of Truth,	150
Justin Martyr, Papias, The Clementines,	"

Apelles and his Gospel, Peregrinus, Marcellina, 160
Epistle to the Hebrews, attributed to Paul, "
Soter, 164
Tatian and his Harmony or Gospel, 170
Philip, Montanus, Second Epistle of Peter, "
Gospel according to Luke, "
Aristo of Pella, Dionysius of Corinth, Miltiades, 175
Maximus, Pinytus, Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, "
Gospel according to Mark, "
Modestas, Musanus, 176
Florinus, Blastus, Epistle of Churches of Vienne and Lyons, 177
Melito of Sardis, Athenagoras, Claudius Apollinaris, "
Gospel according to John, 178
Theophilus of Antioch, Bardesanes, Hermogenes, 180
Bacchylus of Corinth, Pantænus, "
Gospel according to Matthew, "
Acts of the Apostles, "
Marcia, 183
Hegesippus, 185
Asterius Urbanus, 188
Irenæus, Cassianus, Ptolomæus, Heracleon, Victor, 190
Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, Maximilla, Muratorian Fragment, "
Theododotus, of Byzantium, 192
Rhodon, Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, 195
Palmas, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, 196
Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Noetus, Hermas, 3d, 200
Praxeas, Symmachus, Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, "
Seleucas, Artemon, Pistis Sophiæ, "
Julius Africanus, 2d Epistle of Clement of Rome. "

[Note. THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.—We have taken as genuine, the ten epistles which constituted the Apostolicon of Marcion. The same course has been adopted by Dr. Davidson, except that he rejects, upon what appears insufficient grounds, the Epistle to the Ephesians.]

FIRST PERIOD. A. D. 30 to A. D. 80.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

CHAPTER I.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

THE GOSPEL OF PAUL—GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER—REFERENCES AND CITATIONS BY THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH—VIEWS OF MODERN WRITERS—ORACLES OR SAYINGS OF CHRIST, ATTRIBUTED TO MATTHEW—THESE THE GERMS OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, LUKE, MARK AND MATTHEW.

This is an attempt to write a history of the Christian religion during the first two centuries. Not a history of Christianity, which would require us to follow the principles of that religion, in their dissemination through various countries, and in their influence upon other institutions. Nor yet a history of the church; which would make it necessary to examine questions of ecclesiastical polity, to trace the rise and progress of different forms of church government, and to notice the manners and customs of the early Christians, and their treatment by the civil magistrates.

These are touched upon only in their bearing upon the main object of the inquiry; which is, an examina-

tion into the principal doctrines distinctive of the Christian religion, so far as they were known and taught in the first two centuries; also the principal books through which those doctrines were disseminated.

The difficulty of the undertaking is great. The gospels of the first century are unfortunately lost. There are left, of that century, only the epistles of Paul, the one epistle of Clement of Rome, some slight notices by Jewish and heathen writers, and the few legends and traditions preserved in the writings of the fathers, and in the extant second century gospels. And when we enter upon the next century, though there is more remaining than of the first, still, the great body of the Christian literature of that age also, has been lost or destroyed.

Availing ourselves of what remains, we shall, though conscious of the magnitude of the task, enter upon it, at least with fidelity to truth, and in the hope that something may be contributed to the pages of reliable history.

The time will be divided into six periods; to be designated as follows:

First Period,	Apostolic Age.	A.D. 30 to A. D. 80.
Second Period,	Apostolic Fathers.	.. 80 to .. 120.
Third Period,	The three Apocryphal Gospels.	.. 120 to .. 130.
Fourth Period,	Forty Years of Christian Writers.	.. 130 to .. 170.
Fifth Period,	The four Canonical Gospels.	.. 170 to .. 185.
Sixth Period,	Close of the Second Century.	.. 185 to .. 200.

FIRST PERIOD.

Lost Gospels of the First Century.

When Christianity had become partially established by the teaching of Christ and the preaching of his apostles and disciples, there arose among the Christians of the various churches a necessity, and hence a demand, for some written testimonies or records of the life and doctrines of their great master. But this need was not so apparent, or pressing in the first century, and especially during the life-time of those who had been with Jesus, and had been his followers and companions.

Of the numerous gospels which were in circulation in the second century, not more than three can, with any certainty, or with any high degree of probability, be traced back to the times of the apostles. These are the Gospel of Paul, the Gospel or Recollections of Peter, and the Oracles or Sayings of Christ, attributed to Matthew.

THE GOSPEL OF PAUL.

Ewald, one of the best of the German critics, concludes that there was a Gospel of Paul; thinks it was in the Greek language, and that it may have been written by the evangelist Philip.[1]

It may be inferred that it afterward became incorporated into the Gospel of Marcion, [A. D. 145], since Marcion was a follower of Paul, and for his own gospel claimed the sanction of that apostle.[2]

Marcion was a native of Sinope, a town of Asia Minor, on the south shore of the Black Sea. It is sup-

(1.) Yahrbucher, 1848, 1849.

(2.) See Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus, Hamb. 1703, vol. 1 p. 372. Also History of the Canon, by Westcott, 3d Ed. Lond. 1870, p. 282.

posed that the church at Sinope was furnished by Paul, at the time of its formation, with a collection such as he supplied to the other Asiatic Churches; containing records of the life and teachings of Christ.

It was the opinion of Jerome, and of several other writers, that when Paul spoke of his gospel, [Rom. 2. 16; 16. 25; 2d Thess. 2. 14]; he referred to a written gospel then in circulation.

Paul may have had such a gospel in mind; but his language is not sufficiently explicit to justify us in concluding with any certainty, that he meant any thing more than that gospel of good tidings, of which he was the great expounder.

There is, however, a more distinct trace of the Gospel of Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. 11, v. 23 to 25. By comparing this passage with Luke 22. 19, 20, it will be seen that the language is almost identical; while the parallel passages, Matt. 26. 26 to 28, and Mark 14. 22 to 24, have no such complete similarity, though the idea is the same. The Gospel of Luke, whether directly, or through Marcion's, was founded partly upon the Gospel of Paul. That Paul had something to do with a written gospel, which now appears, in whole or in part, in the compilation of Luke, is generally acknowledged; and this passage in First Corinthians, taken in connection with the corresponding passage in Luke, is strong evidence, that in Corinthians, Paul refers to a written gospel, which he had "delivered" to the Church at Corinth, and a portion of which written gospel appears in Luke 22. 19, 20. Paul may have referred, also, to the same gospel, in Galatians 2. 2.

This supposition receives countenance from a passage in Tertullian. In his work against Marcion, [A. D. 207 –210], after saying that Marcion did not ascribe his gospel to any author, and arguing thence that it was

not authentic, he proceeds as follows:

"Had Marcion even published his gospel in the name of Paul himself, the single authority of the document, destitute of all support from preceding authorities, would not be a sufficient basis for our faith. There would still be wanting that gospel which Paul found in existence, to which he yielded his belief, and with which he so earnestly wished his own to agree, that he actually on that account went up to Jerusalem, to know and consult the apostles, 'lest he should run or had been running in vain;' in other words, that the faith which he had learned, and the gospel which he was preaching, might be in accordance with theirs. Then, at last, having conferred with the authors, and having agreed with them touching the rule of faith, they joined their hands in fellowship, and divided their labors thenceforth in the office of preaching the gospel, so that they were to go to the Jews, and Paul to the Jews and Gentiles. Inasmuch, therefore, as the enlightener of Luke himself, desired the authority of his predecessors, for both his own faith and preaching, how much more may I not require from Luke's Gospel, that which was necessary for the gospel of his master."—*Tertullian adv. Marcion*, *bk.* 4, *ch.* 2, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, *vol.* 7, *p.* 180.

From this passage of Tertullian, it is manifest, first, that there was a Gospel of Paul, and the inference is very strong, that it was in writing; since Paul is represented as going to Jerusalem to compare his gospel with another, and while there, conferring with the "authors" of the other gospel; secondly, that it was necessary, for the purpose of verification, that these two gospels should be compared; and thirdly, that all this was anterior to the Gospel according to Luke. It might be inferred, from the closing portion of the paragraph, that Tertullian thought the Gospel of Luke itself stood in need of some verification.

It does not follow, however, that the gospel with which Paul was so anxious to compare his own, was written before his. The word "primitive" inserted by the Ante-Nicene translator, in brackets, before the word "authors," we have therefore discarded, as unnecessary to the sense, and unauthorized.

The language of Tertullian is, "Denique, ut cum auctoribus contulit, et convenit de regula fidei, dexteras miscuere," &c. *Tertull. Op.*, *tom.* 1, *p.* 251.

The opinion of Ewald is, that the Greek Gospel of Paul was the first ever written. There was probably no great length of time intervening, between the origin of that and of the other two gospels of the first century.

The testimony of Irenæus, [A. D. 190], concerning this gospel, is, that it was written by Luke.

"Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book, the Gospel preached by him."[1]

Notwithstanding the positive language here used, the statement is to be taken with some allowance. Irenæus was fully committed to the four gospels, and was engaged in endeavoring to give them authority. He may be said, in fact, to have introduced them to the notice of the literary world; since he is the first author who mentions more than one of them. He speaks frequently of these gospels, and argues that they should be four in number, neither more nor less, because there are four universal winds, and four quarters of the world.

Davidson calls him "credulous and blundering."[2]

Those who are so quick to receive the statement of Irenæus, that the Gospel of Paul was written by Luke, a statement manifestly made to give apostolic sanction to the Gospel of Luke, are not prepared to accept so readily his assertion, that the ministry of Jesus lasted twenty years, and that he was fifty years old at his crucifixion.[3]

THE GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER.

This was a book more generally known than the Gospel of Paul, and of the existence of which there can be no doubt. In the year 190, a large number of

(1.) Irenæus v. Hær. bk. 3, ch. 1, Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 259.
(2.) Canon, p. 121.
(3.) Iren. v. Hær. 2. 22, Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 196.

the Gospels of Peter were found in use by the Church of Rhossus, in Cilicia; and so much were the Christians of that church attached to them, that it became necessary for Serapion, one of the bishops, to suppress them, and to substitute the canonical gospels in their stead.[1]

Another case of the suppression of older gospels, in use in the churches, to make way for those which had been selected, will be noticed hereafter. [See Tatian.]

Eusebius, [A. D. 325,] speaking of the Gospel according to Peter, with other books, says:

"Neither among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our day, has there been one that has appealed to the testimony taken from them." Again in book 3, chapter 25, he speaks of the Gospel of Peter as among those that were "adduced by the heretics, under the name of the apostles," and "of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession, has condescended to make any mention in his works;" and says, "they are to be ranked not only among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious."—*Eccles. Hist. bk.* 3, *ch.* 3.

Eusebius had a peculiar faculty for diverging from the truth. Let us see how far from it he has gone in these assertions:

1. Justin Martyr, in the Dialogue, written about A. D. 160, says:

"The mention of the fact, that Christ changed the name of Peter, one of the apostles, and that the event has been recorded in his (Peter's) Memoirs, together with his having changed the name of two other brethren, who were sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, tended to signify that he was the same through whom the surname Israel was given to Jacob, and Joshua to Hosea."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 106.

The translation, as given in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol.* 2, *p.* 233, is as follows:

"And when it is said that he changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter, and when it is written in the memoirs of Him that this so happened, as well as that he changed the names of other two brothers," &c.

(1.) Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 636; Theodoret, Fab. Hær. 2. 2; Euseb. Ecc. Hist. 6. 12; Lost and Hostile Gospels by S. Baring-Gould, p. 245.

Theodoret there says, the Nazarenes held that Christ was a just man, and they used the Gospel of Peter. He speaks as of his own day; A. D. 430.

The word "Him," commencing with a capital letter, of course refers to Christ; thus making it read, the memoirs of Christ; and ignoring Peter as the author. The Greek is,

Καὶ το εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα των Αποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτου, &c.

Such a construction, beside referring the pronoun *αὐτου*, [of him], at the close of the sentence, to the more distant antecedent, contrary to the rule in such cases, attributes to Justin language which he is not in the habit of using. Elsewhere, when speaking of the gospels which he cites so frequently, he calls them, not Memoirs of Christ, but "Memoirs of the Apostles." He has ten times "Memoirs of the Apostles," and five times "Memoirs;" not once "Memoirs of Christ."

For the rendering we have adopted, we have the authority of Dr. Westcott,[1] and other eminent scholars. Moreover, it is powerfully supported by the fact, that the only one of the canonical gospels which has this account of the change of the name of James and John to Boanerges, is Mark, which has such an intimate connection with the Gospel of Peter. [See Mark 3. 17.]

We conclude, therefore, that Justin Martyr here refers to the Memoirs or Recollections of Peter; which can be nothing else than the Gospel of Peter. It was probably a consideration of this passage, which induced Credner to say that Justin made use of this gospel.[2]

2. The next writer who refers to the Gospel of Peter, is Tertullian; [A. D. 207–210.] He was one of the three fathers who were engaged in establishing the canonical gospels. And as Irenæus had undertaken to confound

(1.) Hist. of the Canon, p. 103.
(2.) Geschict. N. T. Kan. p. 22.

OF CALIFORNIA

the Gospel of Paul with the Gospel of Luke, so Tertullian endeavors to identify the Gospel of Peter with the Gospel of Mark. He says:

"The Gospel which Mark published, is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."[1]

Jones, who is unwilling to recognize the Gospel of Peter as authoritative, attempts to break the force of this testimony by interpolating, in the translation, the words "by some;" thus: "is affirmed by some to be Peter's." But this is entirely unauthorized.

The original is, "Evangelium quod edidit Marcus, Petri affirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus;" translated in the Ante-Nicene collection, "That [gospel] which Mark published, may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."

Tertullian manifestly intended to assert, that in his day, the Gospel of Mark was understood to be Peter's; or to have the Gospel of Peter for its original.

3. The third father who referred to this Gospel, was Origen; A. D. 230.

"There are some," says he, "who say the brethren of Christ [here mentioned] were the children of Joseph, by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by some passages in that which is entitled The Gospel of Peter, or The Book of James."—*Com. on Matt.* 13. 55.

It must not be inferred that Origen here speaks of the books as the same; but that the opinion was held, in accordance with passages in the one book or the other. In the Protevangelion, or Book of James, as it was called, it is related, that when the high priest told Joseph that he was the person selected to take the virgin, he demurred, saying, "I am an old man and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel."

(1.) Tert. ad. Marcion, 4. 5.

Though Origen was not fully prepared to accept this statement, not seeing it in the canonical gospels, which had then, to use his own language, been "chosen,"[1] and were thenceforth to be authoritative, yet the fact had become so well understood, from the previous use of the other gospels, that it was, by most of the fathers, implicitly received as true, for a long time afterward. Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophilact, Œcumenius, and all the Latin Fathers till Ambrose, and the Greek Fathers afterward, held to the opinion that Joseph was a widower, and had children by a former wife; showing that the Gospel of Peter and the Protevangelion were regarded as authority.

Thus we find the Gospel of Peter expressly referred to by three of the fathers before Eusebius, though that historian asserts that no one of them had condescended to make any mention of it.

Eusebius exhibited a still more reckless disregard for the truth, in regard to the Preaching of Peter. He made a similar sweeping assertion respecting that; while the fact was, it had been mentioned by Heraclion and Lactantius, and six times by Clement of Alexandria, and every time with indications of approval. It may be well to mention an error of some writers, in supposing the Preaching of Peter and the Preaching of Paul to be one book, or parts of the same book, merely from their being mentioned in the same connection by Lactantius. Such an inference is not authorized.

(1.) "And that not four gospels but very many were written, *out of which those we have were chosen, and delivered to the churches*, we may perceive," &c.—*Origen, in Præm. Lucæ, Hom.* 1 *T.* 2, *p.* 210.

Again: "Four gospels only have been approved, out of which the doctrines of our Lord and Saviour are to be learned."

These gospels were selected, or "separated" from others.—Westcott, p.317.

Other writers have mentioned this gospel. Theodoret, [A. D. 430,] says, "The Nazarenes are Jews who venerate Christ as a just man merely, and it is said they use the Gospel according to Peter."[1]

Credner thinks the gospel was one of the oldest writings of the church, and the source from which Justin drew many of his quotations; also that it was essentially identical with the Harmony of Tatian, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.[2]

Dr. Mill[3] says it was publicly read by the Christians; and Mr. Whiston[4] asserts that it was, probably, in some sense, a sacred book.

Jones, who wishes to discredit it, says that it was interdicted by the decree of Pope Gelasius, [A. D. 494,] according to some copies; though he does not explain how the interdict crept into those copies, nor why it is not in the decree, as generally published, and as it appears in his own work, vol. 1 p. 154.

The Gospel of Peter favored the opinions of the Docetæ, who held that Christ and Jesus were different; that Jesus really suffered, but Christ, only in appearance.

Norton,[5] whose opinion is entitled to great weight, thinks this gospel was not a history of Christ's ministry.

Rev. S. Baring-Gould asks the question, "Was this gospel a corrupted edition of St. Mark?" and answers it thus: "Probably not. We have not much ground on which to base an opinion, but there is just sufficient to make it likely that such was not the case."[6]

(1.) Haer. Fab. 2. 2.

(2.) Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon, p. 22.

(3.) Prolegom. in Nov. Test. sec. 336.

(4.) Essay on the Constitutions of the Apostles, p. 24.

(5.) Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, by Andrews Norton, Boston, 1837, vol. 1 p. 234. Notes.

(6.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 221.

He considers the statement concerning the brothers and sisters of Christ, as most valuable, as the gospel is "wholly unprejudiced, and of great antiquity."[1]

The Oracles or Sayings of Christ.

Our information concerning this collection, is exceedingly meager; being based entirely upon a passage in Eusebius, in which Papias is represented as saying, "Matthew set forth the Oracles in the Hebrew dialect, which every one interpreted as he was able."[2]

Eusebius says further, that Papias wrote five books of "Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord." These are a part of the multitude of lost writings of those times.

Baring-Gould thinks the Oracles consisted of five parts, ending at the following passages:

First, at Matthew ch. 7, v. 28; second, at Matt. 11. 1; third, at Matt. 13. 53; fourth, at Matt. 19. 1, and fifth, at Matt. 26. 1. Upon this theory, the Oracles were a compilation of different manuscripts. It is the generally received opinion, that a number of older manuscripts have entered into the construction of the Gospel according to Matthew, and that this gospel was to some extent, based upon the Oracles.

RECAPITULATION.

The Gospel of Paul, though it does not stand out so clearly and indisputably as the Gospel of Peter, has yet sufficient evidence of having been one of the gospels of the first century. It is testified to by Marcion, and is apparently alluded to by Irenæus and Tertullian, and by Paul himself. It was in the Greek language.

(1.) p. 222.
(2.) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. bk. 3, ch. 39.

THE GOSPEL OR RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER, was a book well known, and of high authority among the ancient Christians. Even after the introduction of the four gospels afterward made canonical, the Gospel of Peter maintained so firm a footing, that it became necessary to suppress it in some of the churches. It was retained and used by the Nazarenes, long afterward.

It is cited by Justin Martyr, and referred to by Tertullian and Origen. The statement of Eusebius, that no one of the ecclesiastical writers had appealed to testimony taken from it, and that no one of them had condescended to make any mention of it, is untrue. The passage in Justin Martyr mistranslated in the Ante-Nicene collection, and the passage in Tertullian mistranslated by Jones.

The statement contained in this gospel, that Joseph had children by a former wife, was generally received by the fathers, for several centuries. The Gospel of Peter highly spoken of by Dr. Mill, Mr. Whiston, and other eminent modern writers. Credner, a German writer of high authority, thinks it was used by Justin Martyr; A. D. 150–160.

THE ORACLES, OR SAYINGS OF CHRIST, in the Aramaic language, we know but little about. It has been generally conceded, on the authority of Eusebius, that Papias [A. D. 150,] had such a book, and that he wrote commentaries upon it.

DOCTRINES.—There is no evidence that either of these gospels taught the immaculate conception, or the material resurrection of Christ, or contained any account of his miracles, or any reference to any book containing either of those doctrines.

It will be seen, as we proceed, that the three gospels which have been considered, were the germs of the three synoptic gospels, respectively. That is, the Gos-

pel of Paul was the germ of the Gospel according to Luke; the Gospel of Peter, of the Gospel according to Mark; and the Oracles, of the Gospel according to Matthew.

They cannot, however, in any sense, be considered the same. The synoptic gospels were undoubtedly written long afterward, and contained, in many respects, very different material. Moreover, the Gospel of Paul appears to have passed through the Gospel of Marcion, before reaching the author of Luke, and the Oracles through the Gospel of the Hebrews, before reaching the author of Matthew.

CHAPTER II.

APOSTOLIC AGE.—A. D. 30 TO A. D. 80.

JOHN THE BAPTIST—JESUS CHRIST—PAUL—PETER—JOHN—THE JAMESES—THE JUDASES—THE OTHER APOSTLES—EPISTLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—THE APOCALYPSE.

The first character in Christian history is John the Baptist.

What was his connection with Jesus, and what were his relations to the origin of the Christian religion?

Josephus, while he gives an account of John, and of his baptizing and making converts, says nothing of his announcing the approach of a coming Messiah.[1]

The author of Luke commences his account of John the Baptist, by saying that he appeared in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate, being governor of Judæa, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, his brother Philip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis, Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests. —[Luke 3. 1, 2.]

In the 23d verse of the same chapter, after relating the baptism of Jesus, he states that he began to be about thirty years of age.

If by this language the author of Luke meant to say, that Jesus was not then past thirty, did he not make a

(1.) Antiquities, bk. 18, ch. 5, 2.

mistake of at least three years? Tiberius commenced reigning A. D. 14, and the fifteenth year of his reign would be A. D. 29, or when Jesus was thirty-three years of age, as he was four years old, at the commencement of the Christian era.

We do not, however, look upon this as a very serious discrepancy, and think Dr. Lardner over-estimated the question, when he spoke of it as one of "very great difficulty." The word "ὡσεὶ," "about," used by the gospel historian, relieves him from any very exact criticism.

So of another objection; the statement that Annas and Caiaphas were high priests; it being notorious that the Jews never had but one high priest at a time. This has been partially explained by showing that Josephus, in one place, spoke of one as a high priest, who had held, but did not at the time referred to, hold that office. The language here is somewhat more definite, and appears more plainly to intimate that two did actually hold the position the same year.

This would indicate that this portion of the book was written long afterward, by one not acquainted with Jewish customs. Dr. Lardner says, "It would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. Luke so great a mistake as the supposing there were properly two high priests among the Jews at the same time." The most effectual way to relieve him from the imputation is, not to charge upon him the authorship of a work which bears so many marks of having been written long after his day.

If the passage in Josephus concerning Christ were genuine, then the failure to connect him with John the Baptist, would be utterly incomprehensible. But since it is the general verdict of scholars, that the paragraph in the 3d chapter of the 18th book of the Antiquities,

wherein it is stated that Jesus was the Christ, &c., is an interpolated forgery, the matter appears very differently. It is easy to see that Josephus, retaining all his Jewish prejudices and antipathies, might have intentionally passed over the proclamation of the coming Messiah.

Pursuing the biography of John, as given in the gospel history, the next incident presents a difficulty of a more serious character.

It is stated that Herod the Tetrarch shut up John in prison, being reproved by him for Herodias, his brother Philip's wife.—[Luke, 3. 19, 20; Mark, 6. 17–20; Matthew, 14. 3–5.] This Philip could be no other than Philip the Tetrarch of Trachonitis, mentioned in Luke 3. 1. He was the brother, or rather half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, and Herod had no other brother Philip. They were both sons of Herod the Great.

But according to Josephus, Philip could not have been the former husband of Herodias. It was another Herod, half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, having the same father, but not the same mother. The father of this Herod was Herod the Great, while his mother was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest.[1]

Josephus could not well be mistaken in this matter, being himself a Jew, and all the parties occupying a high position among his people. Not only were all these sons of Herod the Great, but Herodias was sister of Agrippa the Great. The attention of the historian was particularly called to the transaction, and he relates in full the visit of Herod the Tetrarch to Herod, his half-brother, his falling in love with Herodias, his brother's wife, and their subsequent arrangement to be married. Also the difference that arose on this very

(1.) Antiq. bk. 18, ch. 5, sec. 1, and same, sec. 4.

account, between Herod the Tetrarch, and Aretas, King of Petræa, father of the wife whom Herod put aside, in favor of Herodias; a difficulty which resulted in a war.

The gospel account of the death of John, is also very different from that of the historian. It does not appear in Luke, but in Mark and Matthew it is related that the daughter of Herodias danced before Herod, at a supper given by him on his birthday; [Mark, 6. 21, 22;] that Herod was pleased, and promised to give her whatever she should ask; and she, being instructed by her mother, asked the head of John the Baptist; that the king ordered it to be given her, and it was brought in a charger.—[Mark, 6. 21–29; Matt. 14. 6–11.]

The account by Josephus, is, in substance:

That John was a good man; that he commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, and exhorted them to come to his baptism;—that crowds came about him, much pleased at his discourses; that Herod feared that his great influence over the people, might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion; the people being ready to do any thing he should advise; that to prevent any mischief he might do, and to put it out of his power to raise a rebellion, Herod had him thrown into prison at Macherus, and there put to death.

Though it might be possible, by the exercise of skill and ingenuity, to show that the accounts of John the Baptist, as given by Josephus on the one hand and the gospel historians on the other, are not absolutely contradictory, except as to the former husband of Herodias; yet the general tenor of the two biographies is so different, and the narratives so divergent, as to render it problematical, whether John sustained any such relation to Jesus as is commonly supposed.

The Gospel of Marcion, [A. D. 145], which, in other respects, was very similar to Luke, contained no such history of John. Marcion's Gospel was probably first written. The first two chapters of Luke were not in Marcion. In place of the 3d and 4th chapters, there was the first chapter in Marcion's Gospel, which commenced as follows:

"Now in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate ruling in Judæa, Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and straightway on the sabbath days, going into the synagogue, he taught.

"2. And they were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power."

There was no statement in Marcion, as to the age of Christ, nor concerning the two high priests, nor were there any contradictions of Josephus.

Before leaving the history of John the Baptist, we cannot refrain from referring to the grotesque incident, of the daughter of Herodias dancing at a supper given by Herod, to his lords, high captains and chief estates. This portion of the narrative caused a sore trial to the faith of the great Dr. Lardner.

"It may perhaps be expected," he says, "I should here produce an instance, about that time, of some lady of like station with Herodias' daughter, who danced at a public entertainment. But I must own, I am not furnished with any instance exactly parallel."

Although the Doctor did not hesitate to believe in miracles, yet, when any thing purported to be inside the bounds of nature, he desired to see it within the range of probability.

Jesus Christ.—The next character is Christ himself. He is said to have been begotten of a virgin, by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost.

This event does not appear to have been mentioned in heathen, Jewish or Christian history, until more than a hundred years after it is said to have taken place. The doctrine of the immaculate conception,

when it was promulgated to the Christians of the second century, was found to be so congenial to the prevailing disposition to deify Christ, that it was at once taken up by the bishops, and incorporated among the foundations of the grand religious structure then being erected.

Paul, who had already laid the foundations of the structure, seems to have known nothing of the doctrine.

It was somewhat incongruous to deify a person born in the ordinary course of generation. The immaculate conception was needed, to give form and consistency to the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus.

Many attempts have been made to write the life of Christ. But it is difficult to see where, outside the gospels, the material for such a work is to come from; while, if the gospels are to be taken as a basis, it is equally difficult to understand, what is to be gained by rewriting what is contained in them. Any such attempt only brings out, in a plainer light, the discrepancies in those accounts, and finally results in a mere display of ingenuity on the part of the biographer, in his efforts to reconcile them; or, as in the case of some writers, in a sublime unconsciousness of any discrepancies whatever.

We know of Christ historically, that he was a great moral and religious teacher; that he had the most devoted followers and disciples; that he was put to death in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar;[1] and that upon his doctrines and precepts, and upon a belief in his spiritual resurrection, Paul, the chief of his disciples, founded a new religion.

Paul.—That Paul was the one who did the work, is manifest, from recorded tradition, and from those

(1.) See Appendix.

wonderful epistles, written in the first century, which are still extant, and the most of which are considered by scholars to be genuine.

Volumes have been written concerning Paul; works abounding mostly in unmixed eulogy. It is the duty of the impartial historian, while appreciating and admiring those grand qualities, which mark him as one of the greatest men of any age—while conceding his intellectual and moral grandeur, his thorough conviction of the truth of the doctrines he was teaching, and the zeal and devotion which he manifested in their propagation, to point out, at the same time, some of the defects in his character.

The chief of these, which was the result of his excessive zeal, was an impatience, and even a vindictiveness, toward those who differed with him in opinion.

By an occasional outburst of that spirit of persecution, under the influence of which he had so unrelentingly pursued the Christians, he demonstrates, that however thorough was his religious conversion, it had not eradicated or essentially changed those traits of character, and peculiarities of disposition, which distinguished him from other men. Commentators would have us believe, that when, in his Epistle to the Galatians, he said, "I would they were even cut off, who trouble you," he meant nothing more, than that they should be cut off from the church. But this he had power to have done; and did direct it, in addressing other churches. An examination of the context, and of the whole epistle, in the commencement of which he had anathematized any one who should preach any other doctrine, ("let him be accursed,") together with the application of a careful and thorough philological analysis of the words used by the apostle, all combine to give to his language a deeper meaning;

showing that in a moment of exasperation, he gave utterance to a sentiment, which, taken in connection with the teaching and practice of Peter, and the construction which was put upon some of the sayings of Christ, resulted in the most fearful and wide spread persecutions, through subsequent ages.

It is not strange that the apostle should have such feelings toward those whom he saw endeavoring to remove some of the beautiful pillars from the splendid edifice he was constructing; but it is to be regretted that he did not foresee the use which could be made of his language in after times.

Again: notwithstanding the spirit of kindness, of brotherly love, and even of tenderness, pervading the letters of the apostle, there may be discovered occasionally, beneath it all, glimpses of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition. This is particularly noticeable in his injunctions to the female Christians, and in his determination to discountenance any ambition on their part to take an equal place with their brothers, in the management of church affairs.

They were permitted to hold the position of deaconess, an office the functions of which consisted principally in ministering to the necessities of the saints. An office of labor and subserviency, they could fill, but not one of honor; "I suffer not a woman to teach;" said Paul; thus disclosing his domineering spirit, and his inability to rise above the prejudices of the age.

This prohibition of the apostle was scrupulously carried out; and in the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 365, the 11th Canon forbade the ordination of women for the ministry, while the 44th Canon prohibited them from entering into the altar.[1]

(1.) Landon's Manual of Councils, pp. 284 to 287.

But the point upon which the fathers were most sensitive, in reference to the position of women in the church, related to administering the rite of baptism. One of the earliest Christian writings, was the Acts of Paul and Thecla. It was a sort of romance. Thecla, who was engaged to be married, had heard, from an upper window, Paul, preaching. She had fallen in love with him; had deserted her lover and relatives, and had followed Paul; had become a devoted Christian; had baptized; first baptizing herself. Then she worked miracles, became a saint, and finally a martyr. She was held in the highest veneration by the fathers. But the book gave implied sanction to the right of women to baptize. On that account it was declared heretical, and search was made for the author; an unusual proceeding in those days. It was traced to a presbyter of one of the eastern churches, who acknowledged he had written it "for the honor of Paul." He was tried for the offense, and being convicted, was deposed from the ministry.[1]

The women claimed the right to baptize their own sex. But the bishops and presbyters did not care to be relieved from the pleasant duty of baptizing the female converts.[2]

Of the life of Paul, we know but little. The accounts in the Acts of the Apostles, cannot, for reasons which will hereafter be given, be considered historical.

In the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, it is stated that Paul was seven times imprisoned. Dr. Dollinger

(1.) Tertullian, de Baptismo, ch. 17; Jerome, de Vir. 1. 7. Jerome states, erroneously, that Tertullian had said he was convicted before John.

(2.) See Bunsen's Christianity and Mankind, vol. 7, pp. 386 to 393, published in the 3d volume of the Analecta. The converts were first exorcised of the evil spirits that were supposed to inhabit them; then, after undressing, and being baptized, they were anointed with oil. The custom may not have prevailed in the colder climates.

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says Paul was seven times imprisoned.[1]

WAS PAUL MARRIED?—Eusebius said,

"Paul does not demur, in a certain epistle, to mention his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, in order to expedite his ministry the better."

In saying this, Eusebius was quoting from the Stromata, of Clement of Alexandria. [A. D. 200.]

The full passage in Clement is as follows:

"Paul does not, indeed, in a certain epistle, fear to speak of his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, because it was not necessary for him, in the great work of the ministry. Therefore he says in a certain epistle, 'Have we not power to take about a sister wife, as also the other apostles?, For they, as was proper, while engaged in the ministry, because they could not keep them apart, were accustomed, doubtless as a matter of commendation, to take about with them female attendants, not as wives, but as sisters, who, together with the female servants, might be among the women who had charge of the house, by whom without any reprehension or suspicion of evil, the doctrine of the Lord might be carried even to the secret apartments of the women." —*Strom. bk.* 3, *ch.* 6, *Latin Translation in Ante-Nicene Collection, vol.* 12, *p.* 109.

Paul, according to the fathers, was martyred at Rome, A. D. 67 or 68.

An interesting story is preserved, of Paul and Perpetua. It is related that Perpetua, seeing Paul dragged along the streets of Rome, in irons, had compassion upon him, and wept bitterly. She had but one eye. Paul asked her for her handkerchief. She gave it. It was tied around Paul's head, and afterward returned to her bloody. When she received it back, her other eye was restored. Perpetua was afterward thrown into prison, and tortured, and at last, with a great stone tied to her neck, was thrown over a precipice.

There was, between Paul and his followers, on one side, and Peter and his followers on the other, a strong antagonism, not generally understood in our day, and

(1.) First Age of the Church, p. 87.

which, if properly taken into account, will explain several knotty points of scripture, and throw light upon many controverted questions in the early history of the church. Paul was rejected by large bodies of Jewish Christians; and in the entire volume of the Recognitions, a Petrine work of the early ages, abounding in scripture quotations, there is not a single citation from Paul's epistles.

The controversy related, principally, in the first instance, to the observance, by the Christians, of Jewish rites and ceremonies; but afterward it became hereditary and traditional.

The Ebionites claimed that Paul was an impostor; that he only became a convert for the purpose of obtaining a Jewish lady with whom he had fallen in love, and when he failed, he turned against the Jews, and opposed their observancies and customs.

His Epistles.—Ten of the Epistles of Paul are probably genuine; though some of the German critics hold that we cannot be certain of more than four; Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, and Galatians.[1] The 15th and 16th Chapters of Romans, also, are disputed, or at least not considered part of the Epistle to the Romans; not only by German critics, but by many others. Davidson and some others confine the objections to the 16th chapter.[2]

Though all the fourteen epistles ascribed to Paul, have maintained a place in the canon, many, even among evangelical writers, look with distrust upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, as having been admitted into the canon upon insufficient evidence.

(1.) See an interesting and well written work, entitled 'What is the Bible?' by J. T. Sunderland, Chicago, 1878; where authorities are referred to.

(2.) Davidson, Int. to N. T. 1. p. 137. Weiss, das Marc. 1872, p. 495.

Westcott states that at the close of the second century, it had not yet become established as authoritative in the churches.[1] It was not in the Latin version made by Tertullian, A. D. 210; Jerome speaks of it dubiously, and Toland says it was doubted by "the soundest part" of the ancients.[2] Dr. Dollinger says Paul did not write it.[3]

The New Testament as compiled by Marcion, [A. D. 145], contained ten epistles of Paul. He knew of no epistles to Timothy, to Titus or to the Hebrews; or he did not consider them genuine. Probably they were later productions.

The style of the Apostle Paul, though strong and concise, is sometimes elliptical and ambiguous. He indulges in mystical and allegorical expressions, and his applications are at times far-fetched and fanciful. "He often" says Dollinger, "gets more out of a passage, than the words or historical sense convey." This author shows, that in one place he applies to his argument, a meaning precisely opposite to that of the passage quoted. The passage is Psalms 68. 18; where, instead of "Thou receivedst gifts among men," or, "Thou hast received gifts for men," Paul reads, "He gave gifts unto men."—[Ephes. 4. 8.]

Doctrines.—The epistles of Paul being the oldest Christian writings extant,[4] their importance in the history of the Christian Religion, cannot be overestimated.

Paul believed in the resurrection of Christ, with a spiritual body. His idea of the resurrection, like that

(1.) History of the Canon, p. 306.

(2.) Amyntor, p. 56.

(3.) First Age of the Church, p. 83.

(4.) Origin of the Four Gospels, by Tischendorff, 1867, p. 24; Credibility of the Gospel History, by Dr. Lardner, vol. 3, p. 148.

of Clement of Rome, was, that the spiritual body arose from the decay of the natural body, as a plant from the decay of the seed sown to produce it. It is manifest that when Paul saw Jesus, he saw what appeared to be a spirit; since it was after the time when, as is alleged, Christ had ascended in the body. There is no evidence that Paul knew any thing of the canonical gospels; nor is there any reason to believe he had ever seen a gospel in which Jesus denied being a spirit, after the resurrection. With Paul, the resurrection and ascension were one and the same thing; and obviously meant, a manifestation from the spiritual world.

Paul believed that Christ, after his resurrection, or ascension, communicated to the disciples, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, through intercession with the Father, supernatural gifts; 'charismata;' and that these gifts were imparted by the laying on of hands. The precise nature of these 'charismata,' has been the subject of much discussion. There is no doubt that in the view of Paul, they not only included some miraculous powers, but extended as well, to the natural operations and processes of the mind; those involved in preaching and exhorting, as well as in interpreting, prophecying, &c. The assistance of this extraordinary gift extended to all the qualities necessary for the guidance, as well as the edification of the church.

Notwithstanding this advantage however, the churches which he addressed, and especially that at Corinth, which appears to have possessed an extra share of these gifts, could not have been, as Paul himself shows, much superior to the communities by which they were surrounded.

Whether Paul claimed to have himself performed miracles, is also a mooted question. He apparently makes such a claim, in Rom. 15. 18, 19, and in 2d Co-

rinthians, 12. 12; but it has been contended that the original does not necessarily require that construction.[1]

Whatever Paul may claim for himself and his fellow disciples, by virtue of the descent of the Holy Ghost, there is no reference in his epistles, to any miracles performed by Jesus, during his earthly ministry, nor any evidence that Paul believed in any such miracles, or had ever heard of them.

It has often been asked, why did not any heathen or Jewish writer of the first century, speak of the miracles of Christ? But a question arises which is equally suggestive, why does neither Paul nor Clement of Rome, the only Christian writers of the first century, make the slightest allusion to them?

The same is true of the immaculate conception. Justin Martyr is constantly referring to Christ as "born of a virgin." So with other writers of the second century. But in the epistles of Paul and Clement, though they abound continually in references to Christ, we look for that phrase in vain.

Peter.—If the fanatics of subsequent times could point to the sayings of Paul, as apparent authority for their excesses, they could, with still more confidence, turn to the teaching and example of Peter.

"When," says Dr. Dollinger, "Ananias and Sapphira, through their hypocrisy and avaricious attempt at deception, had made the first assault on the authority of the apostles and the Holy Ghost ruling in the Church, *St. Peter inflicted a terrible punishment upon them.*"[2]

When we meet with such language in a Christian writer of the nineteenth century, what might not be

(1.) Supernatural Religion, vol. 3, pt. 2, ch. 2.

(2.) First Age of the Chnrch, by John Ignatius Dollinger, D. D., 2d London Edition, 1867, p. 44.

expected of the priests of the middle ages?

In the Epistle of Clement to James, published in the Ante-Nicene coll'n, Clement describes his ordination.

He says, when Peter was about to die, the brethren being assembled, (at Rome), he laid his hands on Clement as the bishop, and communicated to him the power of binding and loosing, &c.; and as to him who should grieve the president of the truth, after declaring that such a one sins against Christ, and offends the Father of all, Peter proceeded as follows:

"Wherefore, *he shall not live;* and therefore it becomes him who presides, to hold the place of a physician; and not to cherish the rage of an irrational beast."—*Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol.* 17, *p.* 7.

It does not require a forced construction, to enable one to find the inquisition in this sentence. The genuineness of the epistle is not generally admitted by Protestants; but it appears among the ancient writings of the church. If its authenticity cannot be proven, the same may be said of other writings which are implicitly received as genuine.

But little is known of the personal history of Peter. His name was Simon, but there has not been the same difficulty in distinguishing him from the Apostle Simon Zelotes, as in the case of the two apostles James, and the two apostles Judas. There results, however, considerable confusion, when an attempt is made to identify Peter with the Cephas so often alluded to by Paul, and we are tempted to seek refuge from the dilemma, by supposing, with Eusebius, that Paul alludes to a person, supposed to be one of the seventy; not to Peter the Apostle.[1]

It is also remarkable, that in all the places in the gospels but one, (and the total number is nearly a

(1.) Eccl. Hist. 1. 12, citing Clement of Alexandria.

hundred), where Peter is mentioned, the Greek name 'Petros' is given, which is supposed to be used by Jews as well as others. This would indicate that all the canonical gospels, Matthew included, are original Greek productions.

So little is there authentic in the history of Peter, that to this day, the learned cannot agree, whether he ever went to Rome. Protestants generally, do not admit that such a journey was made.[1]

Theodore of Mopsuestua, about A. D. 394, says, Peter went to Rome, the others elsewhere. But he probably took it from Eusebius. That writer does not hesitate to make the statement explicitly, and to give the most circumstantial evidence. But in this instance, as in so many others, his testimony is at second hand, from lost writings. He quotes from Caius, a writer whose works, if they ever existed, are now lost or destroyed, what he said, disputing with Proclus, and Caius quotes from another writer whose works are lost, Dionysius of Corinth.[2]

Going back 135 years, we find the same thing in Irenæus. He says:

"Matthew wrote his gospel for the Jews, and in the language of the Jews, at the same time when Peter and Paul founded the church at Rome."—*Iren. adv. Hær.* 3. 1.

This complicates the question somewhat. Perhaps the easiest way to dispose of this testimony, would be to adopt the construction of Dupin, who, maintaining that Matthew wrote his gospel earlier, says the words of Irenæus are not to be understood in the literal sense.[3]

(1.) Rev. Dr. Sunderland, late Chaplain of the United States Senate, is said to have thanked the Lord, in a prayer, at a public meeting, that Paul had visited Rome, though Peter had not.

(2.) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. 2. 25.

(3.) Du Pin, Ecc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 46.

The journey of Peter to Rome, and his residence there, cannot be denied by Protestant writers, without rejecting the testimony of witnesses who, in other matters, are, by the same writers, relied upon with implicit confidence.

The received accounts of the miracles of Peter, are sufficient to excite our astonishment; but the most wonderful of all his miracles, is related in the Acts of Peter and Andrew, where he is represented as making a camel go through the eye of a needle.

"After the needle had been brought, and all the multitude of the city were standing by to see, Peter looked up and saw a camel coming. And he ordered her to be brought. Then he fixed the needle in the ground, and cried out with a loud voice, saying: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, I order thee, O camel, to go through the eye of the needle.' Then the eye of the needle was opened like a gate, and the camel went through it, and all the multitude saw it."—*Ante-Nicene, vol.* 16, *p.* 371.

The miracle was repeated. Onisephorus, who would not believe, sent for another needle and another camel, with a woman sitting on the camel. "And they went through twice."

His Epistles.—The First Epistle of Peter is not free from doubt, and the Second has long been a subject of controversy.

It was omitted in the Latin Version of Tertullian, of Africa, [A. D. 210],[1] in the Muratorian Fragment,[2] in the Peshito Version, used in the east in ancient times;[3] and as Mr. Toland says, was doubted by the soundest part of the ancient writers.

Westcott says, there was no trace of it before A. D. 170,[4] and that it was not authoritative at the close of the second century.[5] Davidson says, it was the last of

(1.) Westcott, Hist. of Canon, p. 234.
(2.) McClintock and Strong.
(3.) Westcott, p. 221. (4.) p. 234. (5.) p. 306.

the New Testament documents,[1] and Norton declares that there is no historical evidence to justify us in believing it to be the work of the Apostle Peter.[2]

Doctrines.—There is too little extant, which can be relied upon as the genuine writing of Peter, to throw much light upon the history of Christian doctrine. The two epistles ascribed to him are as silent as those of Paul, concerning the miracles of Christ, or the material resurrection, or the immaculate conception.

If we could rely upon the Clementine writings as authority for the views of Peter, we might infer that he did not look upon Jesus as equal to the Father.

"Our Lord," he is represented as saying, "neither asserted that there were gods, except the Creator of all, nor did he proclaim himself to be God, but he pronounced him blessed, who called him the Son of that God who ordered the universe."—*Clementine Homilies*, 16. 15.

John.—John is the only one of the twelve apostles, whose life appears to extend into the region of authentic history. And of him, this can only be said of the latter portion of his life. He is supposed to have been driven to Patmos, by some persecution, but the learned cannot agree what emperor it was under; the range being from Claudius to Domitian. In the persecution under Domitian he was taken to Rome. There, it is said, the boiling oil, into which he was thrown, had no power to hurt him.[3]

The account of his living to an old age, at Ephesus, has been universally received, and may be considered historic. Irenæus says that at Ephesus, John leaped out of a public bath, with horror, when he saw Cerinthus, the heretic, entering it. Cerinthus flourished about the middle of the second century. Some eccle-

(1.) Canon, p. 85.
(2.) Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. 2, p. 162.
(3.) Tertullian, de Præs. c. 36.

siastical historians, in aid of Irenæus, have tried to bring Cerinthus within the first century.

THE WRITINGS OF JOHN. Of the writings attributed to the apostle, not more than his first general epistle can be considered genuine.

His 2d and 3d epistles were omitted in the Peshito,[1] were not established as late as at the close of the second century,[2] and were doubted by Eusebius himself. Even as late as 1562, when Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, hearing of the advantages of printing, sent a certain priest of Mesopotamia into Europe, with a copy of the Syriac Testament to be printed, it lacked the 2d Epistle of Peter, 2d and 3d John, Jude and Revelation.[3]

THE APOCALYPSE OR REVELATION, ascribed to John, seems to have been one of many productions of the kind which appeared early in the second century. It is similar to the Revelation of Cerinthus, and may have emanated from the same source.

It was omitted from the Peshito Version; from the Catalogue of Cyril of Jerusalem; from that of Gregory Nazianzen; and Davidson thinks it was not in the collection of New Testament books made by Eusebius, for the use of the churches, by order of Constantine.[4]

It was not established at the close of the second century,[5] and was not in the Syriac Testament, sent to be printed in 1562.

But the most remarkable circumstance is the fact, that it was rejected by the very churches to whom it was addressed.

(1.) Westcott, Hist. Canon, p. 221.
(2.) Ib. p. 297.
(3.) Jones, vol. 1, p. 87.
(4.) Canon, p. 118.
(5.) Westcott.

In the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 365, consisting of 32 bishops, from the different Asiatic churches, by the 60th canon, it was solemnly decreed what should be the canonical books of the New Testament. The Apocalypse was omitted.[1]

Eusebius argues against it, and thinks it was written by John the Presbyter, or Elder, who lived in the second century.[2]

After all this evidence, it would seem superfluous to add, that the church of Thyatira, one of those to whom it was addressed, had not then, A. D. 96, been founded.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.—The Rev. Dr. Davidson, who is considered such high authority, that he was employed to write the article on the Canon for the new edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, says:

"Its existence [the Gospel of John], before 140 A. D., is incapable either of decisive or probable showing." And again: "The Johannine authorship has receded before the tide of modern criticism; and though the tide is arbitrary at times, it is here irresistible."[3]

THE JAMESES.—Two apostles are mentioned by the name of James; one, the son of Zebedee, and brother of John, called also James the Elder, and the other, James the son of Alphæus, who was called James the Less, and James the Just. But whether the latter James was the same with the brother of the Lord, commentators have not been able to decide. This, the great church historian, Neander, pronounces the most difficult question in apostolic history.

James, the brother of Jesus, is a historic personage. An account of his death is given, with full particulars,

(1.) Landon's Manual of Councils, pp. 284 to 287.

(2.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 39. Also, 7. 25. The argument is credited to Dionysius.

(3.) Canon of the Bible, by Samuel Davidson, D.D., L. L. D., London, 1877, p. 99.

by Josephus. Some evangelical writers have been inclined to let this passage go with the other, as a forgery. But there does not appear to be any good reason to deny its authenticity. The account is as follows;

"Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; [having been appointed procurator of Judæa]; so he [Ananus, who had just been appointed high priest], assembled the Sanhedrim of judges and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned."—*Antiq. bk.* 20, *ch.* 9.

The historian then proceeds to relate, that some of the citizens condemned the proceeding, and went to meet Albinus, who was returning from Alexandria; that they complained to him of Ananus, and claimed that he had no right to assemble the Sanhedrim without Albinus' consent; that Albinus, taking the same view of the matter, wrote a severe letter of reproof to Ananus, and soon after, had the high-priesthood taken from him. Now here is a network of historical facts and incidents, connected with the customs and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews, which forbid the supposition of the whole account being a forgery. And if the words relating to Christ are to be stricken out, there must be some good reason given for it. We do not see any. There is nothing inconsistent in the language. Josephus is not here, as in the other passage, made to declare that Jesus is the Christ. He is spoken of, as "Jesus who was called Christ," to distinguish him from other Jews by the name of Jesus.

Epistle of James.—Commentators think this epistle was written by James the son of Zebedee, according to the subscription of the Syriac Version; or James the son of Alphæus, [1], or James the brother of the Lord, [2] or an

(1.) Dr. Davidson, Introduction to N. T.1. 385, supports 2d or 3d hypothesis.
(2.) Alford, Gr. Test. 4. 28, supported by Eusebius.

unknown James, which was Luther's opinion. As the Epistle maintains its place among the writings of the New Testament, we must conclude that upon the question of its inspiration, it is immaterial by whom it was written.

THE JUDASES AND THE OTHER APOSTLES.—There were two apostles by the name of Judas. The one, called Thaddæus, the other, Judas Iscariot. Whether the one called Thaddæus, and at other times Lebbæus, was also the Lord's brother, here again the learned cannot agree; nor whether he was the author of the Epistle of Jude. This epistle was not in the Peshito, nor in the Syriac Version of 1562. It was rejected by Norton[1] and had been long before by Michaelis.[2] This was one of the seven books which were for a long time discredited by the fathers. The others were 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, James, Hebrews and Revelation.

It is scarcely worth while to attempt to complete a history of the apostles. The whole subject is involved in obscurity. After, with much difficulty, we have settled upon eleven apostles, the twelfth, in the synoptic gospels was Bartholomew, while in John it was Nathanael.

(1.) Vol. 2, p. 162.
(2.) Vol. 1, p. 291.

SECOND PERIOD. A. D. 80 TO A. D. 120.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CLEMENT OF ROME, IGNATIUS, AND POLYCARP.

CLEMENT. A. D. 97.—No grander character appears in Christian history, than Clement of Rome.

Whether we look at his First Epistle to the Corinthians, generally considered to be genuine, or at the numerous other writings attributed to him, and the recorded traditions concerning his life and teachings, we find in either case, one of the highest and noblest types of Christian character. His first Epistle, written about A. D. 97, will compare favorably with the Epistles of Paul.

The great and absorbing question connected with this, the first authentic Christian writing outside the gospels, and subsequent to the New Testament Epistles, is, whether any of the gospels are recognized in it, and which?

There are some passages claimed as parallel, but there is no mention of any gospel by name. Of the supposed parallel passages, some have a similarity of language, while the idea is different; in others, the same or a similar meaning is conveyed in different language.

When these are eliminated, it will be found, that while there are, in Clement, twenty passages parallel to similar ones in the N. T. Epistles, there are but five parallel to any in the canonical gospels. But these do not by any means indicate that these gospels were then in existence. The passages all relate to the sayings of Christ, which were preserved by tradition, as well as in older gospels. Four of the parallelisms are in Matthew, and no doubt were in the Oracles, or other collections of sayings, to which Clement had access. The other is in Luke, 6th chapter, vv. 36 to 38. That also, is a saying of Christ, which in Clement differs considerably from Luke, although Clement professes to give the very "words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake."—[Clem. Ep. ch. 13.]

Tischendorff concludes that Clement's Epistle does not furnish proof of the existence of the four gospels at that time.[1]

In connection with the Epistle of Clement, there is a circumstance worthy of notice.

In the 17th chapter of Luke, between the 1st and 2d verses, the words elsewhere occurring in the gospels, "it had been good for that man if he had not been born," are wanting. Now these very words were in the Gospel of Marcion, in the same connection as they would be if between verses 1st and 2d, of 17th Luke. They were also used in a similar connection, by Clement, in the 46th chapter of his Epistle, long before the time of Marcion. If then, as is claimed, Marcion's Gospel is nothing but a corruption of Luke, how did it happen, that Marcion should interpolate a sentence precisely in the same connection, in which it had been used by Clement? Is it not more probable that Clement and

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 52.

Marcion were using in common an ancient gospel, in which that sentence occurred, and that the author of Luke either omitted the sentence, or made use of a different version of the same ancient gospel? It is true, these or similar words occur in Mark and Matthew, but not in the same connection as in Marcion. In Clement they are in the same connection.

The authorities are somewhat conflicting, as to the time when Clement was Bishop, but it is now pretty generally agreed that he wrote his Epistle, about A. D. 97. He is said to have lived to the year 100.[1]

Besides his First Epistle to the Corinthians, there are several volumes of writings attributed to Clement. There is a Second Epistle to the Corinthians; the Epistle to James, giving an account of his ordination by Peter; two Epistles in praise of Virginity; the Canons and Apostolic Constitutions, and the Clementines, so called, consisting of the Epitome, the Homilies and the Recognitions.

The Recognitions is a religious romance of much interest, throwing light upon the manners and customs of the times, and upon the religious views and practices of the early Christians, and especially illustrating the prevailing rage for miracles.

There is but little doubt that portions of it, at least, were written in the second century; the evidences which have been detected of a later date, being in the interpolations. The Latin translator, Rufinus, [A. D. 410], is the same who is generally believed to have taken such unwarrantable liberties with the text of Origen.

Origen referred to the Recognitions, A. D. 230.

Clement commences, in the Recognitions, by stating that he was born in the City of Rome, and was, from

(1.) Mosheim, vol. 1, p. 96; 2d ed. note.

his early youth, given to meditating upon serious subjects; upon the nature of life, whether there was pre-existence, and would be immortality, &c. While engaged in these reflections, a report reached him, which took its rise in the regions of the east, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. He speaks of the miracles of Christ. These reports became confirmed. About this time, Barnabas came to Rome to preach, and being derided by the people, and a tumult having arisen, Clement, who was a person of distinction, interfered in behalf of Barnabas. He becomes interested, and resolves to return with him to the east. Barnabas sails, and Clement as soon afterward as he can arrange his affairs.

Arriving at Cæsarea, Barnabas presents Clement to Peter, who receives him joyfully, and running up to him, kisses him. Peter is preparing for a debate with Simon Magus. (For an account of this discussion, see chapter 8.)

After a long stay, and meeting with many incidents, Clement recognizes in two of the disciples of Peter, Niceta and Aquila, two brothers of Clement, who, with their mother, had gone to a distant country, in their boyhood, and whom he had never heard of since. He also recognizes, in an old woman, and an old man, who are unknown to each other, and whom Clement meets at different times, his mother and his father; neither of whom had he seen since his boyhood. These are the "Recognitions," which give title to the book.

Doctrines.—Turning again to the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which, out of deference to the learned, is the only one of the writings attributed to him which can be recognized as genuine, let us see what it contains.

Though it is a long epistle, covering more than forty octavo pages, and is full of doctrinal allusions, we look

in vain for any trace of the immaculate conception of Jesus, or of his miracles, or of his material resurrection.

His views of the resurrection, are given in the 24th chapter, in beautiful language, similar to that used by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians. He compares the burial of the body, to the sowing of fruit in the earth.

"The sower goes forth and casts it into the ground; and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then, out of its dissolution, the mighty power of the providence of the Lord, raises it up again," &c.

He then refers to the phenix; a bird which was reported to live to a great age; and says, when its days are fulfilled, it builds its nest, and lies down and dies, and when its flesh has decayed, a new bird arises in its place.

It is difficult to believe, that Clement, when he wrote these words, or Paul, when he declared, "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption;" "it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body," had before him a gospel in which it was recorded, that Jesus expressly denied being a spirit, after his resurrection, and called for meat, that he might demonstrate to his disciples, that he had a material body like theirs.

The spiritualism of Paul and Clement was too refined for the gross conceptions of the second century, which would be satisfied with nothing less than the resurrection of the very crucified body of Jesus. Gospels were accordingly constructed, containing accounts of such a resurrection, related with great circumstantiality.

In the 40th chapter, Clement recognizes the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish worship, as still subsisting in his day, apparently even in the Christian church.

A large part of his epistle relates to those stirring up sedition and schism in the church. By the acts of these, the large-hearted father was deeply grieved.

After reminding them of the time when they were united and harmonious, in the following beautiful and affecting words,

"Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight; ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbors; their deficiencies you deemed your own," he refers to those who, "through pride and sedition, have become the leaders of a detestable emulation." But so far from expressing feelings of hatred toward them, he says in the same paragraph, "Let us be kind to one another, after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator." After citing many examples of humility and long suffering from the Old Testament, he calls upon his brethren to reflect, how free from wrath God is, toward all his creation.—[ch. 19.]

Illustrating his subject by the peace and harmony of the universe, he says:

"The heavens, revolving under his government, are subject to him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll in harmony, according to his command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to his will, brings forth food in abundance," &c. "The vast, immeasurable sea, gathered together by his working, into various basins, never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as he has commanded."

"Those" said he, "who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement, ought to have respect to the common hope."

He closes with this sublime benediction:

"May God, who seeth all things, and who is the ruler of all spirits, and the Lord of all flesh,—who chose our Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him, to be a peculiar people,—grant to every soul that calleth upon his glorious and

holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity and sobriety; to the well pleasing of his name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honor, both now and forevermore, Amen."

IGNATIUS. A. D. 115.—The personal history of Ignatius is so complicated with that of his epistles, that they cannot be separated.

Two hundred years ago, there were fifteen epistles in circulation, ascribed to Ignatius, who was Bishop of Antioch, about the commencement of the second century.

Scholars soon decided that eight of them were spurious. The other seven, being those addressed to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians and Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, appeared in two forms; one very much longer than the other, and in some places, containing whole pages not in the shorter form. Internal and other evidence caused the rejection of the long form, or long recension, and the learned settled down upon the short recension, or the Vossian Epistles, as they were named, from Vossius, their publisher, as the genuine writings of Ignatius; not, however, without some doubt expressed, as to the genuineness even of these.

Thus matters stood until 1845; when Dr. Cureton, who had charge of the Syriac department of the British Museum, published three Syriac Epistles of Ignatius, which had been discovered three years previous, having been procured by Archdeacon Tattam, from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, in Egypt.

Dr. Cureton, in an able treatise, maintained that these were the only genuine epistles of Ignatius. They were the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Romans, and to Polycarp; all in a shorter form than in the Vossian Letters.

For a number of years, the opinion of Dr. Cureton gained ground, and promised fair to become universal. But of late, the investigations of German scholars have resulted in raising grave doubts, as to the genuineness of any of the epistles. In England, the subject has undergone an animated discussion, and has been made the occasion of exhaustive research, resulting in very able treatises on both sides of the question.

The subject was opened by the author of "Supernatural Religion," who, after reviewing the arguments against the accepted statements of the fathers, that Ignatius was sent from Antioch to Rome to be martyred, statements upon which the genuineness of the letters in any shape depends, since in every form they purport to be written on such a journey, the author says:

"This conclusion, irresistible in itself, is, however, confirmed by facts arrived at from a totally different point of view. It has been demonstrated that Ignatius was not sent to Rome at all, but suffered martyrdom in Antioch itself on the 20th of December, A. D. 115; when he was condemned to be cast to wild beasts in the amphitheater, in consequence of the fanatical excitement produced by the earthquake which took place on the 13th of that month."—*Sup. Rel. vol.* 1, *p.* 268.

The writer refers to a number of authorities, all German, except Dr. Davidson.

This statement was subjected to the most searching criticism, by Mr. Westcott, in the Preface to the 4th edition of his work on the Canon, and by Dr. Lightfoot, in an article on the Ignatian Epistles, published in the Contemporary Review, for February, 1875. Also in a milder and more liberal style, by Mr. Sanday, in "The Gospels of the Second Century."

The criticisms of Lightfoot, Westcott and others, were replied to with great ability, in over fifty pages of the Preface to the sixth edition of Supernatural Religion.

The argument briefly stated, on both sides, is as follows:

Against the Martyrdom at Rome, and against the Genuineness of any of the Epistles.—It is shown that during the winter of 115–116, the Emperor Trajan, being engaged in a war with the Parthians, was in Antioch. If, therefore, he condemned Ignatius to martyrdom, he would be more likely to do it there, where they both were. Sending him to Rome would be an additional act of cruelty, not in accordance with the character of Trajan, who was a mild prince, under whose reign but one other instance of martyrdom is recorded, and that not well established. Ignatius, according to the account, was sent by a long and difficult land route, instead of the shorter and easier route by sea; which is improbable. Deputations of Christians have access to him, and accompany him, though he represents himself as guarded strictly by ten leopards. (Roman soldiers.) He is represented as being permitted to write long letters, advocating the very doctrines for which he is condemned. The epistles do not contain the last exhortations and farewell words that might be expected; but "are filled with advanced views of church government, and the dignity of the episcopate." There is no instance recorded, even during the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius, in which any one was sent to Rome, to be cast to wild beasts; although such executions frequently took place in Syria. Again, an earthquake occurred in Antioch, on the 13th of December, A. D. 115, which caused great consternation. This was a week before the martyrdom. It is probable that Ignatius fell a victim to the superstitious feeling which resulted from it. His remains were afterward known to be at Antioch, said to have been brought from Rome, but they were probably there all the time.

These arguments are endorsed by Davidson in England, and in Germany, by Volkmar, Bauer, Scholten and

Hilgenfeld. Volkmar, also, adds the authority of an ancient writer, John Malalas, about A. D. 600, who lived at Antioch, and would therefore, be likely to know.

For the Martyrdom at Rome, and the Genuineness of the Cureton (the three Syriac) Epistles.—The unbroken testimony of the fathers for nearly five hundred years. If Malalas lived at Antioch, so did Chrysostom and Evagrius, both earlier than Malalas, and both of whom state the martyrdom was at Rome. Besides, Malalas is shown to be entirely unreliable on several other subjects. Many reasons may have operated on the mind of Trajan, to induce him to send Ignatius to Rome, which cannot be judged of at this late day. Other instances are shown, where Christians, when in imprisonment, had been permitted to see their friends, and communicate with them. It is conceded that Ignatius suffered martyrdom, by order of Trajan. Arguments therefore go for naught, which are based upon the clemency of Trajan, or on the supposed fact that there were not other martyrdoms. The objection that he was permitted to write long letters, is removed, since it is generally conceded, that not more than the three short letters, according to the Syriac version, are genuine. But little can be inferred from the contents of the letters. The martyr wished to improve that opportunity, to give advice and instruction which would be of lasting benefit. The connection between his execution and the earthquake, is mere speculation. Furthermore, and these two considerations are probably the strongest of all,—First, the epistles are referred to in such a way in the Epistle of Polycarp, as to require a complicated double forgery, if the Ignatian letters are not genuine; and secondly, the Epistles of Ignatius are quoted by Origen, A. D. 230, and still earlier, by Ir-

enæus, A. D. 190; both quotations being found in the Cureton Epistles.

Such arguments are urged by Drs. Westcott, Lightfoot and others in England, and in Germany, by Bleek, Guericke and Mayerhoff.

In our judgment, the scales turn on the side of the martyrdom at Rome, and of the authenticity of the Cureton Epistles.

Dr. Lightfoot, while he accepts these epistles as genuine, states that the Vossian letters are a production of not later than the middle of the second century, and desires the question of their genuineness to remain an open one. But do not the Cureton letters, if genuine, exclude any longer form of the same epistles? Besides, that question was supposed to have been settled by Lipsius, whose opinion Dr. Lightfoot himself had endorsed, before writing this article for the Contemporary Review. Lipsius had come to the conclusion that the Vossian letters were an interpolation; that is, a forgery as to four, and an interpolation as to the other three; and that they were written about A. D. 140.

The Cureton Epistles.—They are written in an affectionate and fatherly spirit, and the sentiments and views of the writer are expressed in language at once simple and dignified.

When referring to those making trouble in the church, he does so in the following words:

"Bear with all men, even as our Lord beareth with thee." (Addressed to Polycarp.) "If thou lovest the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; rather subdue those that are evil, by gentleness." "Let not those who seem to be somewhat, and teach strange doctrines, strike thee with apprehension." "More especially is it fitting, that we should bear every thing, for the sake of God, that he also may bear us."

In the Epistle to the Romans, the condemned martyr looks joyfully forward to the time when he shall be

offered up, as a testmony to the faith. He is even apprehensive, lest the brethren should interfere.

"Ye cannot," said he, "give me any thing more precious than this, that I should be sacrificed to God, while the altar is ready." Again: "I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I shall be ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God." (Quoted, with a slight variation, by Irenæus, adv. Hær. 5. 28.)

The zeal and enthusiasm of Ignatius, in contemplation of his martyrdom, rose to the height of fanaticism. His mind even dwelt with delight upon the details of his sufferings.

"Fire and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, harsh torments of the devil, let them come upon me, but only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ."

He coveted and earnestly desired the glory of martyrdom, and feared the brethren at Rome, whom he was addressing, might interfere in his behalf, before his arrival.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

Doctrine.—In the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, there is, apparently, an obscure reference to the immaculate conception of Jesus; the first intimation of such a doctrine, which we have been able to find in history.

It is in these words:

"There was concealed from the ruler of this world, the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries, which were done in the tranquillity of God, from the Star."

This, at first, even in connection with what follows, is not very clear. There appears to be a hidden meaning, not easily fathomed.

But if it be remembered, that Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, in Syria, a country imbued with the religious and mythological ideas of Persia, that he must be

supposed to have been familiar with the two principles, one of good, and the other of evil, and of their conflict through the ages; also that Zoroaster had been immaculately conceived by a ray from the divine reason; had been taken to heaven by lightning, and there enthroned as a living star; if we suppose these thoughts and images to be blended with his Christian convictions, giving his religious views a tinge of that Gnosticism then commencing to prevail so extensively in the church, the paragraph cited may be read with what follows more intelligibly.

"There was concealed from the ruler of this world, the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries, which were done in the tranquillity of God, from the Star." Then the following: "And here, at the manifestation of the Son, magic began to be destroyed, and all bonds were loosed; and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil were destroyed."

The ancient struggle is at an end; the principle of good has triumphed; and this has come from the influence of the living Star. The Gospel of the Infancy, which appeared about this time, and which possibly Ignatius may have seen, states that the magi came to Bethlehem, guided by a star, in accordance with the prophecy of Zoroaster.

Evidence as to the Four Gospels.—There is but one passage in the Cureton Epistles, which can be cited, even as apparent evidence of the existence of either of the four gospels.

"Be thou wise as the serpent in every thing, and harmless as to those things which are requisite, as the dove." No source is indicated, whence this is taken. It is one of the sayings of Jesus, which were preserved in various forms, both by tradition, and in the older gospels. It is not much relied upon as evidence. Rev. Mr. Sanday, after citing the passage, from the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, and thinking it ought to be

referred to the similar passage in Matthew 10. 16, adds:

"It is however, possible, that Ignatius may be quoting, not directly from our gospel, but from one of the original documents, (such as Ewald's hypothetical Spruch-Sammlung), out of which our gospel was composed; though it is somewhat remarkable that this particular sentence is wanting in the parallel passage in St. Luke."—*Gospels in the Second Century, p.* 78.

Ignatius had been forty years bishop of Antioch, and was said to be 86 years old at the time of his death.

"The Martyrdom of Ignatius."—This purports to have been written soon after the martyrdom, by some persons who accompanied Ignatius to Rome.

Many have expressed doubts as to its authenticity; others have rejected altogether. It is not necessary to decide. The document has but little historical value, since the martyrdom is generally admitted.

Polycarp. A. D. 116.—It is difficult to understand how the Ante-Nicene editors and some other writers can concede the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, and still claim that it cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the second century. If there is any portion of it that belongs to that period, it must be an interpolation. The original epistle, if genuine, was written very soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius. This will become manifest, by comparing this letter with the one from Ignatius to Polycarp.

In that letter, Ignatius says, "I salute him who is reckoned worthy to go to Antioch, in my stead, as I directed thee." This can only become intelligible by reference to the 13th chapter of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. It must be borne in mind that Smyrna, the residence of Polycarp, was south east of Philippi, in Macedonia, the place to which his letter was directed; that Ignatius had passed through Macedonia, on his way to Rome, and that Antioch, whence

he started, was a long way south east of Smyrna. Polycarp, writing from Smyrna to the Philippians, says: "Both you and Ignatius wrote to me, that if any one went into Syria, he should carry your letter with him." He proceeds to say, in substance, that he will send the letter, if he has an opportunity. Again, same chapter, (13), he says: "Any more certain information you may have obtained, both respecting Ignatius himself, and those with him, have the goodness to make known to us."

He refers to Ignatius in language implying that he had proceeded, with his friends, on his journey to Rome. Nothing can be plainer, than if the letter is genuine, it was written after Ignatius had gone to Rome to suffer martyrdom, but before information of the particulars had been sent to Smyrna.

It has been objected, that in ch. 9, he spoke of Ignatius as having already suffered martyrdom, while afterward, he asked for information of Ignatius and "those with him." The latter portion has been thought to be an interpolation. But we do not think the two passages irreconcilable. Ignatius had gone to Rome as a martyr, and Polycarp believed him to have suffered when he wrote; and enquired after his companions, and for the particulars of the martyrdom.

Upon the question of the genuineness of this Epistle, also, there has been considerable discussion. But it was expressly referred to, about the year 190, by Irenæus, who in his youth, had known Polycarp personally. Polycarp lived till 155.

Evidence as to the Four Gospels.—The passages claimed as parallel, are all sayings of Christ, somewhat similar to those in the canonical gospels, but not ascribed to any definite source. No mention is made

of either of the Gospels, Luke, Mark, John or Matthew, by Clement, Ignatius or Polycarp.

One of the sayings of Jesus quoted by Polycarp, is precisely like one quoted by Clement; but is not in any one of the four gospels. It is as follows: "Be pitiful, that ye may be pitied." In Clement, word for word the same. Again: Clement; "Forgive, that it may be forgiven you;" Polycarp; "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you;" The nearest to which in the canonical gospels, is, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses," &c.

These circumstances and some others, struck the mind of the Rev. Mr. Sanday with so much force, that he admitted the passages might have been derived from other collections.[1]

He concludes, that if the apostolic fathers did not make use of our gospels, they had writings closely resembling them. That is true, so far as the sayings of Christ are concerned. But in other respects, they were widely different. The sayings of Jesus had become so extensively known among his disciples, and had been preserved in so many different ways, that they maintained, for the most part, a substantial identity, in whatever writing contained.

Perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the question of the evidence of the apostolic fathers, was found by Dr. Less, a German evangelical scholar, who wrote about the year 1770. He was author of a celebrated work, written to establish the "authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and credibility of the New Testament." He was stimulated to investigate the question, by a remark of Lord Bolingbroke. In his Letters on the Study of History, Bolingbroke had exposed a want of judgment in "those who attempt to vindicate the

(1.) Gospels in the Second Century, p. 87.

antiquity of the sacred writings by examples drawn from the fathers of the first century, with a design to prove that these fathers had read the gospels; though the instances alleged amounted to no demonstration."

Whereupon Dr. Less gave the subject a very careful and thorough examination. The result is given by Bishop Marsh, in a note to Michaelis; as follows:

"From the EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, no inference can be adduced, that he had read any part of the New Testament.

"From the GENERAL EPISTLE, as it is called, of CLEMENT OF ROME, it may be inferred, that Clement had read the First Epistle of the Corinthians.

"From the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, no inference whatever can be drawn.

"From the EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS, it may be concluded that he had read St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, and that there existed in his time, evangelical writings, though it cannot be shown that he has quoted from them. [This investigation was made long before the discovery of the Cureton Epistles, and the remark of Dr. Less was founded upon the Vossian Letters, which were more voluminous, and included four spurious letters, ascribed to Ignatius.]

"FROM POLYCARP'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS, it appears that he had heard of St. Paul's Epistle to that community, and that he quotes a passage, which is in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and another which is in the Epistle to the Ephesians; but no positive conclusion can be drawn, with respect to any other Epistle, or any of the Four Gospels."—*Michaelis by Marsh, vol* .1, *p.* 354, *citing Less, Gesch. der Religion, p.* 503-537, *ed'n* 1786.

As the result of this analysis, including, besides the apostolic fathers proper, Barnabas and Hermas, and extending to about the middle of the second century, no evidence of the four gospels was seen, in the writings of the apostolic fathers, by this eminent German theologian. Subsequent English and American ecclesiastical writers have discovered much, as they suppose, which escaped his careful scrutiny.

All three of the apostolic fathers mentioned Paul expressly, and referred to his writings.

Clement, in writing to the Corinthians, referred to Paul's Letter to them, and Polycarp, in his Letter to the Philippians, spoke of Paul's Epistle to that Church.

There has been an attempt made to make Polycarp a witness for the four gospels, in another manner. Feuardentius, in his note on Irenæus, 3. 3, published, with some other fragments, what purported to be a fragment of Polycarp, out of a very ancient manuscript of Victor Capuanus Catena, upon the four evangelists, wherein Polycarp mentioned each by name; "which," says Feuardentius, "Catena he there promises to publish; but whether he did or no, I know not." Victor Capuanus lived, A. D. 480; according to this writer. Grynæus places him at A. D. 455: others a hundred years later.

This testimony may be stated thus: Feuardentius says, that Capuanus had, in 480, a manuscript, showing that Polycarp, more than 300 years previous, mentioned the four gospels.

Westcott prudently abandons this evidence, significantly asking, "Is anything known of the MS. Catena, from which it was taken?" [1]

Polycarp was, for many years, Bishop of Smyrna, and was martyred, A. D. 155.

He was a devoted Christian, and an able expounder of the faith. In his treatment of heretics, he travelled in the footsteps of Clement and Ignatius. The spirit of persecution finds no sanction in the writings of the three apostolic fathers.

Speaking of Valens, who had been a presbyter, but who had departed from the faith, he says:

"I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for him and for his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be ye then, moderate in regard to this matter, and do not count such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and straying members, that ye may save your whole body."—[Ch. 11.]

(1.) Canon, p. 36.

RECAPITULATION.

The apostolic fathers make no mention of the miracles of Jesus, nor do they refer to any of the circumstances connected with his alleged material resurrection.

Upon that subject, Clement holds the same views with Paul, and illustrates them in an impressive and beautiful manner.

Ignatius, A. D. 115, appears to allude, in a mysterious way, to the immaculate conception; the first time we find it mentioned in history.

No reference is made to either of the four gospels, nor to the Acts of the Apostles, nor are there any quotations except such as evangelical writers concede may have been taken from other sources.

"THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP."—This was doubtless, one of the earliest of the martyria. Its genuineness has been denied; but the question is of little importance, as the document contains nothing of much historical value, in the way of fact or doctrine.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

Gospel according to the Hebrews.

This is the most celebrated of all the ancient gospels. It made its first appearance early in the second century. Probably not later than 125, and possibly five or even ten years sooner.

As this gospel, in various forms, and under different titles, was the one most in use among the Christians of the second century, we shall give all the citations of it by the fathers, and all the fragments of the gospel which they have preserved.

1. Hegesippus; A. D. 185. According to Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, bk. 4, ch. 22.

Eusebius here says of Hegesippus,

"He has also written (laid down) some things concerning the Gospel according to the Hebrews and Syrians, as also concerning the Hebrew language, by which he evidences that he was converted from Judaism to Christianity."

It may be mentioned in passing, that this is the principal testimony relied upon to show that there was a Syriac Version of the canonical gospels in the second century. But so far from its being any evidence of that fact, Eusebius was not referring at all to the canonical gospels, or either of them, but to the Gospel

of the Hebrews. He calls it the Gospel according to the Hebrews and Syrians; by which he evidently means, that it was used by the Jews in Syria, as well as elsewhere.

This view is confirmed by the statement of Jerome, which will appear presently, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was written "in the Chaldee and Syriac languages." It appears it was used by the Nazarenes residing in Berea, Syria; hence it was translated into Syriac.

2. Clement of Alexandria; A. D. 200. Stromata, bk. 2, ch. 9:

"And it is written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 'He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall be at rest.' "

3. Origen; A. D. 230. Comm. in Joan.:

"But if any one will receive the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in which our Savior says, 'The Holy Ghost, my mother, lately took me by one of my hairs, and bore me to the great mountain Tabor,'' ' &c.

From the same. Fragment of the gospel, preserved in Hom. 8, in Matt. tom. 3, p. 21:

"But let us treat this place a little otherwise: It is written in a certain gospel, which is entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' (if any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority, but only for illustration of the present question),''

Then comes the following account of the colloquy between Jesus and the rich man, which the reader can compare with Matt. 19. 16–24. As he does so, he may wonder at its being pronounced by Origen, "not of any authority,"since it is in spirit, the same as the account in Matthew, and is somewhat more simple and natural.

There is reason to believe that the clause in brackets, is one of the many interpolations to which it is well known the writings of Origen have been subjected. In

the same sentence he himself speaks of it as a gospel; not as a book called "the Gospel according to the Hebrews," but as a gospel, "entitled according to the Hebrews." The phrase "it is written," when used by the fathers, is generally understood to apply to writings considered scriptural. Origen says, "It is written in a certain gospel." It will be seen also directly, that Jerome speaks of this gospel as "one which Origen often used."

The following is the narrative:

"Another rich man said unto him, 'Master, What good thing shall I do that I may live?' He said unto him, 'O man, fulfil the law, and the prophets.' And he answered him, 'I have done so.' Then said he unto him, 'Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor; and come, follow me.'

"Then the rich man began to smite his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, 'How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, when it is written, in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself? And lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are covered with filth, and dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing therefrom goeth forth at any time unto them.'

"And turning himself about, he said unto Simon, his disciple, sitting near him, 'Simon, son of Jonas, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' "

Rev. S. Baring-Gould, after comparing this with the corresponding passage in Matthew, says:

"The comparison of these two accounts is not favorable to that in the canonical gospel. It is difficult to understand how a Jew could have asked, as did the rich young man, (according to Matthew's Gospel), what commandments he ought to keep, in order to enter into life. The decalogue was known by heart to every Jew. Moreover, the narrative in the lost gospel is more connected than in the canonical gospel."

To which may be added, that the account is considerably shorter than in the Gospel of Matthew, or Mark; indicating, according to a principle which will be frequently adverted to as we proceed, that it was first written. The narrative in Luke is of about the same length with that in the Hebrews.

4. EUSEBIUS; A. D. 325. Ecc. Hist. bk. 3, ch. 25.

In enumerating the apocryphal books, he adds:

"In this number, some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews; with which they of the Jews, who profess Christianity, are very much delighted."

Again, when speaking of the Ebionites; Ib. ch. 27:

"They made use only, of that which is called the Gospel according to the Hebrews; very little esteeming any other."

Again, speaking of Papias; ch. 39:

"He mentions another history, concerning a woman accused of many crimes before our Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews."

5. EPIPHANIUS; A. D. 385. Hæres. 29, sec. 9:

"They (the Nazarenes) have the Gospel of Matthew most entire in the Hebrew language, among them: for this truly is still preserved among them; as it was at first in Hebrew characters. But I know not whether they have taken away the genealogy from Abraham to Christ."

Again, against Heresies, 30: (Ebionites.)

"They (the Ebionites) also receive the Gospel according to Matthew. For this, both they and the Cerinthians make use of, and no other. They call it the Gospel according to the Hebrews; for the truth is, that Matthew is the only one of the New Testament writers, who published his Gospel and preaching in the Hebrew language, and Hebrew characters."

Again; in Sec. 13:

"In the gospel which they (the Ebionites) have called the Gospel according to Matthew, which is not entire and perfect, but corrupted and curtailed, and which they call the Hebrew Gospel, it is written:

" 'There was a certain man called Jesus; and he being about thirty years of age, made choice of us. (This was called also the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.) And coming to Capernaum, he entered into the house of Simon, called Peter, and opening his mouth, said: When I passed by the Lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot; and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I called, and thou didst follow me. I will, therefore, that ye be my twelve apostles, for a testimony to Israel. And John the Baptist was baptizing, and the Pharisees went out to him, and were baptized, and all Jerusalem.

" 'And John had his garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat (according to that gospel) was wild honey, the taste of which was like manna, or as cakes made with honey and oil.' Thus they change the true account into a falsehood, and for locusts, put cakes made with oil and honey.

"The beginning of their gospel was this: 'It came to pass, in the days of Herod, King of Judæa, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance, in the River Jordan, who was reported to be of the family of Aaron, the high priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all people went out after him.'

"And after several other things, it is said in this gospel: 'The people being baptized, Jesus also went, and was baptized by John; and as he ascended out of the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove, descending and entering into him; and a voice was made, (ἐγένετο), from heaven, saying: Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; and then another, I have this day begotten thee; and suddenly there shone around the place a great light; which when John saw, (says this gospel), he said to him, Who art thou Lord? and then another voice from heaven came to him, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Hereupon, (according to this gospel), John fell down before him, and said, 'O Lord, I pray thee, baptize me;' but he hindered him saying, that it is so fit, that all things should be fulfilled.' See how their false doctrine appears every where, how all things are imperfect, disordered and without truth or order.

"So also Cerinthus and Carpocrates, using the same gospel of theirs, would prove from the beginning of that Gospel according to St. Matthew, viz. by the genealogy, that 'Christ proceeded from the seed of Joseph and Mary.' But they (the Ebionites) have quite other sentiments; for they have taken away the genealogy from Matthew, and accordingly begin their gospel, as I have above said, with these words: 'It came to pass, in the days of Herod, King of Judæa,' &c."

Again, Epiphanius says, sec. 16:

"They (the Ebionites) do not say that he, (Christ), was begotten of the Father, but made as one of the angels; but being greater than they, he has dominion over them, and all the works of the Almighty; and that he came and taught that which is contained in their gospel, viz. 'I came to abolish sacrifices; and unless ye cease to offer sacrifices, the wrath (of God) shall not cease from you.' And such as these are their tenets."

Epiphanius also tells us, [1] that a certain Jew, called Joseph, found in a cell at Tiberias, in the time of Constantine, the Hebrew Gospel ascribed to Matthew. Not

(1.)Hæres. 30, Ebion. sec. 6.

much confidence has been placed in this statement by subsequent writers.

6. Jerome; A. D. 400. Catal. Vir. Illust. in Matt.

Matthew also called Levi, who became from a publican an apostle, was the first who composed a gospel of Christ; and, for the sake of those who believed in Christ from among the Jews, wrote it in the Hebrew language and letters; but it is uncertain who it was who translated it into Greek. Moreover the Hebrew (copy) itself is to this time preserved in the library of Cæsarea, which Pamphylus the martyr, with much diligence, collected. The Nazarenes who live in Berea, a city of Syria, and make use of this volume, granted me the favor of writing it out; in which (gospel), there is this observable, that wherever the evangelist either cites, himself, or introduces our Savior as citing, any passage out of the Old Testament, he does not follow the translation of the LXX, but the Hebrew copies; of which there are these two instances, to wit: 'out of Egypt have I called my Son;' and 'he shall be called a Nazarene.'"

[Note.—If this statement of Jerome, who is not very reliable, could be depended upon, there was a version of the Old Testament then in circulation, containing the latter passage; a passage which, it has been often asserted, was not in the Old Testament; and which is not now to be found in that volume.]

Again, same work, Life of James; after relating various wonderful things concerning James, he says:

"The gospel also, which is called, 'according to the Hebrews,' and which I translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often used, relates, that after our Savior's resurrection, when our Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, he went to James, and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread, from that hour in which he drank the cup of the Lord, till he should see the Lord risen from the dead. And a little after, the Lord said, 'Bring the table and the bread;' and then it is added, he took the bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, 'My brother eat thy bread; for the Son of man is risen from the dead.'"

This appearance is not related in the canonical gospels; but an appearance to James is mentioned by Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 7; which would indicate that the Gospel of the Hebrews contained the oldest traditions.

Again; Jerome, adv. Pelag. l. 3, in prin.

"In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldee and Syriac languages, which the Nazarenes use, that according to the Twelve

Apostles; or as most think, according to Matthew; which is in the library of Cæserea, there is the following history:

"'Behold, the mother and brethren of Christ spake to him: John the Baptist baptizeth, for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. He said to them, In what have I sinned, that I have any need to go and be baptized by him? unless my saying this proceeds, perhaps, from ignorance?'

"And in the same volume it is said, 'If thy brother offend thee by any word, and make thee satisfaction, though it be seven times in a day, thou must forgive him.' Simon, his disciple, said to him, 'What! Seven times in a day?' The Lord answered and said unto him, 'I tell thee also, even till seventy times seven.'"

Again; Jerome, Lib. 4, Comm. in Jesai. c. 11, 2:

"According to their gospel, which is written in the Hebrew language, and read by the Nazarenes, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended upon him. Besides, in that gospel just mentioned, we find these things written:

"'It came to pass, when the Lord ascended from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended, and rested upon him, and said to him, 'My Son, among all the prophets, I was waiting for thy coming, that I might rest upon thee; for thou art my rest; thou art my first begotten Son, who shall reign to everlasting ages.'"

And again, in Lib. 11, Comm. in Jesai. 40, 11:

"But it is written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes read, 'The Lord said, The Holy Ghost, my mother just now laid hold on me.'"

By the same, in Lib. 2, Comm. in Mic. 7. 6:

"Whoever reads the book of Canticles, and will understand, by the spouse of the Soul, the word of God, and will believe the gospel which is entitled, 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,' which I lately translated, in which our Savior is introduced, saying, 'Just now my mother, the Holy Ghost, laid hold on me by one of my hairs,' will not scruple to say, the Word of God was born of the Spirit, and the soul, which is the spouse of the Word, has the Holy Ghost for its mother-in-law, who, in the Hebrew language, is expressed in the feminine gender."

The same, in Lib. 6, Comm. Ezek. 18. 7:

"In that which is entitled, 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,' it is reckoned among the chief of crimes, for a person to make sorrowful the heart of his brother."

Again; Jerome, Lib. 1, Comm. in Matt. 6. 11:

"In the gospel entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' I find, instead of supersubstantial bread,' "Machar;" which signifies the morrow; so, the sense

is, 'Give us this day, the bread necessary for the morrow;' i. e. for the future."

Again, the same. Lib. 2, Comm. in Matt. 12. 13:

"In the gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, (which I lately translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and which is by most esteemed the authentic Gospel of Matthew), the man who had the withered hand, is said to be a mason, and prayed for relief in the following words:

" 'I was a mason, who got my livelihood by my hands; I beseech thee, Jesus, that thou wouldst restore to me my strength, that I may no longer thus scandalously beg my bread."

And again, in Lib. 4, Comm. in Matt. 23:

"In the gospel which the Nazarenes use, for the son of Barachiah, I find written, 'The son of Joiada.' "

The following extracts also are from Jerome:

From Lib. 4, Comm. in Matt. 27. 16:

"In the gospel entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' he (Barabbas) is interpreted, The son of their master, who was condemned for sedition and murder."

Same book:

"In the gospel which I have often mentioned, we read, that a lintel of the temple, of immense size, was broken and rent." (At the time of the crucifixion.)

From Epistle ad. Hedib. 149:

"In that Gospel which is written in Hebrew letters, we read, not that the vail of the temple was rent, but that a lintel (or beam) of a prodigious size fell down."

From lib. 3, Comm. in Ep. ad. Eph. c. 5, v. 4:

"In the Hebrew Gospel, we read, that our Lord said to his disciples, 'Be ye never cheerful, unless when you can see your brother in love.' "

From Præf. lib. 18, Comm. in Jesai.:

"For when the apostles supposed him to be a spirit, or according to the Gospel which the Nazarenes received, an incorporeal demon, he said to them, 'Why are ye troubled,' &c."

And in De vir. Ill. n. 16, in Ig., he bears the following testimony to the source whence Ignatius was supposed to have taken the quotation, concerning the conversa-

tion between Jesus and his disciples, after the resurrection.

"In the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, (which, in the time of Jerome, and until lately, was thought to have been written by Ignatius,) he (Ignatius) takes a testimony from the Gospel which I lately translated, as spoken by Christ; he says, 'I saw Christ in the flesh after the resurrection, and believe that it was he; and when he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter, he said unto them, Behold, feel me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit; and presently they touched him and believed.'"

Such are the testimonies of the fathers concerning this famous gospel, and the fragments of it which they have preserved for our inspection.

It may be added, that it was not condemned in the decree of Gelasius, A. D. 494.

There has been much diversity of opinion, and a good deal of learning brought to bear upon the question, whether the Gospel according to the Hebrews was written by Matthew; and if not, whether Matthew wrote a Gospel in Hebrew.

It will be seen by the foregoing extracts, that Epiphanius and Jerome are very explicit in asserting that this was the Gospel of Matthew.

The readiness with which these statements are set aside by able modern writers, may be regarded as an instructive commentary upon the degree of credit and authority to which the fathers are entitled, on questions requiring for their decision, an educated and critical judgment.

It will be noticed hereafter, that Jerome asserts, with the same positiveness, that the Gospel of the Infancy, which he translated from memory, and a portion of which translation has since been called the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, was written also by Matthew. In that case, he went so far as to say, it was in Matthew's own hand-writing. [See chapter 17.]

That the Gospel of the Hebrews was Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, was the opinion of Du Pin,[1] and Father Simon.[2] Beausobre considered it, whether written by Matthew or not, very ancient, and of very high authority.

Dr. Niemeyer thought this gospel, "the fountain from which other writings of this sort, have derived their origin; as streams from a spring." Baronius said, "The present Greek text of St. Matthew, is of no value or authority, unless it were to be compared with the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, which is the true original."[3]

Michaelis [A. D. 1777], examined the question critically. After citing Father Simon, Dr. Mill, and other writers, and admitting frankly that the Nazarenes knew nothing of the Greek gospels, he considers whether in the gospel of the Nazarenes, like that of the Ebionites, the first two chapters of Matthew were wanting. He examines Jerome's references to the gospel which he had translated, and comes to the conclusion, that while there is no trace of the first chapter of Matthew, it probably contained the second chapter. He does not speak with much confidence, however, and says, "at different times, I have entertained different opinions on this subject."

The difficulty experienced by this eminent scholar, appears to have been easily surmounted by more modern writers, some of whom do not hesitate to assert, in the most positive manner, that the references of Jerome prove that the gospel which he translated contained both chapters.

(1.) History of the Canon, vol. 2, c. 2, 3.
(2.) Crit. Hist. N. T., Pt. 1, ch. 7, 9.
(3.) Annal. ad. Am. Ct. 34, num. 175.

Michaelis finally concludes, upon the main question, that if the Gospel of the Hebrews was originally the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, it received various additions among the Nazarenes, after it had been translated into Greek.[1]

Bishop Marsh, assuming that the Gospel of Matthew was a translation from the Hebrew, thinks the first two chapters may not have been in the original, and that the Greek translator prefixed a translation of some other Chaldee document, containing an account of the birth of Christ.[2]

Stroth, [1780], whose essay on the subject was printed in Eichhorn's Repertorium, contended that the Gospel of the Hebrews was used by Justin Martyr; an opinion which many others have since adopted.

Bishop Marsh, referring to this theory of Stroth, and to the reasons given, which had been favorably referred to by Dr. Rosenmuller, [A. D. 1800], says, "It is true that if the force of these arguments be admitted, [and they seem really convincing], we cannot produce Justin as an evidence of the four gospels."[3]

Norton thinks the Gospel of the Hebrews should not be considered apocryphal, and says, in its primitive form it was probably the Hebrew original of Matthew.[4]

Toland, speaking of the Gospel of the Hebrews, says:

"It was read in the Christian churches for three hundred years, not rejected by Origen and Eusebius, but alleged as a true gospel by Papias, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Hegesippus and others."—*Naz.* 20. 78.

Tischendorff finds that the Gospel of the Hebrews was probably used by Justin; also by the author of the

(1.) Vol. 3, p. 169.
(2.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 139.
(3.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 1, p. 361.
(4.) Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. 1, pp. 214, 225.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Clementines, and by Tatian and Hegesippus.[1]

From the views of these writers, after comparing them carefully with the testimony of the fathers, in the foregoing pages, we may, perhaps, elicit the truth, and state it in a few simple propositions.

1. The Gospel of the Hebrews was an ancient gospel, and nearly the only one in use among the Jewish Christians, in the first ages of the Church. It was also extensively used by others, and was of high authority with the fathers.

2. It was universally attributed to Matthew.

3. There was no other Gospel of Matthew at that time. (First half of second century.) The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew so much talked about, other than the Gospel of the Hebrews, is a myth, so far as there is any historical evidence.

4. The Greek Gospel of Matthew was a subsequent production, and either originally appeared in the Greek language, or was a translation of the Gospel of the Hebrews, with extensive changes and additions. There is reason to believe it to have been an original compilation, based upon the Oracles of Christ, but containing, in whole, or in part, a number of other manuscripts.

The arguments used to prove that Matthew's Gospel was originally in Hebrew, all run in a circle. They assume that the Greek gospel is in some way from Matthew, and is therefore authoritative. The reasoning then runs smoothly, and ends in proving a Hebrew Matthew, a document of the existence of which no mention is made in history; if we except a vague tradition never yet traced to its source.

As a specimen of this reasoning, we may refer to the argument of Jones, contained in three propositions:

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 78.

1. The Greek gospel contains all that Matthew ever wrote; else it would not be a complete revelation of the divine will, so far as Matthew is concerned.

2. It differed from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

3. Therefore the latter was not written by Matthew.

The corollary would be, that there was a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, different from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

By whom and when written.—It will be safe to accept the almost unanimous opinion of theological writers, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, was not written by Matthew. The author is unknown.

It was a compilation, made for the use of the Jewish Christians, from the gospels and gospel documents then in circulation; the manuscripts principally used appearing to be, the Oracles or Sayings of Christ, and the Gospel, Preaching and Doctrine of Peter. The Oracles probably constituted the principal basis, and as they had been attributed to Matthew, that circumstance is sufficient to account for the association of the apostle's name with this gospel.

The exact time when it was written can only be a matter of conjecture. It could not have been later than the first quarter of the second century.

Jerome supposed it to have been written before the epistles of Ignatius. But this was because he thought Ignatius had referred to it in his epistle to the Smyrnæans; a document of which Ignatius was not the author.

Doctrines.—There is no sufficient evidence that this gospel contained the doctrine of the immaculate conception. On the contrary, it is well understood that the earlier Jewish Christians did not believe in it.

The miracles of Christ now first begin to be heard of, and as might be expected, the first mentioned are those relating to the healing of the sick and deformed. The more wonderful and startling, such as turning water into wine, and raising to life a human body in a state of decomposition, are not met with until some time afterward.

The doctrine of the resurrection of Christ in a material body, now for the first time appeared, and was stoutly maintained by the fathers afterward.

CHAPTER V.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.—Continued.

Gospel according to the Egyptians.

This is universally conceded to have been a very ancient gospel. The learned Dr. Lardner thinks it was not written until the second century.[1]

Clement of Alexandria [A D. 200], mentions it in various places, and gives several fragments from it:

1. From Stromata, bk. 3, ch. 6.

"When Salome asked our Lord, 'How long death should prevail,' (not as though life were an evil, or the creation an evil), he answered, 'As long as ye women do bring forth children.'"

From what follows, it will be seen that this passage was in the Gospel of the Egyptians. The fact that the gospel is not cited by name in this place, becomes, after we know the quotation was taken from that book, a very strong endorsement of it; since it is asserted that Jesus said what he was reported to have said, in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

2. From the same, ch. 9.

"But they who oppose the established order of God, by their spurious pretences to celibacy, cite those things which our Savior spake to Salome, which I

(1.) Works, vol. 3, p. 204.

just before mentioned. They are, I think, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians; for they say that our Savior himself said, 'I am come to destroy the works of the woman; that is, the works of female concupiscence, generation and corruption.'

"Afterward, Salome asked him how long it should be that death should prevail against men? And he answered, 'While ye women bring forth children.'

"Hereupon she said, 'Then I have done well in bearing no children, seeing there is no necessity of generation.' To which our Lord replied, 'Feed upon every herb, but that which is bitter, eat not.'"

3. From the same, ch. 13.

"Wherefore Cassianus saith, that when Salome asked, when the things should be known concerning which she enquired, our Lord answered, "When you shall despise the covering of your nakedness, and when two shall become one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' First, (I observe) we have not this saying in the four gospels given to us, but in that according to the Egyptians."

This passage, quoted from the Gospel of the Egyptians, may be found in similar language in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, formerly attributed to Clement of Rome, but which is now thought to have been written, not earlier than A. D. 150.

The next author who refers to this gospel, is Origen; [A. D. 230.] In his Homily on the Gospel of Luke, ch. 1. v. 1, he says:

"The church has four gospels, the heretics many; among which is that according to the Egyptians, that according to the Twelve Apostles," &c. (This according to the Latin translator of Origen.)

The next is Jerome; Præf. in Com. in Matt.:

"The evangelist Luke declares that there were many who wrote gospels, when he says, "Forasmuch as many," &c. &c. (ch, 1, v. 1,) which being published by various authors, gave birth to several heresies; such as that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, that of the Twelve Apostles, and Basilides, and Apelles, and others, which it would be tedious to enumerate; in relation to these it will be enough at present to say, that there have been certain men, who endeavored, without the spirit and grace of God, rather to set forth some sort of account, than to publish a true history."

It will be seen that Jerome admits that not only the Gospel of Basilides, composed about A. D. 125, and other

gospels, admitted to have been first published in the second century, were written before that of Luke, but even the Gospel of Apelles also, which was written not earlier than A. D. 160.

That the Gospel of the Egyptians was one of those referred to in Luke's preface, was the opinion of Origen, Theophylact and others of the ancients, and among the moderns the same view has been expressed by Grotius, Dr. Grabe, Erasmus, and many others.

Epiphanius speaks of this gospel,[1] and thus refers to one of its doctrines:

"They (the Sabellians), make use of all the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, but principally of some certain passages, which they pick out according to their own corrupt and preposterous sentiments. But the whole of their errors, and the main strength of their heterodoxy they have from some apocryphal books, but principally from that which is called the "Gospel of the Egyptians;" which is a name some have given it: for in that, many things are proposed in a hidden, mysterious manner, as by our Savior, as though he had said to his disciples, that the Father was the same person, the Son the same person, and the Holy Ghost the same person."

The learned Dr. Grabe,[2] has a long dissertation concerning this gospel, the substance of which is, that it was composed by some Christians in Egypt; that it was published before either of the canonical gospels, and that Clement of Alexandria did not reject it, but endeavored rather to explain it; which he would not have done, had he considered it the work of a heretic.

Dr. Mill[3] thinks this and the Gospel of the Hebrews were composed before either of our canonical gospels, and that the authors of it were probably Essenes, who received the Christian doctrine from the preaching of Mark at Alexandria.

Mr. Whiston says:

"The Therapeutæ mentioned by Philo seem to have been those first Christian

(1.) Hæres. 62. 2.
(2.) Spiceleg. Patr. tom. 1, p. 31 to 34.
(3.) Prolegom. in N. T. sec. 35 to 38, and sec. 50.

ascetics, who were converted from the Jews, chiefly in Egypt, soon after our Savior's passion, before the coming of Mark thither, and to have both imperfectly understood and practiced the Christian religion. Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome plainly take them for Christians, and their sacred, ancient, mystical books are by Eusebius supposed to be the gospels and epistles of the New Testament. The modern critics are entirely puzzled about these Therapeutæ, and yet are not willing commonly to believe them Christians. And indeed Eusebius' opinion, that their ancient allegorical books were our gospels and epistles, is liable to great exceptions, since they are not allegorical in their nature, nor were they published any considerable time before Philo's own writings; so that upon the whole, I believe, it is more reasonable to say, these Therapeutæ were those first Christian ascetics, who had gotten very imperfect accounts of Christianity, and were guided by the Gospel according to the Egyptians, which we know by the fragments remaining, was a gospel sufficiently mystical and allegorical, according to the genius of that nation."—*Essay on Const.* 1. 37.

The statement of Eusebius,[1] that the Therapeutæ of Egypt became Christians, (though not in the first century), may be accepted. It is supported by Epiphanius and Jerome, and by the historical fact, that the Christian monkish system had its origin in Egypt.

How far the Therapeutæ of Egypt and the Essenes of Palestine may be identified, as one and the same class or sect, is a question which has been much discussed. Their beliefs and practices were similar; they both had, anterior to the Christian system, many of its peculiar doctrines, and the members became easy converts to the new religion, and were among the first Christian disciples.

A full account of the Essenes will be found in the writings of Josephus.

Jerome says, in his life of Mark,

"He went with his gospel into Egypt, and there constituted a church; that he was so remarkable in the abstemiousness of his life, that he obliged all his converts to follow his example; insomuch that Philo, the most eloquent of all the Jewish writers, when he saw the first church at Alexandria still observing the Jewish customs, thought it would be to the honor of his nation to write a book concerning their way of life; and as Luke says the Christians at Jerusa-

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 2. 16. 17.

lem had all things common, so he relates that it was at Alexandria, under Mark's instructions."—*Catal. Vir. Illust. in Marco.*

And again, in his life of Philo, he says, he places Philo among the church writers, because,

"By writing a book concerning the first church of Mark at Alexandria, he has said much in commendation of the Christians. He not only mentions such as were there, but in many other provinces; and calls their places of abode monasteries; from whence it appears, that the first Christians, who believed there on Christ, were such as the monks now pretend and desire to be; to wit, to have all things common,"&c.—*Catal. Vir. Illust. in Philone.*

This is a good illustration of the careless writing of the fathers, and of their readiness to supply, from their own imaginations, what is wanting in historical data. Philo, though he writes of the Therapeutæ, and of their mode of life, says nothing of any church of Mark at Alexandria, or of any other church, nor does he once mention the Christians in that connection, if indeed in any other.

There is, in fact, no historical evidence, at all reliable, that any Christian church was founded in Egypt in the first century. The first reliable information upon the subject, is in the letter of Hadrian to Servianus, husband of Paulina, the Emperor's sister. Servianus was consul, A. D. 134. The letter is preserved by Vopiscus, who wrote about the year 300, and who took it from the books of Phlegon, the historian, who was a freedman of Hadrian. From this epistle it appears, that the religion of the Christians was so crude that Christ and Serapis were worshipped indiscriminately; from which we may reasonably infer that the Christian religion had not long been established in that country.

The testimony of Epiphanius is as follows:

"They who believed on Christ were called Jessæi, (or Essenes), before they were called Christians, either because Jesse was the father of David, or from Jesus, the name of our Lord, because they were his disciples, and derived their constitution from him, or from the signification of the name Jesus, which in

Davidson says,[1] it was classed by Origen with the Gospel of the Hebrews, as inauthentic.

Norton[2] thinks it was not a historical, but a doctrinal book.

This gospel was not condemned in the famous decree of Pope Gelasius.

As has been already seen, the decree did not include either of the first century gospels; the Gospel of Paul, the Gospel of Peter, the Oracles of Matthew; neither did it touch the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Jones objects to the Gospel according to the Egyptians, that it contradicts the canonical gospels, in representing Salome to be a single woman. But it will be found, upon examination, that the objection is hastily made. Matt. 27. 56, and Mark 15. 40, are cited to show that Salome was the mother of Zebedee's children; assuming that the third woman spoken of in each place, as present, at the crucifixion, was the same. But this may or may not have been the case. It is stated, both in Mark and Matthew, that many women were there. Because each historian mentions two of the number alike, it by no means follows, that the third was also the same.

If Salome had been the mother of the two apostles, James and John, she would doubtless have been so designated, wherever spoken of.

Before leaving the Gospel of the Egyptians, it will be necessary to notice a mis-translation of Jones, made for the purpose of bringing this gospel into disrepute.

He makes Clement of Alexandria say, Strom. 3, ch. 9,

"The things which follow, spoken to Salome, they cite, who had rather follow any thing, than the true canon of the gospel," &c.—*Jones, vol.* 1, *p.* 208.

(1.) Canon, p. 115.
(2.) Vol. 3, p. 243.

The inference would be that Clement considered the Egyptian Gospel an uncanonical book.

The Greek used by Clement is,

"Επιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι, φαμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς," &c.

"They cite, who rather follow any thing, than what is according to the truth, in the gospel rule."

The Greek word κανών meant, literally, a rule of measurement; hence, secondarily, a moral rule. It was not used, as applied to a collection of New Testament books, until the fourth century; while Clement wrote at the close of the second.

When and by whom written. The original of this gospel may have been in use among the Therapeutæ of Egypt, a long time before the introduction of Christianity, the passages relating to Christ being afterward added. Or it may have been written in another country, and brought into Egypt, with the Christian religion. In either case it may be dated as early as A. D. 110 to 115.

Doctrines. We find no evidence that this gospel contained the doctrine of the immaculate conception or of the material resurrection, or made any allusion to the miracles of Christ.

RECAPITULATION.

The Gospel of the Egyptians was very ancient; written early in the second century; is mentioned in several places, and fragments given by Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 200, who emphatically endorses it, although Jones disingenuously attempts to prove otherwise. The gospel taught abstemiousness and celibacy and gave countenance to the Sabellian form of the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead. According to Jerome, Origen and Theophylact of the ancients, and Grotius, Erasmus, Dr. Grabe, Dr. Mill, and others of the moderns, it was written before the Gospel of Luke, and in the opinion of

Drs. Grabe and Mill, and other eminent theologians, before either of the canonical gospels. Was not condemned in the decree of Gelasius. The objection as to Salome shown to be untenable. The gospel probably written more than fifty years before the introduction of Christianity into Egypt; the Christian religion having probably been introduced at the same time with Mark's gospel, and with the establishment of the monkish system; toward the close of the second century.

The story of Joseph and Mary appears not to have been known when this gospel was written. Neither is any thing said, so far as we have information of its contents, of the miracles of Christ, or of the material resurrection.

CHAPTER VI.

LOST GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.—Concluded.

Other Lost Gospels.

Gospel of Perfection—Gospel of Andrew—of Bartholomew—of Philip—The Syriac Gospel—Gospel of Eve—The Gospel of Matthias—of Judas—Other Gospels and Uncanonical Writings.

The Gospel of Perfection.—Epiphanius alludes to this gospel in the following manner;

"But others of them (the Gnostics), produce a certain spurious and supposititious work, to which work they have given the name of the Gospel of Perfection; which really is no gospel, but the perfection of sorrow; for all the perfection of death is contained in that product of the devil."—*Adv. Hæres.* 26. 2.

Baring-Gould classes this as a Pauline gospel. It was regarded as sacred by the Ophites. Bauer thinks it the same as the Gospel of Eve. But they are distinguished by Epiphanius. Norton says, if it ever existed, it was not a historical work.[1]

The doubt expressed by Norton, as to the existence of this gospel, might well be indulged, if it depended only upon the assertions of Epiphanius. But it is expressly mentioned in the Gospel of the Infancy, one of the oldest pre-canonical gospels which have been preserved.

(1.) Genuineness of the gospels, vol. 3, p. 222.

In that gospel, after a lengthy account of the miracles performed by Christ while a child in Egypt, it is added:

"And the Lord Jesus did many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy, nor in the Gospel of Perfection."—[Infancy, ch. 25.]

Camerarius supposed that Basilides and other Gnostics used this gospel, and that it was the same with the Gospel of Philip.[1] But Epiphanius distinguishes between them. (See Gospel of Philip.)

Gospel of Andrew.—There are no fragments extant, of the Gospel of Andrew, and but little is known of it beyond the fact, that it was condemned as apocryphal in the decree of Pope Gelasius; A. D. 494. In some copies of the decree, however, it was not mentioned.

The Gospel of Andrew is considered by Jones and others, to have been one of the "many" referred to in the preface to Luke. It is thought to have been alluded to by Augustine, (A. D. 420), in his Prol. in Matthæum.

Gospel of Bartholomew.—Strauss refers to the Gospel of Bartholomew as one of those "always current," quoted by heretics and sometimes by orthodox.[2]

No fragments are extant. It was pronounced apocryphal by the decree of Gelasius. Was counted by Jerome, Venerable Bede and others, among those referred to in Luke.

Some have thought it the same as the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes; but Jerome, who saw and read the Gospel of the Nazarenes, spoke of the Gospel of Bartholomew as distinct from it.

It was reported that Pantænus, when sent to India to preach the gospel, found that Bartholomew had preached there before him, and had left the Gospel of

(1.) Fabricius, Codex. Apoc. vol. 1, p. 373. Note.
(2.) New Life of Jesus, vol. 1, p. 56.

Matthew in Hebrew; and Jerome says he brought it back with him to Alexandria. This has been thought to be the same as the Gospel of Bartholomew. The subject is involved in much confusion and uncertainty.

Nicephorus says, Bartholomew, while in India, dictated the Gospel of Matthew to them out of his memory, and did not take it along with him.[1]

Monsieur Daille supposed the Gospel of Bartholomew was forged, a short time before Gelasius.[2]

Gospel of Philip.—The following notice of this gospel, and fragment of its contents, is taken from Epiphanius on Heresies, ch. 26, sec. 13.

"They (the Gnostics) laugh at the conduct of the monks, and those who profess chastity and virginity, as submitting to unnecessary hardships. They produce a forged gospel, under the name of the holy Apostle Philip; in which it is written:

" 'The Lord hath revealed to me what the soul must say when it ascends into heaven, and what answer it must make to each of the celestial powers: 'I knew myself and gathered; recollected myself on all sides, and did not raise children for the devil, (Archon, prince of this world), but extirpated all his principles, and I have gathered myself together, the scattered members; and I know who thou art, for I am one of the celestial number. And thus,' says that book, 'she is set at liberty.' But it adds, that if the soul be found to have propagated children, it is obliged to stay below, till she shall be able to receive and bring those children to herself."

It is not safe to place reliance upon these accounts. Norton says, "Epiphanius is a writer as deficient in plausibility, as in decency and veracity."[3] He was fond of indulging in obscenity, when treating of the doctrines and practices of heretics.[4]

Du Pin supposes the Gospel of Philip was made use of by Basilides and Apelles, and by the Ebionites.[5]

(1.) Ecc. Hist. l. 4, c. 3, 2.
(2.) De Pseud. Dion. Areop. c. 27.
(3.) Genuineness of the Gospels, by Andrews Norton, 1837, vol. 2, p. 211.
(4.) See his work, adv. Hær. 26. 5.
(5.) Hist of the Can. vol. 2.

If Epiphanius is to be at all relied upon, there could have been but little affinity between the Gospel of Philip and that of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes.

The Gospel according to Philip is mentioned by Timotheus,[1] as one of the new books which the impious Manichæus, inspired by the devil, had made. It is one of the Pauline gospels of Baring-Gould. Philip, like Paul, is said to have been an apostle of the Gentiles.

"This Gospel," says Baring-Gould, "belongs to the same category as those of Perfection, and of Eve, and belonged, if not to the Ophites, to an analogous sect, perhaps that of the Prodicians."—*Lost and Hostile Gospels, p.* 293.

THE SYRIAC GOSPEL.—This was probably nothing but the Gospel of the Hebrews in the Syriac language. It is said to have been used by Hegesippus, the first church historian, A. D. 185.

GOSPEL OF EVE,—Is another of the gospels of Epiphanius. The following extract is from his famous work against heresies.

"Some of these, (the Gnostics), do produce a certain spurious and forged writing, which they call the Gospel of Perfection;—others have the impudence to produce one called the Gospel of Eve;—for under her name, as reported to have received great discoveries, revealed to her in her discourse with the serpent, they propagate their principles.

"But as the discourses of a person in drink, pretending to give advice, are according to his giddy fancy, not equal, but some of them merry, others melancholy, so are the wicked principles of these impostors. For they are led away with certain ridiculous testimonies and visions, which are in that gospel which they make use of. They produce such as the following:

"'I stood upon a very high mountain, and saw one man very tall, and another short. And I heard a voice, as it were, of thunder; upon which I went nearer to hear; and he spake to me saying, I am thou, and thou art I; and again, I am thou and thou art I; and where thou art, there am I; and I am in all places, and in every thing; and wheresoever thou wilt, thou shalt find me, and in finding me, thou findest thyself.' Behold the doctrine of devils."—46. 47.

Other pretended quotations are made from this gospel, which can scarcely be given in English.[2]

(1.) In Epist. &c. p. 117.

(2.) See the Greek text of Epiphanius, adv. Hær. ch. 26, sec. 2, 3, and 5.

Baring-Gould dignifies this doubtful production, with a place among his Pauline gospels.[1] He thinks it was used by Marcus the Valentinian, and says it contained the Alpha Beta story of the childhood of Christ, to be found in some of the extant gospels.

Gospel of Matthias.—There are no fragments of the Gospel of Matthias extant. It was well known by the ancients, having been referred to by Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome, and in some copies of the decree of Gelasius.

Origen calls it a gospel of the heretics.[2]

Jerome and Erasmus include it among those which they think were written before Luke. So also Origen. Venerable Bede was of the same opinion. Dr. Grabe and Dr. Mill think it the same as the Traditions of Matthias.

Gospel of Judas Iscariot.—Judas also, had his gospel. It is mentioned by Irenæus as follows:

"But there are other heretics who say Cain [was delivered] by a heavenly power, and who acknowledge Esau, Corah and the Sodomites, as their pattern; who, though they were fought against by the Creator, yet received no damage thereby; for Wisdom took from them whatever belonged to it. These things, they say, Judas, who betrayed Christ, carefully obtained the knowledge of; and as he was the only one of the apostles who knew the truth, he accomplished the mystery of betraying Christ. By him (Judas) they say, all things in heaven and earth were dissolved; and according to their views, they produce a certain forgery, which they call The Gospel of Judas."—*Adv. Hœr.* 1. 31. 1.

Epiphanius says,

"They will have him to be their relation, and esteem him to have obtained extraordinary knowledge; inasmuch as they produce a certain book under his name, which they call the Gospel of Judas."—*Adv. Hœr.* 38. 1.

Mr. Toland having spoken of the gospel with some respect, Jones becomes indignant, and calls those who

(1.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 287.
(2.) Homil. in Luc. 1. in init.

use it, "a set of impious, beastly, profane wretches." He must have accepted the statements of Epiphanius concerning them, which, by more moderate writers, are rejected as malicious slanders. Dr. Lardner refers to some of his stories concerning the heretics, as "fictions of Epiphanius."[1]

Theodoret speaks of this gospel.[2] Baring-Gould makes it a Pauline gospel.[3] He thinks it was composed by the Cainites.

Not a fragment has been preserved, outside of the writings of Irenæus and Epiphanius.

OTHER LOST GOSPELS.

The following, mentioned by various writers, are not included in the foregoing list, for reasons which will be given.

Gospel of Apelles.—This and some others will be treated of in connection with the persons to whom they are attributed. [See Apelles.]

The Gospel of Barnabas, does not appear to belong to the second century.

It is first expressly mentioned, in the decree of Gelasius, A. D. 494. It has been supposed, however, by some, that Clement of Alexandria alluded to it, when, commenting on Psalms, 118. 19, 20, he says:

"Barnabas, expounding this saying of the prophet, thus reasons:

" 'Although there are many gates opened, righteousness is the gate, which is in Christ, at which all they that enter shall be blessed.' "—*Stromata*, 6. 8.

But as this passage is not in the Epistle of Barnabas, but is in the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, it has been thought by Dr. Grabe and others, that Clement of Alexandria made a mistake in the

(1.) Vol. 4, p. 397.
(2.) Lib. 1, Hær. F. c. 15.
(3.) Page 305.

citation. Either that, or both Clements took the passage from the Gospel of Barnabas.

Dr. Grabe found also in an ancient manuscript, another citation, as follows:

"Barnabas the apostle saith, 'He who prevails in unlawful contests, is so much the more unhappy, because he goes away, having more sin.' "

Dr. Grabe was inclined to think this came from the Gospel of Barnabas. Others were of the opinion that it was in the lost portion of the Epistle of Barnabas. Since the discovery of the entire manuscript of the Epistle by Tischendorff, as it is found not to contain this passage, more weight is now to be given to the conjecture of Dr. Grabe.

Mr. Toland, in the "Nazarenes," says that he saw this passage in substance, in an Italian manuscript, in Holland, entitled "The True Gospel of Jesus called Christ, a new Prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of Barnabas the Apostle." This is supposed to have been a Mohammedan imposture, as Mohammed is, in several places, expressly named as the Paraclete, or promised Comforter.

There is a hypothetical history of the Gospel of Barnabas, which may be worthy of attention.

It is related by Theodorus Lector, Suidas, Nicephorus and others, that, in the reign of the Emperor Zeno, the remains of Barnabas, the apostle and companion of Paul, were found in Cyprus, under a tree, and upon the breast the Gospel of Matthew in Barnabas' own handwriting. The book was carried to the emperor, and was very highly esteemed by him, and put under a crown in his palace. There is a historical incident connected with this story, which gives it an air of probability. It is stated that on account of the honor which attached to Cyprus, by virtue of this discovery, the inhabitants, by means of it, prevailed in their contest with the

Bishop of Antioch, so that their metropolis had an independent bishop, not subject to the jurisdiction of Antioch.

The hypothesis was, that this book, thus found on the breast of Barnabas, was an interpolated and corrupted Gospel of Matthew, and was henceforth called the Gospel of Barnabas.

According to this, one of the gospels became so corrupted and interpolated by being copied by an apostle, that it became necessary for the head of the church to pronounce it apocryphal.

Gospel or Harmony of Basilides.—[See Basilides.]

The Clementine Gospel occupies a conspicuous place in the work of Baring-Gould. He appears to be the only writer who has given this name to the gospel or gospels used in the Clementines. It is commonly supposed that the principal gospel made use of in these works, was that of the Hebrews.

Gospel of Cerinthus.—[See Cerinthus.]

Accounts or Genealogies of the Desposyni.—The Desposyni is the term made use of by Eusebius, to designate those relations of Christ, who were supposed to keep family records and genealogies. Fabricius has the above title in his list of gospels.

Descent from the Cross, by John.—One of the many apocryphal writings of uncertain origin, sometimes classed among the gospels.

Gospel of the Encratites.—Fabricius and others have inferred that Epiphanius ascribed a gospel to the sect of the Encratites. It is more probable, however, that he referred to the Gospel of Tatian.[1]

The Eternal Gospel.—The idea of an Eternal Gospel, was taken from Revelation, 14. 6. It was thought

(1.) See Epiph. Hæres. bk. 30, 13. also bks. 46 and 47.

John had promised an eternal gospel; and none having appeared, one was accordingly brought to light, as late as the 13th contury; attributed by some, to John of Parma.

Gospel of the Gnostics, is a term sometimes used. The Gnostics had various gospels. Epiphanius speaks of their writing "The Revelations of Adam, and other false gospels."

False Gospels of Hesychius.—This phrase is found in the decree of Pope Gelasius, wherein certain gospels are condemned by that title. What they were, is uncertain. Jerome speaks of "those books which go under the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and are esteemed through the perverse humors of some."[1]

The Book of the Helkesaites, is spoken of, by Epiphanius and Eusebius. The Helkesaites affirmed, that the book had fallen down from heaven; and that they who believed and observed it, should obtain the pardon of their sins.

Epiphanius says, it described Christ as a power, whose height was twenty-four schænia, or Egyptian leagues, or about sixty-six miles; his breadth twenty-four miles, and his thickness in proportion. His limbs and feet were correspondingly large. Also, that according to this book, the Holy Ghost was of the female sex, and like Christ, reaching above the clouds, and standing between two mountains.

Gospel of Justin.—Renan employs this term in referring to the gospel principally used by Justin Martyr. This is supposed to have been the Gospel of the Hebrews, or the Gospel of Peter, which may have been nearly the same.

Gospel of James the Less.—This is spoken of by

(1.) Praefat. in Ev. ad. Damas.

some writers, but appears to be none other than the Protevangelion, which will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter.

Gospel of Jude.—The same as the Gospel of Judas Iscariot.

Gospel of the Lord.—One of the Lost Gospels of Rev. S. Baring-Gould. He says the Gospel of the Lord was used by Marcion, and apparently before him by Cerdo. It may however, be affirmed with much confidence, that Marcion's Gospel was not used before his time; since Marcion is universally conceded to have been the author or compiler of it. But as this consisted of a collection of numerous manuscripts, it is possible that Cerdo may have used a collection, consisting of a portion of the same manuscripts.

Gospel of Lucius.—Such a title is to be seen in the list of Fabricius, but it appears to be one of the books designated as the

False Gospels of Lucianus.—These were pronounced apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius; but as in the case of the False Gospels of Hesychius, they are not described with sufficient certainty, to enable us to identify them.

Gospel of Life.—This is mentioned by Fabricius, citing Photius, Cod. 85; also Timotheus, Presb. C., Politanus, in Epist. &c., p. 117, who says: "The impious Manichæans, following him, [Manes], and inspired by the devil, make new books, such as, (1.) Evangelium Vivum," &c.

The Legal Priesthood of Christ, is an obscure book, sometimes spoken of as a gospel. But little is known of its contents.

Gospel of Longinus.—Nothing definitely known concerning it. Probably not of the second century.

Gospel of Manes.—[See Manes.]

Gospel of Marcion.—[See Marcion.]

Memorabilia of Justin.—No gospel, though sometimes alluded to as such. Same as the "Memoirs," so often referred to by Justin.

Midwife of our Savior.—Condemned by Gelasius, which appears to be all that is known of it.

Manichee Gospel.—[See Manes.]

Gospel of Merinthus.—Merinthus was only another name for Cerinthus.

Passing of St. Mary, by St. John. In the list of Fabricius. But little is known of it.

Persian History of Christ.—Written bv Jerome Xaverius, from the Persian, A. D. 1600.

Gospel of Scythianus.—Nothing known relating to it.

Gospel of Simonides, or of the Simonians.—[See Simon Magus.]

Gospel of Thaddæus.—Rejected by Gelasius.

Gospel of Tatian.—[See Tatian.]

Gospel of Truth.—[See Valentinus.]

OTHER UNCANONICAL WRITINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

Besides the foregoing gospels, there appeared in the second century, a large number of other writings, relating to Christ and his apostles; Acts, Epistles, Revelations, &c. Fabricius gives a list, alphabetically arranged, of Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 36 in number; among which are the Acts of Peter, Acts of Peter and Andrew, Acts of John, Acts of St. Mary, &c.

Then there was the Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalypse of John, (another), Apocalypse of Paul, Bartholomew &c.

These were subsequently called apocryphal; a term, meaning, at first, only hidden; but which, afterward, when the books had been for some time laid aside and disused, came to be looked upon as a term of reproach.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.

Apollonius of Tyana.

Apollonius Tyaneus, one of the most remarkable characters of history, was born two years before the commencement of the Christian era. He lived a hundred years, witnessed the reign of a dozen Roman emperors, and during his long and brilliant career, sustained the role of a philosopher, teacher, traveler, religious reformer and worker of miracles.

The most of our information concerning him, is derived from his biography, written in Greek, by Flavius Philostratus, in the year 210. It was composed at the request of the beautiful and gifted Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

As soon as Julia was made empress, she gathered around her the finest intellects and the greatest orators of the day. Among them were Dion Cassius, the historian, the eminent lawyers, Paulus, Papinian and Ulpian, and the learned sophist and scholar, Philostratus. It was under such auspices, that the life of Apollonius was written. The work has attracted much

attention, and has been translated into various languages.

In England, in 1680, Charles Blount, the deist, commenced a translation, and had proceeded as far as the first two books, which he published with extensive notes, when he seems to have become alarmed at the opposition of the ecclesiastics of his day, and did not further prosecute the work.

In his preface, Blount refers, in his quaint manner, to the supposed opposition of the book of Philostratus, to the Christian Scriptures. "Philostratus does not," says he, "any where so much as mention the name of Christ; and if one heathen writer, Hierocles, did make an ill use of this history, by comparing Apollonius to Christ, What is that to Philostratus? Now as to myself," he continues, "I am so far from comparing him to our blessed Savior, or from giving credit to any new miracles, that my daily request of God is, to give me faith enough to believe the old."

In the year 1809, the Rev. Edward Berwick, Vicar of Leixslip, in Ireland, translated the whole eight books of Philostratus; the celebrated Dr. Lardner having in the mean time given his opinion, that the work was not intended to antagonize the New Testament.

Let us now open this celebrated book of Philostratus, and take a brief survey of its contents.

He commences by giving an account of the materials from which the work was composed; stating that he obtained them from the different cities and temples, from tradition, and from the epistles of Apollonius, "addressed to kings, and sophists, and phlosophers; to Elians, Delphians, Indians and Egyptians." Also that he had made use of the book of Maximus the Ægæan, the biography written by Damis the Assyrian, who had

accompanied Apollonius in his travels, and a work written by one Meragenes.

The following is an epitome of the biography, as given by Philostratus:

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS.

Apollonius was born at Tyana, a town founded by Greeks, in Cappadocia.

Before his birth, Proteus, an Egyptian god, appeared to his mother. She asked the god, whom she should bring forth. To which he replied, "Thou shalt bring forth me." Apollonius was born in a meadow, under a temple since dedicated to him. When his mother was near the time of her delivery, she was warned in a dream to go and gather flowers in a meadow. When she came there, while her maidens were dispersed up and down, employed in their several amusements, she fell asleep on the grass. While thus situated, a flock of swans that was feeding in the meadow, formed a chorus around her, and clapping their wings as their custom is, sung in unison, while the air was fanned by a gentle zephyr. At the same time, her son was born. The natives of the place affirm that at the instant of his birth, a thunderbolt, which seemed ready to fall upon the ground, rose aloft, and suddenly disappeared.

All the people of the country said he was the son of Jupiter; but he constantly called himself the son of Apollonius.

As he grew up, he gave signs of great strength of memory, and persevering application.

The eyes of all were attracted by his beauty.

His youth was spent, partly in Tarsus, and partly in Ægæ, where he enjoyed the conversation of the disciples of Plato, Chrysippus and Aristotle. He was an enthusiastic admirer and devoted follower of Pythagoras. He declined eating any thing that had life, living exclusively on fruits, and other productions of the earth. His fame was spread far and near. While in his youth, he lost his parents, and buried them in his native town, Tyana. He resolved never to marry.

As a true disciple of Pythagoras, he maintains silence for five years. Opposes hot baths. Wherever he goes, he reforms religious worship.

His probationary term of silence having expired, he resolves to travel to India, and visit the Brahmins and Germanes, and converse with the magi inhabiting Babylon and Susa; saying it was his duty to go where wisdom and his guardian

angel led him. While on this journey, he acquired from the Arabians a knowledge of the language of animals; an art for which others of the ancients were celebrated; Melampus, Teresius, and Thales Milesius.

Entering the territories of Babylon, he had an interview with the satrap. He continued his journey, interpreting to Damis, his companion, dreams and visions, by the way. Then we have an account of Babylon; with its royal mansions, covered with brass, and the apartments and porticos, adorned with silver, with tapestry of gold, and with beaten gold.

Apollonius enters the king's palace, conversing with Damis, and not noticing at all, the splendid things surrounding him. He was received with honor by the king, Bardanes, who invited him to join in the sacrifice he was then preparing, of a white horse from the Nisæan plains, to be offered to the sun, adorned, as if in a solemn procession. Apollonius declined; but sacrificed to the sun with frankincense, and then retired; lest he should be made a partaker in the shedding of blood.

He visits India, and is well received by Phraotes, the king. He is offered money by both these kings, but refuses to receive it.

We must not omit to mention, that while on this journey to India, Damis the companion of Apollonius, saw, on Mt. Caucasus, the very chains with which Prometheus had been bound.

They arrive at the wonderful hill occupied by the Brahmins. The sages communicate freely with Apollonius, who participates in their ablutions and ceremonies. Philostratus relates, that when, with staves uplifted, the Brahmins struck the earth all together, they made it heave and swell like the waves of the sea, and they themselves were elevated to the height of almost two cubits above it. There they would dance awhile in chorus, and then descend together. Iarchus, the chief of the Brahmins, declares that Apollonius was, in a previous life, a pilot of an Egyptian vessel. Apollonius admits it to be true, and gives some account of his life as a pilot.

Then comes a feast, given by the king and Brahmins. Four Pythian tripods, like those described in Homer, came forward of their own accord. Then advanced cup-bearers of black brass, like the Ganymedes and Pelops of the Greeks. The earth strewed under them herbs, softer than beds. Bread and fruits, and the vegetables of the season, together with the dainties used at second courses, came of themselves, each in order, better dressed than they could be by our cooks. The cup-bearers of brass, mixed the wine and the

water for the company, which they presented, in small cups, to every guest.

Iarchus cures the lame, and the blind, and performs many other miracles.

Apollonius returns home by going south to the sea, thence by vessel, up the Euphrates to Babylon, thence by way of Antioch, to Cyprus and Paphos.

He goes to Ephesus. People flock about him. Certain prophecies from the oracles at Colyphon, Didyme and Pergamos, in his favor, spread abroad. Embassadors come to him from several cities. He predicts the plague, and tells what is going on at a distance.

The plague raging at Ephesus, ambassadors were sent to him at Smyrna, entreating him to come to their assistance. Apollonius said, "I think the journey is not to be delayed.' No sooner had he uttered these words, than he was at Ephesus. There he put an end to the plague, by having the people stone a demon, which took various forms.

He travels through Greece. At Athens, casts out an evil spirit from a youth. As soon as Apollonius fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into the most angry and horrid expressions, and then swore he would depart out of the youth. Apollonius rebuked him, commanded him to come out, and told him to give a visible sign. Immediately the demon cried out, "I will make that statue tremble;" to which he pointed, standing in a royal portico. Whereupon the statue first began to shake, then totter, and finally tumbled down.

Apollonius visits the temples of Greece, and reforms their religious rites and ceremonies.

At Corinth, Menippus, one of his disciples, a young Lycian, was in love with a beautiful and intelligent woman, whom he was soon to marry. Apollonius goes as a guest to the wedding. When everything is ready, Apollonius announces that the woman is one of the Empusæ, who pass under the name of Lamiæ and Larvæ. Upon this announcement, everything vanished into thin air; the gold and silver vessels, cup-bearers and cooks, and the whole domestic apparatus. Whereupon the phantom, appearing as if in tears, begged not to be tormented, nor forced to make a confession. But Apollonius was peremptory, and she confessed to being Empusa, and that she had pampered Menippus with rich dainties, for the express purpose of devouring him. Philostratus says, "I have been necessarily induced to mention this transaction, as it was one of the most celebrated performances by Apollonius, and as it happened in the center of Greece, many were acquainted with it."

Having traveled all over Greece, he next went to Rome. As Nero was per-

secuting philosophers, his companions became frightened, and nearly all left him. At Rome, he was accused of treason. The accuser came forward, holding in his hand a roll, on which had been written the accusation. When the roll was unfolded, lo and behold, neither letter nor character was to be seen.

A girl, when about to be married, "seemingly died," says the biographer, and the funeral procession was on its way to bury her. She was of a consular family, and all Rome condoled with the young husband. Apollonius meeting the procession, said to the attendants, "Set down the bier, and I will dry up the tears which you are shedding for the maid." He touched the young woman, and uttering a few words over her, in a low tone of voice, he wakened her from that death, with which she seemed to be overcome. The relatives of the girl presented him with a hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which he settled upon the bride, as a marriage portion.

"It is difficult to me," adds Philostratus, "as it was to all who were present, to ascertain whether Apollonius discovered the vital spark, which had escaped the faculty, (for it was raining at the time, which caused a vapor to rise from her face), or whether he cherished and brought back her soul, which to all appearance was extinct."

Apollonius visits Spain and Africa, and thence returns to Italy and Sicily. At Syracuse, he makes a prediction, concerning the three emperors which Rome was soon to have, which was fully verified in Galba, Vitellius and Otho. He again travels through Greece. Leaving one vessel, and taking another, the one he leaves is shipwrecked. He goes to Egypt. Arriving at Alexandria, he declares a convicted man innocent. A further examination proves him to be so, and his life is saved.

At Alexandria, he has an interview with Vespasian, who, on his way to Rome from Judæa, where he had been carrying on the Jewish war, goes to Egypt, on purpose to visit Apollonius.

While Apollonius was in this part of Egypt, a tame lion coming up to him, and paying him special attention, Apollonius stated to the people, that the lion wanted him to tell them by what human soul he was inhabited. He tells them it is the soul of Amasis, who was formerly king of Egypt, in the district of Sais. The moment the lion heard this, he roared in a piteous strain, crouching on his knees, and at the same time, bursting into tears. The lion was then dressed in collars and garlands, and sent into the interior parts of Egypt, accompanied all the way, with the sound of flutes, and the singing of hymns.

Journeying into the interior of Ethiopia, Apollonius visits the gymnosophists. To show they could perform wonders as well as the Brahmins, Thespesion their leader, said to an elm tree near the one under which they were sitting, "Salute Apollonius, O tree." No sooner were the words uttered, than the tree saluted him; speaking in a voice which was articulate, and resembling that of a woman.

Titus, having been declared emperor of Rome, requested Apollonius to meet him at Argos. On his arrival, Titus embraced him, and said he had a letter from his father, Vespasian, wherein he said, he considered that Apollonius was his benefactor, to whom they were under many obligations.

Apollonius again travels through Greece and Italy. In the Hellespont, he drove out the wandering Egyptians and Chaldæans, who, for their own gain, operating on the fears of the people, who were dreading earthquakes, were collecting money, on pretence of making costly sacrifices.

He now took up his residence at the grove of Smyrna, on the banks of the Meles, where he discoursed of fate and necessity. Knowing that Nerva was to succeed Domitian, he spoke of it as a matter of public notoriety; and showed that tyrants themselves were unable to resist the decrees of fate.

Some of his expressions having been repeated to Domitian, Apollonius was cited to appear before him. Before receiving the summons, however, he was apprised of it by his guardian spirit, and started at once for Italy. Arriving at Rome, he is brought before the emperor, and is accused with great violence, of being an enchanter. Is taken to prison. Discourses encouragingly to his fellow prisoners.

Being brought before the emperor, he talks with so much boldness, that Domitian orders his hair and beard to be cut off, and that he be sent back to prison, loaded with chains, and be cast among the vilest felons. He was now nearly a hundred years old.

Damis, who was also in prison, asked him when he would be at liberty. "To-morrow," answered Apollonius, "if it depends on the judge; this instant, if it depends on myself." Saying this, he drew his leg out of the fetters, and said to Damis, "You see the liberty I enjoy." He then put his leg in the fetters again.

He goes to the tribunal, to make his defense. Domitian perused the indictment, sometimes in great wrath, sometimes with more composure. "I think," says Philostratus, "we may represent Domitian to our minds, as a man highly

incensed at the laws, for ever having suffered such things as tribunals to be constructed. Apollonius was required to enter the tribunal, free from amulet, book or charm, or any writing whatever. As he went into the room, he did not once look at the emperor. He was commanded to look at Domitian, as the god of men. Apollonius lifted his eyes to the vaulted arch of the court, and by his gesture showed that they were turned to Jupiter. The water was then measured into the clepsydra, the dropping from which, was to measure the time of his defense.

There were four articles of accusation.

The accuser thus began: "What is the reason, Apollonius, you do not wear the same kind of garments, as other men?"

"Because," replied he, "the earth, which supplies me with food, supplies me also with raiment; and by wearing garments derived from it, I offer no injury to miserable animals."

2. "Why do men call you a god?"

"Because" said he, "every man that is good, is entitled to the appellation."

3. How could he foretell the plague at Ephesus? Answer, "By living on a lighter diet than other men."

4. "Tell me Apollonius," said the accuser, "on whose account you sacrificed a boy on the day you left your house and went into the country?" "If it can be proved," replied Apollonius, "that I left my house on the day alluded to, I will grant my being in the country, and offering the sacrifice in question; but it shall require persons of both credit and character, to substantiate the fact." Thereupon a shout of applause arose from the spectators; and Domitian himself, being affected by the strength and ingenuity of his answers, said, "I acquit you of the crimes laid to your charge; but here you shall stay until I have had some private conversation with you."

Apollonius replied, "You can detain my body, but not my soul; and I will add, not even my body; for as Homer says,

> 'Not even thy deadly spear can slay me,
> Because I am not mortal.' "

While uttering these words, he vanished from the tribunal.

Damis had gone to Puteoli, where he and Demetrius the philosopher, a friend of Apollonius, were on that day, musing and walking together, on the seashore, celebrated by the story of Calypso.

They had little or no hopes of ever seeing Apollonius again. Tired with their walk, they sat down in a Nymphæum, a building adorned with statues of

the nymphs, wherein was a cistern of white marble, containing a living spring of water, which never rose above, and was never drawn below its margin. They were talking listlessly, while sorrow filled their hearts, when suddenly Apollonius appeared before them. It was on the same day of the trial, though Puteoli was more than three days journey from Rome. Demetrius wished to know if he was alive. Apollonius stretched out his hand, and commanded him to take it, to assure himself that he was still living.

He returned to Greece, and traveled through all the cities, teaching the crowds who flocked to see him.

While Domitian was being assassinated at Rome, by Stephanus, Apollonius was walking and talking, disputing among the trees, in one of the xystas of Ephesus. It was about mid-day. Suddenly Apollonius let his voice fall, as if alarmed at something. He then went on, conversing in a lower tone. Then became quite silent. Soon after, fixing his eyes steadfastly on the earth, and advancing three or four steps, he cried out, "Strike the tyrant; strike;" as if actually witnessing some occurrence.

All Ephesus was astonished at what was heard, there being a large concourse present. But Apollonius, after stopping some time, cried out, "Keep up your spirits, O Ephesians, for this day the tyrant is killed. And why do I say this day? At this very moment, while the words are in my mouth, I swear it by Minerva, the deed is done." Then he remained silent.

This is the account of Philostratus. The same transaction is related by Dion Cassius, with such variation of details, as is supposed to strengthen statements of that kind. That author's account is as follows:

On the very day—nay, the moment Domitian was assassinated, as it was afterward known upon a most exact search into the matter, Apollonius Tyaneus got up, whether it was in the city of Ephesus or elsewhere, upon a very high stone, and calling the people together, cried out with a loud voice, "Courage, Stephanus, courage! strike the murderer. Thou hast struck him; thou hast wounded him; thou hast killed him." "As incredible as this fact seems to be," says the historian, "it is no less true."—*Manning's Dion Cassius, vol.* 2, *p.* 92.

This testimony of Dion Cassius is more important from the fact that he was no admirer of Apollonius, but in another part of his history, puts him down as an impostor and a magician. He complains of Caracalla, that he was such a favorer of impostors and magicians, that he paid great honors to the mem-

ory of Apollonius, of Cappadocia, and raised a monument to him.—*Dion Cassius, vol.* 2, *p.* 327.

Baronius supposes the assassination of Domitian, to have been communicated to Apollonius, by a demon.

The time was now approaching, which was to terminate the career of this remarkable man. Nerva having sent a letter to the philosopher, requesting him to come to Rome and give him his advice, Apollonius replied as follows:

"We will converse together, O emperor, during a long time, where we will neither command others, nor will others command us."

This letter was afterward construed to mean, that Apollonius was about to leave this world, and that Nerva's reign was to be short.

"Here," says Philostratus, "ends the history of Apollonius the Tyanean, as written by Damis the Assyrian. Concerning the manner of his death," he continues, "if he did die," various are the accounts.

"Some say he died at Ephesus, waited on by two handmaids, to one of whom he gave her freedom, foreseeing it would be better for the other, to remain where she was.

"Some say he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus, and there disappeared.

Others affirm that his exit was made at Crete, in a still more extraordinary way. The temple of Dictyma, at Crete, was under the protection of dogs, who took care of the riches laid up in it. When Apollonius entered the temple, the dogs did not bark at him as they did at others, but received him with fawning affection. The priests who had the care of the temple, seeing this, seized Apollonius, and bound him; thinking him a magician, or a robber. About midnight, he freed himself from his chains, and called the priests, to show that he did nothing in secret. Then, going to the gates of the temple, he found them open. As soon as he entered them, they shut of themselves, as they had been before, and the temple resounded with the singing of many virgins; the burden of whose song was, "Leave the earth; come to heaven; come, come!"

After his death, he appeared at Tyana, to a young man who had doubted the immortality of the soul, and discoursed with him upon the subject. The young man cried out, "I believe you now." He had often requested Apollonius to appear to him, and he finally did so.

Here ends the history by Philostratus. Suidas and Eudocia inform us that a life of Apollonius was writ-

ten also, by one Soterichus Oasites.

For several centuries after his death, Apollonius was worshiped as a god, in many parts of the world. Not only did Caracalla build him a temple, but Alexander Severus held him in such esteem, that he had his statue in his private closet. On account of Apollonius, Tyana was held sacred, and exempted from the jurisdiction of governors sent from Rome.

Roman Emperors have not refused him the same honors as were paid to themselves; and Gibbon relates that when Aurelian took the town of Tyana, "a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher."

M. Bayle remarks that Apollonius was worshiped in the beginning of the fourth century, under the name of Hercules, and refers to Vopiscus, Eusebius and Marcellinus, to show that the people of Tyana had not left off the worship of Apollonius in the beginning of the fourth century. His image was set up in many temples. Roman emperors encouraged it.

Lampridius states that Christ was really worshiped by some of the later heathen emperors, together with Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius; these being all looked upon as holy men, and tutelary genii.[1]

Albert Reville says, "The universal respect in which he was held by the whole pagan world, testified to the deep impression which the life of this supernatural being had left indelibly fixed in their minds; an impression which caused one of his contemporaries to exclaim, "We have a god living among us."—"*Pagan Christ,*" *&c., by Albert Reville, London,* 1866, *p.* 39.

Eunapius, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, says of him, that he was not so much of a

(1.) Lamp. Life of Alex. Severus.

philosopher, as something between a god and a man, and that Philostratus ought to have entitled his history, "The Descent of a God upon Earth."[1]

Sidonius Apollinaris, [A. D. 475], praises the morals and philosophy of Apollonius, without speaking of his miracles. In the 8th book, 3d epistle to Leon, counselor of the king of the Goths, he delivers a glowing eulogium upon Apollonius; speaks of his disdain for riches and ostentatious display; of his love for science, his frugality, his gravity, sincerity and uprightness of character, his abstinence from animal food, &c., and closes as follows: "In one word, to say the truth, I do not know as there is, in all antiquity, the life of a philosopher equal to this one; and I am very certain that such a one cannot be found in this age."[2]

Notwithstanding all this evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the ancients, the historian Froude, on the strength of a sentence or two of Lucian, in a letter to Celsus, would place him on a level with the impostor, Alexander Abonoticus, of the second century.

That such a classification would do great injustice to Apollonius, is manifest from his epistles, which are still extant.[3]

They are addressed to individuals, to societies, to philosophers, to kings and emperors.

These writings show him to have been a man of learning, with a consummate knowledge of human nature, embued with the noblest sentiments, and with the principles of a profound philosophy.

In his letter to Hestiæus, he says:

"The truth is not concealed from us, how beautiful it is to have all the earth

(1.) Life of Apollonius, by M. le Nain de Tillemont, p. 42.

(2.) History of Apollonius, by Du Pin, Paris, 1705, Pref. p. 16.

(3.) They may be seen in the original Greek, in the Library of Congress.

for one's country, and all men for brothers and friends; and that those who derive their origin from God, are all endowed with one and the same nature, and with a community of reason and affections; and that wheresoever any one may be, or in whatever manner born, whether barbarian or Greek, he is still a man. But the claims of kindred cannot be evaded, and one recalls to himself, whatever is properly his own. Thus the Ulysses of Homer, as they say, did not prefer immortality, even when offered by the goddess."

In the epistle to Valerius, we have the doctrine of the indestructibility of matter:

"There is no death of any thing, except in appearance; and so, also, there is no birth of any thing, except in appearance. That which passes over from essence into nature, seems to be birth, and what passes over from nature into essence, seems, in like manner, to be death; though nothing really is originated, and nothing ever perishes; but only now comes into sight, and now vanishes. It appears, by reason of the density of matter, and disappears by reason of the tenuity of essence; but is always the same, differing only in motion and condition."

In the next paragraph, enlarging upon the same idea, he closes by saying, "no thing is ever created or destroyed." Again:

"By what other name, then, than First Essence, shall this rightly be called? These things are done and permitted by the Eternal God, who becomes all, in all, and through all, and who, *if he were to clothe himself in names and forms, would suffer loss and damage in his own nature.*"

To a brother, who had lost his wife, he writes:

"It is destined, that whatever has come to perfection, must pass away. Let not, therefore, the loss of your wife, in the ripeness of age, shock you, and not, because something is called death, consider life better than it, since life is considered inferior, by every wise person.

"If there had been any thing to be reprehended in your late wife, you might reasonably be cast down. But she was always esteemed by us, was always loving to her husband, and every thing to be desired."

He closes the letter, with these affecting words:

For tears have I not been able to write more, and more than this I have not thought necessary."

As to the miracles ascribed to Apollonius, the most of them were probably the invention of the second century. There is little doubt, however, that he pos-

sessed some extraordinary faculty, which he exercised in such a way as to establish and maintain an influence over his fellow men, beyond what he could otherwise attain.

Perhaps the highest tribute paid to Apollonius, was by the emperor Titus. The philosopher having written him, soon after his accession, counseling moderation in his government, Titus replied as follows:

"In my own name, and in the name of my country, I give you thanks; and will be mindful of those things. I have indeed, taken Jerusalem, but you have captured me."

The miracles of Apollonius were extensively believed in the second century, and for hundreds of years afterward; and by Christians as well as others. As late as the fourth century, when Hierocles had drawn a parallel between Apollonius and Christ, Eusebius, who thought it necessary to make an elaborate reply, did not deny the performance of miracles by Apollonius, but attributed them to sorcery.

Tillemont thought he had the assistance of Satan. "The devil" said he, "may know the history of past ages," &c., "and he may know what men are doing, in very distant places. And what he knew, he might discover to Apollonius." Reville is of the opinion, that Apollonius practiced what this writer calls "theurgy;" a sort of compromise between imposture and the display of miraculous power.

The difficulty in placing a proper estimate upon such a character, at this distance of time, is great. But it may safely be asserted, that Apollonius was a man, possessed of many elements of greatness; that he was a man of much learning and great ability; and whatever may have been his weaknesses, he was endowed with a certain grandeur of soul, which at once commands our respect and admiration.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.—Continued.

Simon Magus.

Simon Magus was another miracle worker, who lived in the first, and whose miracles were written up in the second century.

Simon was the prince of heretics. His miracles were notorious, and admitted by all. By orthodox Christians, they were attributed to magic, or to the machinations of Satan. At a later day, it has been supposed they might be accounted for on scientific principles.

Dr. Westcott says, "It would be interesting to inquire how far the magic arts universally attributed to Simon and his followers, admit of a physical explanation. In his school, if any where, we should look for an advanced knowledge of nature.[1]

Mosheim is not willing to class Simon among the heretics, since that would be impliedly admitting that he was a Christian; but he concedes that "nearly all the ancient and modern writers make him to have been the

(1.) History of the Canon, p. 249, Note.

head, the father and the ringleader of the whole heretical camp."[1]

This conspicuous position makes his opinions of some importance.

Theodoret, (A. D. 430), says that he denied that there was but one principle. He asserted two, and held that there was another maker of this world. This was the Demi-Ourgos, who was under the control of the Supreme God, who presided over the whole universe.[2]—This doctrine was extensively believed in by the Gnostics of the second century.[3] In his system, the third power in the trinity was a woman.[4] For this his followers had the authority of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Simon held that matter was eternal, and that an evil deity presided over it.[5] He was educated at Alexandria.[6] His followers became so numerous that they were spread over the whole world, and in Rome, in the reign of Claudius, a statue was erected in his honor.[7]

In the 8th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we have a glimpse of Simon, who had bewitched the people, insomuch that they all gave him heed, "from the least to the greatest, saying, 'This man is the great power of God.'" [Acts, 8. 9, 10.]

In the Recognitions, attributed to Clement of Rome, and a portion of which, at least, was written about the same time with the Acts, there is a fuller account of this wonderful man. As in the Acts of the Apostles, so in the Recognitions, he appears as the great antagonist of Peter.

(1.) Mosheim, vol. 1, p. 92.
(2.) Hæret. Fab. 4. 188.
(3.) See Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 511.
(4.) Fabricius, Codex Apoc. vol. 1, p. 362. Note.
(5.) Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 93.
(6.) Clementine Homilies, 2. 22.
(7.) Justin Martyr, 1st Apology, 26. 56; Irenæus, v. Hær. 1. 23.

The reader may be introduced to Peter at Cæsarea, where he is preparing for a discussion with Simon Magus.

"When the day dawned, which had been fixed for the discussion with Simon, Peter, rising at the first cock-crowing, aroused us also; for we were sleeping in the same apartment, thirteen of us all; of whom, next to Peter, Zaccheus was first, then Sophronius, &c. After these, I [Clement] and Nicodemus, then Niceta and Aquila, who had formerly been disciples of Simon, and were converted to Christ, under the teachings of Zaccheus. Of the women, there was no one present."—*Recognitions, book* 2, *chapter* 1.

Peter then tells them that he has formed the habit of waking in the middle of the night, and lying awake till morning, recalling and arranging in his memory, the words of the Lord.

The conversation turning on the coming discussion, Peter wishes to know what kind of a person Simon is. Niceta thinks he will prove to be a formidable antagonist. Aquila gives a full history of Simon, from which it appears, that his father was Antonius, and his mother Rachel. By nation he was a Samaritan, of the village of the Gettones. His profession was that of a magician, yet exceedingly well trained in Greek literature; desirous of glory, and boasting above all the human race.

"So that he wishes to be an exalted person, who is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called 'the Standing one.' He uses this name, as implying that he can never be dissolved; asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity."—*Ibid. chs.* 3 *to* 7.

Simon had been a disciple of Dositheus, and became one of the thirty. Aquila proceeds with his story:

"But not long after, he fell in love with that woman whom they call Luna, and he confided all things to us as his friends; how he was a magician, and how he loved Luna, and how, being desirous of glory, he was unwilling to obtain her ingloriously;" but was waiting patiently, when he could have her honorably.

"Yet so if we also would conspire with him, in the accomplishment of his desires.

"Meantime, at the outset, as soon as he was reckoned among the thirty dis-

ciples of Dositheus, he began to depreciate Dositheus himself, saying that he did not teach purely or perfectly, and that this was the result, not of ill intention, but of ignorance. But Dositheus, when he saw that Simon was depreciating him, fearing lest his reputation among men might become obscured, (for he himself was supposed to be the Standing One), moved with rage, when they met as usual at the school, seized a rod and began to beat Simon; but suddenly the rod seemed to pass through his body, as if it had been smoke. On which Dositheus, being astonished, said to him, 'Tell me if thou art the Standing One; that I may adore thee.' And when Simon assured him that he was, then Dositheus, perceiving that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped him, and gave up his own place as chief to Simon, ordering all the rank of thirty men to obey him; himself taking the inferior place which Simon formerly occupied. Not long after this he died.

"After the death of Dositheus, Simon took Luna to himself, and with her he still goes about, as you see, deceiving multitudes, and asserting that he himself is a certain power, which is above God, the Creator, while Luna, who is with him, has been brought down from the higher heavens. That she is Wisdom, the mother of all things; 'for whom,' says he, 'the Greeks and barbarians, contending, were able in some measure, to see an image of her; but of herself, as the dweller with the first and only God, they were wholly ignorant."

He then proceeds to relate a miracle which he (Aquila) once saw; Luna being in a tower, and looking out of all the windows of the tower at the same time.

Peter evidently believes what Aquila has related, for he says, "It has been permitted to the wicked one, to use those arts by which the affections of every one toward the true father may be proved."—[Bk. 2, chs. 9–18.]

THE DISCUSSION.

Chapter 19.—Zaccheus enters, saying it is time the disputation commenced, for a great crowd, collected in the court of the house, was awaiting him. Then Peter, having prayed with the brethren, went forth to the court of the house, and when he saw the multitude all looking intently on him, in profound silence, and Simon, "standing like a standard bearer in the midst of them," he commenced:

First, he invoked a peaceable discussion. But Simon at once retorted, that Christ said, he came, not to send peace, but a sword. Peter replies in the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the peace-makers." Simon continues to comment upon the inconsistency of Christ, if he came not to bring peace, enjoining upon others to keep it.—[Chs. 19 to 27.]

Simon announces his position. "I say," said he, "that there are many gods, and that there is one, incomprehensible and unknown to all; that he is the God of all these gods. He then argues for polytheism; saying to Peter, that he will prove it from his own scriptures. He cites Genesis, 3. 5: "On the day ye eat of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, ye shall be as gods." Also, Gen. 3. 22: "Behold, Adam is become as one of us." Also, Gen. 1. 26: "Let us make man, after our image and likeness;" and Gen. 3. 22: "Let us drive him out." Also, Gen. 11. 7: "Come, let us go down, and confound their language;" and Exodus, 22, 28: "Thou shalt not curse the gods," &c. "One of these," says Simon, "was chosen by lot, that he might be the god of the Jews."

"But" says he, "it is not of him that I speak; but of that God who is also his God, whom even the Jews themselves do not know. For he is not their God, but the God of those who know him."

Peter has a long disquisition on God, to which Simon replies, that he would refute him from the words of his master, who said, no one knew the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son should reveal him. Yet the god of the Jews was known to Adam, to Enoch, to Noah, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and to Moses.—[Chs. 38 to 47.]

"Remember," Simon urges, "that you said that God has a Son; which is doing him wrong; for how can he have a Son, unless he is subject to passions, like men or animals? My opinion is, that there is a certain power of the Universe, an ineffable light, whose greatness is to be held to be incomprehensible; of which power, even the maker of the world is ignorant, and Moses the lawgiver, and Jesus, your master."—[Ch. 49.]

The reasoning of Simon: That there is one God, who is better than all, from whom all that is, took its beginning; that he must be perfect. That the god who created the world, shows many signs of imperfection. There must, therefore, be a God over him. He argues the imperfection of the god who made the world and men, thus: The many evils in the world which are not corrected, show that its creator is powerless, if he cannot correct what is done amiss; or else, if he does not wish to remove the evils, then he is himself evil; but if he neither can nor will, then he is neither powerful nor good.—[Chs. 53, 54.]

The disputation is closed for the day.

The audience, of whom there were about 3000, divided, about one-third going away with Simon, and the rest, staying with Peter.

Book 3. The debate is re-commenced next day, and is continued two days longer.—*Chs.* 1 *to* 69. *Ante-Nic. Ch. Lib. vol.* 3, *pp.* 240 *to* 265.

The second day, there is some acrimony in the discussion, and some difference as to the questions to be debated.

They discuss the nature of evil, free will, the power of God, &c.

Ch. 23.—Simon says, "What I wish to know is this: If what God wishes to be, is; and what He does not wish to be, is not?" The purport of the answer of Peter is, that some actions depend upon the will of man.

The discussion closed for the day; Simon calling upon Peter each day to show him whether the soul was immortal.

Third day. Simon pressing for evidence of the immortality of the soul, Peter argues in favor of it, because of the necessity of having a day of judgment; since men do not get their deserts in this world.

Simon claims that Peter cannot assert that the soul is immortal, and that he knows if it be proved to be mortal, his religion will fall.

"But Peter, when he heard him speaking thus, grinding his teeth, and rubbing his forehead with his hand, and sighing with a profound grief, said: 'Armed with the cunning of the old serpent, you stand forth to deceive souls.' "—[Ch. 42.]

Ch. 44.—Peter having offered to prove to Simon, in one sentence, that the soul is immortal, asks him, which is the best evidence, hearing or seeing? Simon answers, seeing. Peter then tells him to go to his [Simon's] own house, and entering the inner bed-chamber, he would see an image, containing the figure of a murdered boy, clothed in purple.

Simon hearing this, was smitten in his conscience, changed color, and became bloodless. He then proposed to become a convert; thinking Peter possessed the power of divination. But Peter disabused him, and admitted that he had only stated what he had been informed of, and spake "what he knew, and not what he foreknew."

Thereupon Simon, seeing himself betrayed, went from one extreme to the other, and becoming fairly furious with anger, burst forth as follows:

"I stood by and spoke with you in my goodness, and bore patiently with you. But now, I shall show you the power of my divinity, so that you shall quickly fall down and worship me. I am the first power, who am always, and without beginning. But having entered the womb of Rachel, I was born of her as a man, that I might be visible to men. I have flown through the air; I have mixed with fire, and been made one body with it; I have made statues to

move; I have animated lifeless things; I have made stones bread; I have flown from mountain to mountain; I have moved from place to place, upheld by angels' hands, and have lighted on the earth. Not only have I done these things, but even now I am able to do them; that by facts I may prove to all, that I am the Son of God, enduring to eternity, and that I can make those who believe on me, endure in like manner forever. But your words are all vain; nor can you perform any real works. (Such as I have mentioned.) He also who sent you is a magician, who yet could not deliver himself from the suffering of the cross."

To this speech, Peter answered:

"Do not meddle with the things that belong to others; for that you are a magician, you have confessed and made manifest, by the deeds that you have done."

At this point in the proceedings, the historian relates, that Simon endeavored to make a riot, and the people, in indignation, cast him from the court, and drove him forth from the gate of the house. It does not appear, however, that Peter denied the truth of what Simon asserted, or that he challenged him to a proof of his miraculous powers.

After Simon and his friends had gone, Peter explained to those remaining, his reference to the image of the murdered boy: Simon had been deluded by demons, and he had persuaded himself, that he had the soul of a murdered boy, ministering to him, in whatever office he pleased to employ it.

Peter then pronounced a benediction, and dismissed the multitude, and thus ended this most remarkable discussion.—[Chs. 48 to 50.]

The next morning, Niceta said to Peter, he desired to learn how Simon, who was the enemy of God, was able to do such wonderful things. "For indeed," says Niceta, "he told no lie in his declaration of what he had done." (Niceta had been one of Simon's disciples.) Peter undertakes to explain how Simon "is able to do so great marvels." Simon, he said, was a magician.

Niceta asked, "In what respect do they sin, who believe Simon, since they see him do so great marvels? Or is it not marvelous to fly through the air, to be so mixed with fire as to become one body with it, to make

statues walk, &c. Yea," says Niceta, "he has also been seen to make bread of stones. But if he sins who believes those who do signs, how shall it appear that he also does not sin, who has believed our Lord, for his signs and works of power?"—[Chs. 52 to 57.]

Peter replies, that if a man believes him who comes first, showing signs, he must of necessity, for the same reason, believe him who comes second. When he believes the second one, he will learn from him that he ought not to believe the first, who comes of evil.—[Chs. 58 to 62.]

After the discussion, Simon sets out for Rome, and Peter resolves to follow him.—[Chs. 63 to 65.]

Following Simon Magus to Rome, we learn that he there lost his life. In the Encyclopedia Americana it is stated that he perished in an aeronautic expedition; giving as authority, Eusebius and Suetonius. Suetonius, in relating the cruel sports and games which Nero instituted for his own diversion, merely says, "Icarus fell, splashed with blood." From which the reader may infer, only, that Nero had compelled some one to attempt the flight of Icarus. The story is to be traced to "THE ACTS OF PETER AND PAUL."

From that book, we take the following:

"When, consequently, the people were making a seditious murmuring, Simon, moved with zeal, roused himself, and began to say many evil things about Peter; saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed Simon, wondering at his miracles. For he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh, and move themselves, and himself to run, and suddenly to be raised into the air. As a set-off to this, Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, and put demons to flight by a command. Sometimes, he even raised the dead. Those who adhered to Simon, strongly affirmed Peter to be a magian."

The matter coming to the ears of Nero, he ordered Simon the Magian to be brought before him.

"And he, coming in, stood before him, and began suddenly to assume dif-

ferent forms; so that on a sudden he became a child, and after a little an old man, and at other times, a young man. For he changed himself both in face and stature, into different forms, and was in a frenzy, having the devil as his servant.

"And Nero, beholding this, supposed him to be truly the Son of God. But the apostle Peter showed him to be both a liar and a wizard."

After considerable conversation, Nero says:

"Art thou not afraid, Peter, of Simon, who confirms his godhead by his deeds?"

Peter replies, that Simon does not know the hidden thoughts of men.

Nero said, "Do you mean me to believe, that Simon does not know those things, who both raised a dead man, and presented himself the third day after he had been beheaded, and who has done whatever he said he would do?"

Peter said, "But he did not do it before me." Nero said, "But he did all these things before me. For assuredly, he ordered angels to come to him, and they came." Peter still demanded, that Simon should tell what was in his thoughts. Simon made the same challenge to Peter. Peter then demanded of Simon, to know what he, Peter, had just done in secret. For, having taken a barley-loaf, he had broken it, and hid it in his sleeves.

"Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the apostle, cried out, saying: 'Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up, before Cæsar.' And suddenly there appeared great dogs, who rushed at Peter. But he, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf which he had blessed, and the dogs, seeing it, no longer appeared."

"Simon said, 'Dost thou believe, O Good Emperor, that I, who was dead and rose again, am a magician?' "

[The writer of the Acts of Peter and Paul here explains how Nero had been deceived by Simon; stating, that as Simon was to be beheaded, he had requested that it be done in a dark place; and when the executioner came, and was about to strike the blow, Simon turned himself into a ram. He so remained until the ram's head was taken off, when he became himself again. On the third day, he appeared, as if risen from the dead.]

Then followed a conversation in which Nero, Simon, Peter, and Paul also, who was present, participated.

Nero, not being able to satisfy himself, says: "The three of you show that your reasoning is uncertain; and thus in all things you have made me doubt, so that I find I can give credit to none of you."

Simon now proposes to Nero, that if he will build a high wooden tower, he will go to the top, and thence fly through the air, attended by his angels; and thus give open evidence of his divinity.

Nero agrees to the proposal, and the next day builds the tower. Simon goes upon it, and commences flying in the air, attended by his angels. Peter, looking steadfastly at him, prays to the Lord to stop him. His prayer is answered, and Simon falls headlong, in a place called Sacra Via, or Holy Way, and perishes.[1]

This, no doubt, was the aeronautic expedition, alluded to by the encyclopedic compiler, and to which he supposed Suetonius to refer, when "Icarus fell splashed with blood."

(1.) Ante Nicene Ch. Lib. vol. 16, pp. 263 to 273.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.—Concluded.

Other Miracles and Miracle-Workers.

Alexander Abonotichus—Apuleius—Antinous—Jewish Superstitions—Miracles of the Fathers—The Thundering Legion—Change of Water into Oil, &c.—The Miracles of the New Testament.

Alexander Abonotichus.—The satirist, Lucian, at the request of Celsus, wrote an account of this celebrated impostor. The following is a condensed statement of it, as reproduced by the historian, Froude:

Alexander was born at Abonotichus, a small town on the south shore of the Black Sea, early in the second century. The boy was of unusual beauty. He was taken up by a doctor, who had been a disciple of Apollonius. Alexander's master was a magician, and he himself became an apt pupil.

At the age of twenty, when his master died, he set up for himself. He started for Byzantium, the great mart of ancient commerce. Here he became acquainted with one Cocconas, by whom he was introduced to a wealthy Macedonian lady. She fell in love with him, and took him and his friend with her, to her country seat at Pella. Here the two friends laid plans for the future. They purchased a large, tame snake; took it with them when they left Pella, and by the aid of the serpent, made a business of fortune-telling.

They repaired to Abonotichus. From Chalcedon they brought some brass plates, which had been discovered buried, and which bore an inscription, that

Apollo and Esculapius were about to appear at Pontus. The people of Abonotichus commenced building a temple for Alexander, who now soon acquired great reputation and renown.

Lucian describes him as he then appeared; tall, majestic, extremely handsome—hair long and flowing, complexion fair, a moderate beard, partly his own and partly false, but the imitation excellent; eyes large and lustrous, and voice sweet and limped. "As to his character," says he, "God grant that I may never meet with such another. His cunning was wonderful, his dexterity matchless. His eagerness for knowledge, his capacity for learning and power of memory, were equally extraordinary."

He made for the serpent a human face, of linen, which was painted in an ingenious manner, and so arranged that the mouth would open and shut, and this was the face of Esculapius. From it he delivered oracles and spoke in unknown tongues.

The temple was finished, the god was formally established in it, and the oracles became a permanent institution. People flocked from all parts of Asia Minor, to consult them. Immense treasures flowed into the coffers of Alexander.

"The air was full of miracles. The sick were healed; the dead were raised to life." The Christians considered him a missionary of the devil.

Among his dupes was Rutelian, a senator, in high favor with the emperor.

There was a girl, said to be the daughter of Selene, the moon, and Alexander. She is declared to be destined for Rutelian, and the marriage is celebrated with great pomp and splendor.

Lucian himself visited Alexander and endeavored to expose him. He frankly admits that the attempt was a complete failure. When the prophet gave him his hand to kiss, Lucian bit it to the bone. For this, he came near paying the forfeit of his life. Alexander, concealing his pain and mortification, treated Lucian with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and gave him a vessel for his return home. The commander was secretly instructed to throw him overboard. This he was too humane to do, but told Lucian, he should be obliged to put him ashore, which he did; and Lucian found himself in Bithynia, a long way from home.

He returned, a wiser man, and the prophet continued to flourish. The emperor bestowed distinctions upon him. He lived to be an old man, and died in the acme of his fame.

Apuleius.—Some of the early writers speak of Apuleius as a worker of miracles. He was a pagan philosopher of the Platonic school, born at Madaura, in Africa.

He lived about A. D. 150. He was distinguished for his eloquence, and stood high as a Latin writer. Having married a rich widow at Tripoli, he was prosecuted by his relations, on a charge that he had, in his courtship, made use of magical arts. He defended himself, on that occasion, by an "apology," which is still extant. There has also come down to us, another of his works, entitled, "Metamorphosis, or the Golden Ass;" supposed to have been a satire on the wealthy debauchees of his time. Lactantius, referring to what Hierocles had asserted, that Apollonius was greater than Christ, because he rescued himself from Domitian, while Christ was put to death, says it is somewhat strange that writers should pass over Apuleius, "of whom many wonderful things are commonly said."[1]

Antinous was a beautiful youth, a favorite of the Emperor Hadrian. He was born in Bithynia. He accompanied Hadrian to Egypt, and was drowned in the Nile, A. D. 132. A city called Antino-opolis, was built by the emperor, near the spot where he perished, and countless statues were erected in his honor. Some of them still exist, and are remarkable for their beauty.

Justin Martyr says he was worshipped as a god.[2]

Origen says there were miracles wrought in many places,[3] and Celsus mentions, as miracle-workers, Esculapius, Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Cleomedes of Astypalæa.

(1.) Lact. Inst. lib. 5, ch. 3.
(2.) 1st Apology, ch. 29.
(3.) Contra Celsum, 3. 3.

JEWISH SUPERSTITIONS.

The Jews were ever exceedingly superstitious. The miracles of the Old Testament are familiar to the reader. These were supplemented by an innumerable multitude of angels and demons of every description. .

The casting out of demons was familiar to the Jews, long before the coming of Christ. In the Book of Tobit, the angel Raphael directs fumigation with the heart and liver of a fish, in order to drive a demon out of a man or woman, so that it will never return. The demon Asmodeus was in love with Sara, the daughter of Raguel, and had strangled seven men who were going to marry her; but by the process mentioned above, he was driven out, and flew into Egypt, where he was bound by the angel.—*Book of Tobit*, 6. 7; 3. 7; 6. 14, *&c.*

In the Book of Enoch, the names of twenty-one angels are given, who had fallen. through love for the daughters of men. The offspring of these were giants, whose height was 3,000 ells. From these come the evil demons of earth.

Raphael was the angel who presided over the spirits of men. Uriel was the angel of thunder, earthquakes, &c. There were spirits controlling the winds and the lightning, others over the seas, and still others over hail, snow, frost, &c, &c.—*Book of Enoch, ch.* 69; *chs.* 7, 8, 9, 34, *&c.*

The Jews believed the stars were animated beings.—*Gfrorer, das Yahr des Heils*, 1, *p.* 362.

Enoch saw seven stars bound together, and he enquired of the angel, on account of what sin they were bound. Uriel replied, they were stars which had transgressed the commands of the highest God, and they were thus bound till ten thousand worlds, the number of days of their transgression, should be accomplished.—[Chs. 21 and 18.]

The targums are full of similar views, concerning the stars and other heavenly bodies.

The multitude of angels was innumerable.

Each angel had a particular duty to perform. Michael was angel over water, Jehuel over fire, Jechiel over wild beasts, and Anpiel over birds. Hariel was appointed over cattle, Messannahel over reptiles, Deliel over fish, and Samniel over created things moving in the waters, and over the face of the earth. Ruchiel was set over the winds, Gabriel over thunder and fire, and over the ripening of fruit. Nuriel over hail, Makturiel over rocks, Alpiel over

fruit-bearing trees, Saroel over those which do not bear fruit, and Sandalfon over the human race. Under each of these were subordinate angels.—*Sanhed.* 95. 2; *Eisenmenger, Entd. Jud.* 2. 378. *Sup. Relig. vol.* 1, *p.* 108.

The demons were equally as numerous. They were in the air, on earth, in the bodies of men and animals, and even at the bottom of the sea. They were the offspring of the fallen angels who loved the daughters of men.—*Eisenmenger, Ent. Jud.* 1. 380; 2. 437.

"Their number is infinite. The earth is so full of them, that if man had power to see, he could not exist, on account of them. There are more demons than men, and they are about as close as the earth thrown up out of a newly made grave."

It was stated that each man had 10,000 demons at his right hand, and 1,000 on his left. "He who wishes to discover these spirits, must take sifted ashes, and strew them about his bed, and in the morning he will perceive their footprints upon them, like a cock's tread. If any one wishes to see them, he must take the afterbirth of a black cat, which has been littered by a first born black cat, whose mother was also a first birth, burn and reduce it to powder, and put some of it in his eyes, and he will see them."—*Bab. Beracoth.* 6. 1.

The casting out of demons, was an important feature in the Jewish theological system. Dr Lightfoot says, "There was hardly any people in the whole world, that more used, or were more fond of amulets, charms, mutterings, exorcisms, and all kinds of enchantments."—*Lightfoot, Horæ Heb. et Talm. Works*, 11. *p.* 299.

Josephus states, that among other gifts, God gave to Solomon knowledge of the way to expel demons. He himself had seen a countryman of his own, named Eleazar, release people possessed of devils, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, and his sons, and of his army. He put a ring, containing one of the roots prescribed by Solomon, to the nose of the demoniac, and drew the demon out by his nostrils, and in the name of Solomon, and reciting one of his incantations, he adjured him to return no more.—*Antiquities of the Jews, bk.* 8, *ch.* 2, *sec.* 5.

Miracles of the Fathers.—These commence about the middle of the second century. More than a hundred years ago, Rev. Dr. Middleton, in his 'Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Christian church,' called attention to the fact, that in the writings of the

apostolic fathers, [referring to those who had written previous to about A. D. 150,] there was not the least pretense to the possession of extraordinary gifts, nor to any standing power of working miracles; and showed that the claim in the second century, was first set up about the time of Justin Martyr.

"Here then," said he, "we have an interval of about half a century, the earliest and purest of all Christian antiquity, after the days of the apostles, in which we find not the least reference to any standing power of working miracles." [1]

In the writings of Justin Martyr, [A. D. 150 to 160], the claim to miraculous power was put forth with much distinctness. He says:

"There are prophetical gifts among us at this day, and both men and women are endued with extraordinary powers by the spirit of God." [2]

He frequently appeals to what he says every one might see with his own eyes, in every part of the world, and particularly in Rome, in the case of persons possessed with devils, "who were cured and set free, and the devils themselves baffled and driven away, by the Christians adjuring and exorcising them in the name of Jesus, when all other exorcists and enchanters had tried in vain to help them." [3]

Justin says the angels to whom God had committed the care of mankind, had been led away by love of the daughters of men, and begat children, who are the demons, who have corrupted the human race. [4]

He thinks demoniacs are possessed and tortured by the souls of the wicked dead. [5]

(1.) Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. 1, p. 8.
(2.) Dialogue, chapter 88. (3.) Apology, 2. 6.
(4.) Apol. 2. 5. Ibid. 1. 5, 14. (5.) Ibid. 1. 18.

Irenæus [A. D. 190 to 200], affirms, that "all who are truly disciples of Jesus, receiving grace from him, wrought miracles in his name, for the good of mankind, according to the gift which each man had received. Some cast out devils, so that those from whom they were ejected, often turned believers, and continued in the church. Others had the knowledge of future events, visions, and prophetical sayings. Others healed the sick by the imposition of hands. Even the dead had been raised, and lived afterward many years among them. It was impossible to reckon up all the mighty works which the church performed, every day, to the benefit of nations."—*Adv. Hœr. lib.* 2, *ch.* 32.

And in regard to raising from the dead, he declares it to have been "frequently performed on necessary occasions, when by great fasting, and the joint supplication of the church of that place, the spirit of the dead person returned into him, and the man was given back to the prayers of the saints."—*Adv. Hœr.* 2. 31.

Again: "We have many," says he, "in the church, endued with prophetic gifts; speaking with all kinds of tongues, laying open the secrets of men, for the public good."—*Ibid.* 5. 6.

Clement of Alexandria [A. D. 200], says presiding angels were distributed over nations and cities. That the Son gave philosophy to the Greeks, by means of the inferior angels, and argued that it was absurd to attribute it to the devil.[1]

Tertullian [A. D. 200 to 210], calls upon the heathen magistrates to "summon before their tribunal any person possessed with a devil; and if the evil spirit, when exorcised by any Christian whatsoever, did not own himself to be a devil, as truly, as in other places he would falsely call himself a god, not daring to tell a lie to a Christian, that then they should take the life of that Christian."—*Apology*, *ch.* 23.

Again: "There is a sister among us, endued with the gifts of revelations, which she suffers in the church, during the time of divine service, by an ecstasy, in the spirit. She converses with angels, and sometimes also with the Lord; sees and hears mysteries; and knows the hearts of some, and prescribes medicines to those who want them."—*De Anima*, *sec.* 9.

He has a disquisition concerning angels and demons, in which he enters into minute details.[2]

He gives the case of a woman who went to a theater, and came back possessed by a demon; and on being cast out, the evil spirit said he had a right to act

(1.) Stromata, 6. 17.
(2.) Apol. sec. 22; Ad. Scapulam, sec. 2.

as he did, having found her within his limits.[1]

Origen, [A. D. 230], was of the opinion, that certain demons, offspring of the Titans or giants, who haunt the grosser parts of bodies, and the unclean places of the earth, had the power of divining the future.[2]

After fully discussing the question, and citing many passages of scripture, he comes to the conclusion, that the sun, moon and stars are living, rational beings.[3]

He says many could heal the sick, by invoking the name of God over them, and of Jesus, with a recital of some story of his life. "I myself," says he, "have seen many so healed in difficult cases; loss of senses, madness, and innumerable other evils, which neither men nor devils could cure."[4]

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch [A. D. 180], says that evil and seducing spirits were exorcised, and cast out in his day.[5]

Minucius Felix, [3d century], addressing himself to his heathen friend, in his Dialogue of "Octavius", says, "The greatest part of you know what confessions the demons make, concerning themselves, as oft as they are expelled by us, out of the bodies of men, by the torture of our words, and the fire of our speech. Saturn himself, and Serapis, and Jupiter, and the rest of them, whom you worship, constrained by the pain which they feel, confess what they are."—*Minuc. Octav. p.* 23, *ch.* 27.

Cyprian [A. D. 250], Arnobius [A. D. 303], and Lactantius [A. D. 310], all give testimony, in similar language, to the casting out of devils, and evil spirits, by the Christians.[6]

Eusebius had similar views.[7]

(1.) De Spectaculis, sec. 26.
(2.) Contra Celsum, 4. 92; 8. 11.
(3.) De Principiis, 1. 7, sec. 3; Contra Cels. 5. 10, 11.
(4.) Ibid. lib. 3, ch. 24.
(5.) Ad Autolycum.
(6.) Cyprian, Epist.; Arnobius, lib. 1, 46; Lactantius, Divin. Inst. l. 2, c. 16.
(7.) Præp. Evang. 5. 2.

Tertullian relates that a woman, whom he knew, a member of the church, after having died, when the presbyter was praying for her, removed her hands from her sides, and folded them in the attitude of supplication.[1]

Even the great Augustine relates a number of most astounding miracles, which were performed in the church, in his immediate neighborhood.[2]

THE THUNDERING LEGION.—Eusebius quotes from a lost work of Claudius Apollinaris, his account of a remarkable answer to prayer, received, about A. D. 175, by the Christian soldiers of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in his war with the Quadri. Tertullian, writing about A. D. 200, in a public apology, also urges the same fact.

The incident referred to was this:

"It is said, that when Marcus Aurelius Cæsar was forming his troops in order of battle, against the Germans and Sarmatians, he was reduced to extremities, by a failure of water."

Thereupon, in answer to the prayers of the Christian soldiers of the Melitine Legion, so called, there came thunderbolts, which caused the enemy's flight and overthrow. And upon the emperor's army, a rain, "which restored it entirely, when it was all but perishing by thirst."—*Euseb. Ecc. Hist.* 5. 5.

This circumstance we mention, not because there is any miracle connected with it, even in appearance; since there is nothing miraculous in a sudden shower, or in a superstitious people being frightened by thunderbolts; but because of the great prominence which has been given to it, in what might be called miraculous literature.

Much has been written upon it. Dion Cassius attributes the occurrence and the preservation of the army to an Egyptian magician, by the name of Amuphis. Julius Capitolinus attributes it to the emperor's prayers.

(1.) De Anima, sec. 51. (2.) De Civ. Dei, 22. 8.

Themistius the same. Baronius, Moyle, Scaliger, Valesius and others have written about it; and more lately, Dr. John Henry Newman has devoted fourteen pages to it, at the close of which, he concludes it to have been a very noted miracle.[1]

There was no doubt, an occurrence of the kind; the army, when in dire extremity, having been relieved by a sudden fall of rain. This we learn from Dion Cassius and other heathen writers, and from a sculpture on the celebrated Antonine Column at Rome, where is a figure of Jupiter Pluvius, scattering lightning and rain, the enemy and their horses lying prostrate, and the Romans, sword in hand, rushing upon them.

We hear nothing of any connection of Christians in the transaction, except from Tertullian and Eusebius, and those who copied from them.

As to the Christian legion, called, according to Eusebius, the Melitine Legion, which he represents as afterward remaining intact, Moyle says there were few or no Christians in the army; and adds, "I would as soon believe my Lord Marlborough had a whole regiment of Quakers in his army, as that Antoninus had a whole legion of Christians in his.[2]

Then, as to the name "Thundering," applied to the Melitine Legion, which Eusebius makes Apollinaris say, the emperor gave to it on account of this transaction, the fact is, that one of the Roman Legions had that name, from the time of Augustus Cæsar.

Turning Water into Oil.—Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, when oil failed for lamps, at the vigil of Easter, sent the persons who had the care of them, to the

(1.) Two Essays on Scripture Miracles, &c., London, 1870, 2d Edn. pp. 240 to 254.

(2.) Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. 2, pp. 84, 85.

neighboring well for water. When they brought it, he prayed over it, and it was changed into oil. At least, so says Eusebius.[1] Narcissus was made bishop about 180.

This reported miracle has been the occasion of learned disquisitions by Dodwell, Jortin and many others. Newman devotes several pages to it, and closes by saying, that while he cannot say positively that he believes it, yet he has no doubt about it.[2]

From the list of noted miracles discussed by Dr. Newman, these two have been mentioned, because they are said to have occurred in the second century.

It is a significant fact, that they both come, either originally, or with important accessions, from Eusebius.

APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

From the middle of the second century, and even earlier, the Christian world was flooded with anonymous writings of a religious character, filled with miracles of every description. There was a morbid demand for that kind of literature. At a later day, these writings were styled apocryphal.

There were gospels, acts, revelations, epistles, &c. &c.

The Revelation of Moses, gives a long history of Adam and Eve. The Revelation of Esdra, resembles somewhat the Apocalypse of John. The Revelation of Paul is of the same sort, relating at great length, the wonderful things revealed to Paul, when he went up to the third heaven, and was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words. [2d Cor. 12. 4.] There is another Revelation of John, the Book of John concerning the Falling Asleep of Mary, the Passing [Translation] of Mary, &c.

The Acts of Peter and Paul, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the story of Perpetua, have been already mentioned.

The Acts of Barnabas relate the journeyings, the miracles and martyrdom of that apostle.

Finding a town, called Curium, was very wicked, he rebuked it, and the western part fell, "so that many were wounded, and many of them also died."

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 6. 9. (2.) Essays on Miracles, p. 259.

THE ACTS OF PHILIP.—Nicanora, wife of the proconsul of Hierapolis, having been converted and healed of her sickness by the preaching of Philip, her husband was so enraged, that he caused them both, with Bartholomew, to be scourged, and the two apostles to be hanged, Philip head downward. In this position, Philip has a long conversation with Bartholomew, and preaches a discourse to those standing about. When Mariamne was stripped, her body was changed, and became a glass chest filled with light.

THE ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF ANDREW.—Andrew has a discussion with Ægeates, the proconsul. Ægeates, becoming very angry, has Andrew crucified. Afterward, he was himself tormented by the devil, and came to a violent death.

Besides these, there were the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, in the City of the Man-Eater, the Acts of Peter and Andrew, the Acts and Martyrdom of St. Matthew, the Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas, and many others.—Fabricius has a list of Apocryphal Acts, 36 in number. Some of them are written very much in the style of the Acts of the Apostles.

THE MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

When we turn to the miracles of the New Testament, we instinctively feel like making them an exception to the mass of wonders of that age. How much of this feeling may be owing to education and association, we will not stop to enquire; and perhaps it would not be found easy to determine.

The fact, however, cannot be ignored, that there is no evidence showing that either of the five books in which these miracles are recorded, was written until nearly one hundred and fifty years after the transactions are said to have occurred. How much earlier the manuscripts existed from which these books were compiled, is not known. None of them can be clearly traced to the first century.

Other facts will bear consideration. A large number of these miracles consist in casting out demons from human beings. But the doctrine of demons, is a doctrine of the past. It is now recognized and admitted, that from the beginning, the demons have existed only subjectively, as forms of doctrine and belief. What then becomes of this class of miracles?

If, without irreverence, we carefully examine even the most imposing class of New Testament miracles, looking upon them at the same time as violations of known laws of nature, (without which, a miracle loses its force and meaning), we meet with very serious obstacles, in the way of giving them implicit credence.

In the case of Jairus' daughter, we have but to take the explicit language of Jesus himself, "The maid is not dead, but sleepeth."

There are two other reported cases of raising from the dead, in the canonical gospels. The raising of the son of the widow of Nain, is found only in the compilation of Luke. The authorship of the manuscript containing it and the time when it was written, are involved in obscurity.

The raising of Lazarus, and the turning of water into wine, the two transactions most plainly contravening the laws of nature, are only related in the Gospel of John; the author of that work having probably taken them from the Acts of Pilate.

Why do the other canonical gospels contain no mention of those stupendous miracles?

How can the belief in miracles, be of any importance, in the Christian system? If the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, are adapted to the nature of man, and in harmony with the divine economy of the universe, they will stand, through all time. If not, they will fall. The changing of one element or substance into another, or even the raising of a person from the dead, cannot make wrong right, or change the truth into a falsehood.

This great truth was all but comprehended by Tertullian, intellectually the most vigorous of all the early fathers. He declared that the proof of the Christian religion by miracles, was inconclusive; "because," said he, "Jesus Christ has assured his disciples, that some would arise, who should work false miracles."—*Adv. Marcion*, 3. 3.

Archbishop Trench falls into the same line of argument:

"A miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being *good*, and only then can the miracle seal it as *divine*."—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, 8*th Edn*. 1866, *p*. 25.

The same view is taken by Mozly and others. But if the doctrine has received the sanction of the conscience as good, is it not already divine? And what need of the miracle afterward?

We gladly accept the views of these eminent divines, and hail them as a long step forward, in that progress which will bring science and religion into harmony, as but different phases of universal law.

THIRD PERIOD. A. D. 120 TO A. D. 130.

THE THREE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER X.

EXTANT GOSPELS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

THE PROTEVANGELION.

Of the extant gospels of the second century, the three most ancient are, the Protevangelion, or Book of James, the Gospel of the Infancy, and the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus.

The Protevangelion was attributed to the apostle James, and was called by Origen, 'The Book of James.' It is generally considered one of the oldest gospels of the second century; probably appearing about the third decade. The name, 'First Gospel,' would indicate it to be the first of certain writings of the kind.

The following is an abstract of its contents:

THE PROTEVANGELION.

CHAPTER 1.—An account ot Joachim, and of the refusal of his offerings, in the temple, which were despised, because he had no children.

CHAPS. 2 and 3.—Anna, the wife of Joachim, mourns her barrenness, and has a conversation upon the subject, with her maid, Judith.

CHAPS. 4 to 7.— The angel announces to Anna, that she is to have a child. She brings forth a daughter, and calls her name Mary.

When Mary was nine months old, she walked nine steps. When she was a year old, Joachim gave a great feast to the priests, scribes, elders, and all the people of Israel.

When she was three years old, they took her to the temple, accompanied by the daughters of the Hebrews, carrying lamps.

CHAPS. 8 and 9.—She continued in the temple, and received her food from the hand of an angel. When she was twelve years old, the priests met in consultation, to determine what to do with her. Zacharias, the high priest, consulting the Lord, was told to summon the widowers with their rods, &c. The priest took the rods, and went into the temple to pray. After finishing his prayer, he came out and distributed the rods.

"The last rod was taken by Joseph, and behold, a dove proceeded out of the rod, and flew upon the head of Joseph." The high priest then designated Joseph, as the one to take the virgin.

"But Joseph refused, saying: 'I am an old man, and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel.'" The priest insisting, Joseph took her to his house, and then went away, to mind his trade of building.

CHAP. 10.—Mary selected by the priests to spin the true purple, for a new veil for the temple.

CHAP. 11.—The announcement to Mary by the angel. Similar to Luke.

CHAP. 12.—Mary visits her cousin Elizabeth. Similar to the account in Luke. She is now 14 years old.

CHAPS. 13 and 14.—Joseph, returning from building houses abroad, found the virgin with child, and reproached her. Mary protested her innocence, saying, she knew not how it had occurred.

Joseph was about to put her away, when an angel appeared, and dissuaded him from it. Joseph then took the virgin, glorifying God.

CHAPS. 15 and 16.—Joseph and Mary were brought before the priest, accused of having violated her virginity; Joseph having taken her, merely to keep as a virgin.

Joseph was required to drink holy water, which he did, unharmed. He was then acquitted.

CHAPS. 17 and 18.—Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be taxed. As Mary's time drew near, they were obliged to stop, three miles from Bethlehem.

Mary was taken into a cave, and left, with Joseph's sons, while Joseph went to Bethlehem after a midwife. On the way, he saw various prodigies. Fowls of the air, stopping in the midst of their flight; people sitting before a table at dinner, their hands on the table motionless; sheep standing still, the shepherd with his hand raised to smite them, his hand remaining motionless; kids with their mouths to the water, but not drinking.

Chaps. 19 and 20.—Joseph met a midwife. As they approached the cave, a bright cloud overshadowed it, and going in, they found Jesus was born. Salome came to the cave, and desiring proof that Mary was a virgin, proof was vouchsafed. But as a result, Salome's hand immediately withered. She prayed to the Lord; an angel appeared, and told her to take the child, and her hand would be restored. She took the child, and her hand was made whole.

Chap. 21.—Wise men came from the east to Bethlehem, enquiring for the King of the Jews. The interview between Herod and the wise men. Similar to Matthew.

Chaps. 22 to 24.—Herod, having issued his order for the slaughter of the children, "Mary, hearing that the children were to be killed, being under much fear, took the child, and wrapped him up in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in an ox-manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."

Elizabeth, hearing that her son John was to be searched for, took him, and went up into the mountains. There a mountain opened and received them. Zacharias, because he would not disclose the hiding place of his son John, was murdered in the entrance of the temple. When Zacharias was killed, "the roofs of the temple howled, and were rent from the top to the bottom, and his blood was congealed to stone."

Chap. 25.—Conclusion. "I, James, wrote this history in Jerusalem; and when the disturbance was, I retired into a desert place, until the death of Herod. And the disturbance ceased at Jerusalem."

Opinions of the Fathers.

The account in the Protevangelion, of the murder of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was generally accredited by the fathers. It is mentioned and endorsed by Tertullian,[1] by Origen,[2] by Epiphanius,[3] by Theophilact,[4] and others.

The Protevangelion says, Zacharias was killed at the entrance of the temple, and his blood was hardened into stone.—[Ch. 24.]

Tertullian says, Zacharias was killed between the altar and the temple, and the drops of his blood made indelible impressions on the stones.

(1.) Scorpiac. adv. Gnost. c. 8.
(2.) Hom. 26, in Matt. 23, fol. 49.
(3.) De Vit. Prophet. vol. 2, p. 250, (attributed to Epiphanius.)
(4.) In Matt.

As has been already mentioned, the circumstance of Joseph being an old man when Mary was betrothed to him, and having had children by a former wife, was accredited by the fathers generally. The Protevangelion was here supported by the Gospel of Peter.

Origen it is true, only refers to it as believed by some, but others adopt it implicitly. Eusebius says James was called the brother of Christ, because he was also called the son of Joseph.[1] Epiphanius says the same,[2] and in another place, that Joseph was about fourscore years old when he married Mary; and had six children before that time, by a former wife;[3] and again, writing against a sect which denied the perpetual virginity of Mary, he says:

"Joseph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower; that he was the brother of Clophas, the son of James, surnamed Panther; that he had his first wife of the tribe of Judah, and by her six children, to wit, four sons and two daughters. His eldest son was James, surnamed Oblias, (this probably taken from Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 2. 23), that he begat him when he was about forty years old; after him he had another son named Jose, then Simeon and Judas, and then his two daughters Mary and Salome: after his wife's death, he continued many years a widower, and about fourscore years old, married Mary."—*Epiph. Hæres.* 78. *sec.* 8.

So also was the account in the Protevangelion accepted as true by Hilary,[4] by Chrysostom, [A. D. 407], Cyril [A. D. 375], by Euthimius and Theophylact, and generally, as Bishop Pearson says,[5] by all the Latin fathers till Ambrose, [A. D, 390], and the Greek fathers afterward.

Epiphanius refers, also, to the death of Zacharias, but there is a wide departure from the account in the Protevangelion.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 2. 1. (2.) Hæres. 29; Naz. sec. 3, 4.
(3.) Hæres. 51; Alogor. sec. 10.
(4.) In Matth. 1. (5.) On the Creed, p. 175, Art. 3.

"It was" he says, "the occasion of the death of Zacharias in the temple, that when he had seen a vision, he through surprise was willing to disclose it, and his mouth was stopped. That which he saw, was at the time of offering incense; and it was a man standing in the form of an ass.

"When he had gone out, and had a mind to speak thus to the people, 'Wo unto you, whom do ye worship?' he who had appeared to him in the temple, took away the use of his speech. Afterwards, when he recovered it, and was able to speak, he declared this to the Jews, and they slew him. They add, that on this very account, the high priest was appointed by their lawgiver, to carry little bells, that whensoever he went into the temple to sacrifice, he whom they worshiped, hearing the noise of the bells, might have time enough to hide himself, and not be caught in that ugly shape and figure."—*Epiph. Hær.* 79. 5.

That Mary, at three years of age, was taken to the temple, and remained there eleven years, was received as true by Euodius, Gregory of Nyssen, [380], Damascene, [725], Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, Andreas Cretensis, [675], George bishop of Nicomedia and others.[1]

The Protevangelion was not condemned by the decree of Pope Gelasius.

Jones was mistaken in supposing that Epiphanius and Austin were the first writers who had recognized the Protevangelion.[2] Origen mentioned it as 'the Book of James;' Tertullian was acquainted with it, and still earlier, Justin Martyr.

The fact that Christ was born in a cave, is frequently alluded to in the writings of the fathers. Thus Gregory Nyssen [380], says:

"We are indeed, cheered by the gospel, when we revert to the speech at Bethlehem, and when we contemplate the divine mysteries in the cave." "*ὀπηλαίῳ μυστήρια.*"—*Greg. Nys. Op. vol.* 3, *p.* 348. [See also, the chapter of this work entitled, 'Justin Martyr.']

(1.) See Baronius, [1588], Apparat. ad Annal. no. 48.
(2.) Jeremiah Jones, New Method, &c. vol. 2, p. 144.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTEVANGELION, AND THE GOSPELS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW.

THE PROTEVANGELION ONE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE COMPILATIONS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW—THE PROTEVANGELION AND THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW COMPARED.—WHICH WAS FIRST WRITTEN?

Dr. Frederick Schleiermacher, who is styled, in the Imperial Dictionary of Biography, "the most influential theologian of Protestant Germany, that has appeared during the present century," in an able essay, has shown, that the Gospel of Luke consists, almost entirely, of a compilation of manuscripts, older than the time of the compiler.

Speaking of the first and second chapters, he says:

"It is impossible, at the outset, to avoid observing the great difference of style, between the introductory passage, (ch. 1, vv. 1 to 4), and this section (balance of chs. 1 and 2); since from very tolerable and well constructed Greek, which even makes some attempts at elegance, we suddenly drop into the harshest Hebraistic phraseology; so that one is loth to attribute both to the same hand."—*Critical Essay on Luke, p.* 21, *Edn. London*, 1825.

Again:

"If we compare the end of the first chapter with the beginning of the second, we can scarcely remain in doubt, that the section from verse 5 to the end of the chapter, (ch. 1), was originally an independent whole. In the first place, the 80th verse is an evident form of conclusion. ....

"To this it may be added, that if it were the same narrator who is proceeding in the second chapter, many things ought to be differently stated."—*Ib. p.* 22.

"Thus then we begin, by detaching the first chapter as an originally independent composition. If we consider it in this light somewhat more closely we cannot resist the impression, that it was originally, rather a little poetical work, than a properly historical narrative. The latter supposition in its strictest sense, at all events, no one will adopt; or contend that the angel Gabriel announced the advent of the Messiah, in figures so purely Jewish, and in expressions taken mostly from the Old Testament; or the alternate song between Elizabeth and Mary actually took place in the manner described; or that Zachariah, at the instant of recovering his speech, made use of it to utter the hymn, without being disturbed by the joy and surprise of the company, by which the narrator himself allows his description to be interrupted.

"At all events then, we should be obliged to suppose that the author made additions of his own, and enriched the historical narrative by the lyrical effusions of his own genius. But even in the historical part, there is much that will not admit of being understood as literal narrative. In the first place, the whole chronology depends on the circumstance, which the author was desirous of introducing, that the child in Elizabeth's womb leaped for joy at Mary's approach. Mary is on this account, made to defer her visit till after the fifth month; and in order to leave no chasm in the whole, the angel, for the same reason, is made to come to her no sooner. Immediately after the annunciation, she sets out, and stays three months with her cousin;—a circumstance also very improbable, on account of her own approaching nuptials—in order that upon her return, the birth of Jesus might be immediately subjoined.

"Similar to this is the circumstance, that Zacharias is punished with dumbness for his unbelief, and thus contrasted with Mary, who breaks forth, under divine inspiration, into songs of praise; and yet that, although his unbelief must long before have ceased, he does not recover his speech till the instant, when, by confirming the name, he solemnly recognizes the angel's declaration of his son's calling.

"If to this we add the whole grouping, the angel coming to Zacharias, and announcing the last prophet of the old covenant in the temple, the same coming afterward to Mary, and announcing the advent of the Messiah in the despised Nazareth, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, the winding up of the whole by the restoration of Zacharias to speech, and his hymn, which form the conclusion, there naturally presents itself to us, a pleasing little composition, completely in the style and manner of several Jewish poems, *still extant among our apocryphal writings*; written in all probability, originally in Aramaic, by a Christian of the more liberal Judaizing school, and of the general style of which, a faithful image is conveyed in the early severe school of Christian painting.—*Essay on Luke, by Schleiermacher, pp.* 24 *to* 26.

The Protevangelion, which is one of the extant apocryphal writings alluded to, is in the Greek language, but is filled with Hebraisms, showing it to have been

written by a Hellenic Jew; and justifying the supposition of our author, that it was originally in the Aramaic tongue.

The following comparison of the two gospels, will, it is believed, sustain the inference of Schleiermacher, that the apocryphal gospel, so called, was first written:

[We have consulted the original Greek text, from the Orthodoxographa of Grynæus, p. 71, &c.]

The Protevangelion
Compared with Luke and Matthew.

Protevangelion, ch. 11.	Luke, ch. 1.
	v. 26. And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God, unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,
And she [Mary] took a pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And behold, a voice, saying: Hail, full of grace; the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women.	27. To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name (was) Mary.
	28. And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail (thou that art) highly favored, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.
And she looked around, to the right and to the left, to see whence this voice came. And trembling, she went into her house, and put down the pitcher, and taking the purple, she sat down in her seat, to work it. And behold the angel of the Lord [one version reads, "a young man of ineffable beauty,"] stood by her, and said: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favor with God.	29. And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.
	30. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favor with God.
	31. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.
	32. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.
When she heard this, she reasoned with herself, What sort of salutation is this to me? And the angel said unto her, The Lord is with thee, and thou shalt conceive. And shall I conceive, said she, by the living God, and bring forth as other women do?	33. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.
	34. Then said Mary unto the angel, how shall this be, seeing I know not a man?
The angel replied, Not so Mary, for the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also the holy	35. And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also, that holy thing which shall

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 11.

thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the living God.

And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she has also conceived a son in her old age. And this is the sixth month with her who was called barren.

For nothing shall be impossible with God.

And Mary said, behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.

CHAPTER 12.

And she wrought the purple, and took it to the high priest. And the high priest blessed her, saying: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth.

Then Mary, filled with joy, went away to her cousin Elizabeth, and knocked at the door.

When Elizabeth heard, she ran, and opened to her, and blessed her,

And said: Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?

For lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation came to my ears, that which is within me, leaped and blessed thee.

But Mary, being ignorant of those mysterious things, which the archangel Gabriel had spoken to her, lifted up her eyes to heaven, and said: Lord, what am I, that all the generations of the earth should call me blessed?

But as day by day, she grew big, being afraid, she went to her home, and hid herself from the children of Israel.

She was fourteen years old, when these mysteries happened.

LUKE, ch. 1.

be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.

36. And behold, thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her who was called barren:

37. For with God nothing shall be impossible.

38. And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.

39. And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill-country with haste, into a city of Judæa,

40. And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elizabeth.

41. And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost.

42. And she spake out with a loud voice, and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

43. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?

44. For lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.

45. And blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord.

46. And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, [&c. See the song of Mary, Luke, ch. 1, vv. 46 to 55.]

56. And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned to her own house.

No one can doubt that one of the foregoing narratives was used in the composition of the other.

If, as Schleiermacher supposes, the author of Luke has inserted an entire manuscript, running from verses 5 to 80, then the author of that manuscript drew from the Protevangelion, or the author of the Protevangelion drew from the manuscript, either before or after it was placed in the gospel of Luke.

Grynæus, the author of the Orthodoxographa, believed that the Protevangelion was first written.[1]

If the foregoing parallel passages be carefully examined, in connection with the abstract in the previous chapter, it will be seen that the internal evidence favors the earlier composition of the passages from the Protevangelion. Those are in the midst of a much longer story, forming a natural and consistent part of it; while the account in Luke is a disjointed and unconnected narrative.

The variations in Luke, are evidently for a purpose.

For instance, in the 27th verse, it is stated that Joseph was of the house of David; and in the 32d verse, that Jesus should be given the throne of his father David; for neither of which is there any parallel in the Protevangelion. The earlier fathers, who followed this gospel, thought it sufficient to trace the descent of Mary from David. But the author of Luke desired to show that Joseph was descended from David; hence the change, which appears to have been made in support of his genealogy.

In pursuance of the same object, in the 4th verse of the 2d chapter, he represents that Joseph went up

(1.) He says: "Multa habet quae narrationibus quatuor evangelistarum pulchre consentiunt, plura autem quae ab illis velut parerga sunt prætermissa."

"It contains many things which perfectly agree with the accounts of the four evangelists, but more which are omitted by [from] them as needless."

from Galilee to Bethlehem, to be taxed "because he was of the house and lineage of David." The 17th chapter of the Protevangelion represents Joseph as going to Bethlehem to be taxed, but says nothing of his being of the house and lineage of David. If the Protevangelion had been last written, there is no reason why that circumstance, if true, should have been omitted; and especially if that was the reason why Joseph went to Bethlehem to be taxed. On the contrary, the author of the Protevangelion would have inserted the reference to David, as calculated to magnify the importance of Jesus, by showing his royal descent, on the male side of his ancestry.

Then the song of praise with which Mary breaks forth, has a theological look, being composed, almost entirely from passages in the Old Testament. This, also, is not in the Protevangelion. If, indeed, it was spoken by Mary herself, it may be looked upon as strong evidence of the truth of the statement, that Mary was brought up in the temple; since in no other way would she have been so conversant with the Jewish scriptures.

Passing on to the second chapter of Luke, Dr. Schleiermacher, commenting on verses 1 to 20, and suggesting that it appears like a separate narrative, says:

"We can recognize neither the same author, nor the prevalence of a poetical character, since this would necessarily have occasioned the introduction of more lyrical passages. Here, therefore, we must refer the main fact, at least, to an historical tradition. But upon this, if we seek grounds for an exact conclusion, there arises in the first place the question, from what source the narrative may be drawn. For two may be conceived, Joseph and Mary on the one side, the shepherds on the other."

After considering the circumstances, he inclines to the opinion, that the narrative came originally from the shepherds. He thinks the shepherds related what

occurred, and the affair became known in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. He concludes as follows:

"We must therefore suppose, that this story was only drawn forth from the dust of oblivion, by the recollection of individuals, after the fame of Jesus was already established, and therefore probably did not obtain further publicity until after his death."—*Essay on Luke, pp.* 32 to 35.

The following parallel may enable us to determine which of these gospels contains the earlier record of this story:

THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 17.	LUKE, ch. 2.
And it came to pass that there went forth a decree from the Emperor Augustus, that all the Jews should be taxed, [ἀπογραφεσθαι], who were of Bethlehem of Judæa.	And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.
And Joseph said, I will take care that my children shall be taxed; but what shall I do with this young woman? To have her taxed as my wife I am ashamed; But if as my daughter, all Israel knows she is not my daughter. The day itself of the Lord shall bring to pass what it will.	2. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.
And he saddled the ass, and placed her upon it. Joseph and Simeon followed, and arrived within three miles. [of Bethlehem.]	3. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.
(Here, as the time for Mary's deliverance approached, they stopped, and Mary was taken into a cave.)	4. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David.)
	5. To be taxed with Mary, his espoused wife, being great with child.
	6. So it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.
CHAPTER 18.	
And he found there a cave, and led her into it, and leaving her and his sons in the cave, he went forth to seek a Hebrew midwife in the country of Bethlehem.	
[On his way, Joseph sees the prodigies mentioned in last chapter.]	
[Ch. 19.—He meets a midwife coming down from the mountains. They return together, and find Jesus born, in the cave.	7. And she brought forth her first-born son,
In subsequent chapters, various remarkable events are related, including the visit of the wise men "to Bethlehem," and the order for the slaughter	

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 18.	LUKE, ch. 2.
of the children. The story proceeds as follows:]	
But Mary, hearing that the children were to be killed, being under much fear, took the child, and wrapped him up in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in an ox-manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.—[ch. 22.]	and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

The account of the vision to the shepherds, &c. does not appear in the Protevangelion; a circumstance which cannot well be accounted for, if Luke was first written. The author of the Protevangelion enlarges upon many unimportant circumstances, and is not in want of space. It is difficult to see why, if his work was last written, he should omit so interesting a portion of the story, as that concerning the shepherds; one too, which would have added so much to the importance of the transaction.

In a subsequent chapter, it will be seen that this account has a parallel in the Gospel of the Infancy. This gospel states also that Jesus was circumcised in the cave.

So with the presentation in the temple: 22d to 40th of 2d chapter of Luke, which, Schleiermacher thinks, was a separate narrative, from another manuscript. This, though not in the Protevangelion, is in the Gospel of the Infancy. The same may be said of the balance of the chapter, verses 41 to 52.

Of this portion of the narrative, Schleiermacher says:

"That the last piece of this division, too, Jesus' first visit to the temple, did not originally belong to the same context with what goes before, is rendered evident by a variety of marks. Verse 40, which some most strangely consider as the beginning of this last piece, against all analogy with 1st. 80, and 2d. 52, is a mere form of conclusion."—*Essay*, *p.* 41.

This learned writer sums up his view of the composition of the first two chapters of Luke, as follows:

"Thus, then, by an apparently gradual annexation of several detached narratives, committed to writing independently of each other, to a piece which was originally composed, not as an historical narrative, but as a poem, did the

first division of this gospel, according to these indications, take its rise.—*Essay, p.* 44.

The internal evidence going to show that this gospel was written before Luke, is supported by the historical fact, that Justin Martyr, [A. D. 150 to 160], who furnishes no evidence of having seen the Gospel of Luke, was acquainted with the Protevangelion history, and received it as true. He refers to Christ being born in a cave, and to various other incidents of the narrative, not found in the canonical gospels.

Let us now pass on, to the Gospel of Matthew:

JOSEPH AND THE ANGEL.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 13.

And when her sixth month was come, Joseph, returning from his building houses, and entering into his house, found the virgin grown big with child.

CHAPTER 14.

Then Joseph was exceedingly afraid, and went away from her, considering what he should do with her: and he thus reasoned with himself: If I conceal her crime, I shall be found guilty, by the Law of the Lord; and if I discover her to the children of Israel, I fear lest, she being with child by an angel, I shall be found to betray the life of an innocent person. What therefore, shall I do? I will privily put her away.

And night came upon him, and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying: Be not afraid to take the young woman, for that which is within her, is of the Holy Ghost.

And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

MATTHEW, ch. 1.

v. 18. Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child, of the Holy Ghost.

19. Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily.

20. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

21. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

22. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying:

23. Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 14.	MATTHEW, ch. 1.
Then Joseph arose from his sleep, and glorified the God of Israel, who had shown him such grace, and he kept the maiden.	24. Then Joseph, being raised from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife.

Here again, the later, and more theological character of the composition, is apparent in Matthew.

Not only does the angel address Joseph as the son of David, which form of address is not in the Protevangelion, but verses 22 and 23 are injected into the Protevangelion history, for the purpose of making the account fit in with a certain prophecy of the Old Testament. Those verses are, however, no improvement upon the Protevangelion. When that prophecy is examined, it is found not to relate to Christ at all.

The passage is in the 7th chapter of Isaiah.

In the days of Ahaz, King of Judah, the kings of Syria and Israel went up to Jerusalem, and made war against it. Then the Lord sent Isaiah forth with instructions, to meet Ahaz, and to bid him be quiet, and fear not. He was instructed to assure Ahaz, that within three-score and five years, Ephraim should be broken. The Lord then bid Ahaz ask for a sign. But Ahaz replied, he would not ask, neither would he tempt the Lord. Then the Lord (through Isaiah) said:

"Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest, shall be forsaken of both her kings."—*Isaiah*, 7. 14, 16.

The 8th chapter proceeds as follows:

"Moreover, the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare a son.

Then said the Lord to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. (In making speed to the spoil, he hasteneth the prey.) For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.—[Isa. 8, 1-4.]

It is only necessary to read the passage, in connection with the context, to see that it had no reference to Christ whatever. The language does not profess to be prophetic, beyond sixty-five years. Otherwise, it is historical, throughout, and the history needs no interpretation.

VISIT OF THE MAGI, AND SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN.

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 21.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
Then Joseph was preparing to go away. For there was a great commotion in Bethlehem, by the coming of	Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem,
wise men from the East, saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.	2. Saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.
When Herod heard this, he was exceedingly troubled; and having sent messengers to the wise men and the priests, he enquired of them in the prætorium, saying to them, Where is it written among you, of Christ the king, that he should be born?	3. When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.
Then they say unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa; for thus it is written;	4. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born?
	5. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa; for thus it is written by the prophet;
And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a governor, who shall rule my people Israel.	6. And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah; for out of thee shall come a governor, who shall rule my people Israel.
And having sent away the chief priests, he enquired of the wise men in the prætorium, and said unto them: What sign was it ye saw concerning the king that is born? They answered,	7. Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared?
We saw an extraordinary large star, shining among the stars of heaven, and it so outshined all the other stars, that they became not visible; and we know that a great king has come in Israel, and therefore have come to worship him.	

PROTEVANGELION, ch. 21.

Then said Herod to them, Go and make diligent inquiry, and if ye find him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

So the wise men went forth, and behold the star which they saw in the east went before them, till it came and stood over the cave where the young child was, with Mary his mother.

Then they brought forth out of their treasures, and offered unto him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

And being warned in a dream by an angel, that they should not return to Herod, through Judæa, they departed into their own country, another way.

CHAPTER 22.

Then Herod, when he perceived that he was mocked by the wise men, being very angry, sent murderers, commanding them to slay all the children, from two years old and under.

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

8. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child, and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9. When they had heard the king, they departed; and lo, the star which they saw in the east, went before them till it came and stood over where the young child was.

10. When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshiped him; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

12. And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country, another way.

[The warning to Joseph, and the flight to Egypt, not in the Protevangelion. They are however, in the Gospel of the Infancy.]

16. Then Herod, when he saw he was mocked by the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

17. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying:

18. In Rama there was a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

Here is another prophecy, not alluded to in the Protevangelion.

In this case as in the other, it is only necessary to read the prophecy, in its connection with the context, in order to determine whether its application here is legitimate.

In the 30th and 31st chapters of Jeremiah, the prophet predicts the return of the children of Israel from

their captivity. The revelation was, it appears, communicated to him in a dream; for in the 26th verse of the 31st chapter, he says, "Upon this I awaked, and beheld; and my sleep was sweet unto me."

The 30th chapter commences thus:

"The word that came to Jeremiah, from the Lord, saying:

Verse 3. "For lo, the days are come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it."

v. 5. "For thus saith the Lord: We have heard a voice of trembling, of fear, and not of peace."

v. 10. ...."And Jacob shall return, and shall be in rest, and be quiet, and none shall make him afraid."

v. 18. "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents," &c.

v. 20. "Their children also shall be as aforetime," &c.

Ch. 31, v. 8. "Behold, I will bring them from the north country." &c.

v. 9. "They shall come with weeping," &c.

Then, soon after, with nothing intervening, to change the subject matter, comes the following:

v. 15. "Thus saith the Lord, A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping: Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.

v. 16. "Thus saith the Lord; Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.

v. 17. "And there is hope in thine end, saith the Lord, that thy children shall come again, to their own border."

It needs no argument or construction to show that the children of Israel are the children referred to in this chapter, and that it had no more reference to the infant children of Bethlehem to be slain by Herod, than it had to the children of Chicago.

It is only by applying a principle known to theologians as "accommodation," that any such application of the language can be made. But by the method of accommodation, any conceivable proposition can be proven from any chapter of the bible.

The reference to the prophecy of Micah, "And thou, Bethlehem," &c. is only in some copies of the Protevangelion. It is not in the Ante-Nicene version, and was probably an interpolation.

From the subsequent verses of the 5th chapter of Micah, it appears that the prophecy related to a ruler of Israel, who should be able to cope successfully with the king of Assyria.

If the prophecy related to Christ, then it was necessary he should be born in the village of Bethlehem. But all the copies of the Protevangelion, represent that he was born in a cave three miles from Bethlehem. So it is related in the Gospel of the Infancy, that Jesus was born in a cave, before his parents reached Bethlehem, though the distance is not stated. But Bethlehem being comparatively a small village, the prophecy would not thus be fulfilled. "For out of thee shall come," &c. Hence the probability that the reference to the prophecy in some copies of the Protevangelion, is an interpolation. Hence also the necessity, that in Matthew, where the verses relating to the prophecy stand on the same footing with the rest, Jesus should be born in the very village of Bethlehem.

If Matthew was first written, and was known to the authors of the other gospels, it is strange that they should have Jesus born outside of Bethlehem, at the risk of disconnecting the event from the prophecy. The authors of those gospels were disposed, neither to deny the Messiahship of Jesus, nor to deprive him of the benefit of any of the Jewish prophecies.

For the reasons given, and because in the Protevangelion, all the circumstances are simply and naturally related in their connection, as portions of a longer story, we conclude the Protevangelion was first written.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY.

DIFFERENT VERSIONS—SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS—TESTIMONIES AND CITATIONS OF THE FATHERS.

The complete Gospel of the Infancy of the Savior, first appeared in the Arabic language. It was translated into Latin, and was published by Mr. Sike, Professor of Oriental languages at Cambridge, England. It was published at Utrecht, in 1697.

Beside this, there is a fragment of what is thought to be a more ancient gospel, ascribed to the Apostle Thomas, and known as Thomas' Gospel of the Infancy.

It is published in the Ante-Nicene collection, in three forms: two being translations from the Greek, and one from the Latin. It is manifest that these, as well as the publication of Mr. Sike, are but different versions of the one Gospel of the Infancy.

The following is a synopsis of the complete gospel, as published by Mr. Sike:

CHAPTER 1.—"The following accounts we have found in the book of Joseph, the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ; and some say that he is Caiaphas. He has said that Jesus spoke, and indeed, that when he was lying

in his cradle, he said to his mother Mary, I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos whom thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world."

Chaps. 2 & 3.—The decree for the taxing; the journey of Joseph and Mary; stopping at the cave; Joseph going after a midwife, and the birth of Jesus in the cave; the general tenor of the story being the same as in the Protevangelion, but the account being in a condensed form, and differing in some details.

Chs. 4, 5 & 6. The story of the shepherds, the circumcision in the cave, &c. Jesus brought to Jerusalem. Simeon, and Hannah.—[See next chapter of this work.]

Ch. 7. The wise men came from the east, "according to the prophecy of Zoradascht," [Zoroaster], and brought offerings, gold, &c. The Lady Mary gave them one of the swaddling-clothes of Jesus, "which they received from her, as a most noble present." They followed the star back to their own country.

Ch. 8. On their return to their own country, having made a fire and worshiped it, they cast in the swaddling-cloth, which remained unharmed by the fire.

Ch. 9. Herod enquired concerning the wise men; whereupon Joseph, being warned by an angel, fled into Egypt.

Chs. 10 to 22.—[Here follows a series of most astounding miracles, performed by Jesus, while a baby, in Egypt:

Idols fall down at his approach—people possessed of devils, are cured by touching his swaddling-clothes; in one case, the devils coming out of the mouth of one who had put a swaddling-cloth on his head. A bride who had become dumb, recovers her speech, by taking the infant Jesus in her arms—a girl whose body was white with leprosy, is cured by "being sprinkled with water in which the Lord Jesus had been washed." Another is freed from Satan, who flees away in the form of a young man. A young man who had been changed into a mule, is re-transformed into his proper shape, by the boy Jesus having been placed on the mule's back; &c. &c.]

Ch. 23.—In a desert country they met two robbers, named Titus and Dumachus. Titus having interested himself for the safety of the mother and child, St. Mary prophesied that the Lord God would receive him on his right hand, and grant him the pardon of his sins. Jesus also said to his mother, "When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two thieves shall be with me, at the same time, upon the cross, Titus on my right hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time, Titus shall go before me into paradise."

Ch. 24.—In Matarea, the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth, in which St. Mary washed his coat.

Ch. 25.—Thence they proceeded to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh. They abode three years; "And the Lord Jesus did very many miracles in Egypt,

which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy, nor in the Gospel of Perfection.."

[Mr. Ellicott, in his Essay on the Apocryphal Gospels, which will be noticed hereafter, very ingeniously supposes the writer of the Infancy, by the Gospel of Perfection, here to mean the four canonical gospels; though it is well understood, that one of the lost gospels of the second century was called "The Gospel of Perfection." See that title.]

Ch. 26. At the end of three years, they returned out of Egypt, and when they came near Judæa, Joseph was afraid of Archelaus. At the same time, he was warned by an angel, to go to Nazareth.

The writer then makes this pertinent remark:

"It is strange, indeed, that he who is the Lord of all countries, should be carried backward and forward, through so many countries."

Chs.27 to 34. Here follows another series of miracles, similar to those performed in Egypt.

St. Mary had healed a sick boy, by giving his mother one of the swaddling cloths of the boy Jesus, in exchange for a handsome carpet. Another woman, who was envious, threw Caleb, [the boy who had been healed], into a hot oven. When his mother returned, she saw Caleb, lying in the middle of the oven, laughing. When the woman told her story, St. Mary replied, "Be quiet, for I am concerned, lest thou shouldst make this matter known." After this, the other woman threw Caleb into a well, but he sat upon the surface of the water, uninjured. The woman who had thrown him in, fell in herself and perished.

A boy whose eyes were closed in death, revived at the smell of the garments of the Lord Jesus.

A girl who was afflicted by Satan sucking her blood, put upon her head, as Satan approached her, one of the swaddling cloths of Jesus. Thereupon there issued forth from the cloth, flames and burning coals, which fell upon the dragon. Then the dragon cried out, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of Mary? Whither shall I flee from thee?" He then left the girl.

Ch. 35. A boy named Judas was possessed by Satan. Whenever Satan seized him, he wished to bite any one present. The mother of the miserable boy took him to St. Mary. In the mean time, James and Jose had taken away the infant Lord Jesus, to play, and were sitting down together. Judas came and sat down, at the right hand of Jesus, and tried to bite him. Because he could not do it, he struck Jesus in the right side, so that he cried out; and at the same moment, Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog. This boy was Judas Iscariot.

Ch. 36.—When the Lord Jesus was seven years old, he with other boys of about the same age, were making clay into the shape of asses, oxen, birds, &c. Jesus commanded his to move and walk, which they did. He also made figures of sparrows, and caused them to fly. The fathers of the other children told them Jesus was a sorcerer.

Chs. 37 to 39.—Other miracles. Jesus, playing with other boys, threw the clothes of a dyer into a furnace. When taken out, they were all dyed, with the desired colors. Jesus accompanied his father Joseph in his carpenter work, and whenever Joseph wanted any thing made longer or shorter, Jesus would stretch his hand toward it, and it became of the proper length. Joseph had spent two years making a throne for the king of Jerusalem. It was short on each side, two spans. Joseph was so afraid of the king's anger, that he went to bed without his supper. In the morning, Jesus took hold on one side, and Joseph on the other, and pulled, and the throne came to the right dimensions.

Ch. 40.—Jesus turned some boys into kids; saying to them, "Come hither, O ye kids, to your shepherd." The boys came forth like kids, and leaped about. He then turned the kids back into boys.

Ch. 41.—Jesus gathered the boys together, and ranked them as though he had been a king. They spread garments on the ground for him to sit upon, and crowned him with flowers.

Ch. 42.—In the mean time, a boy was brought along upon a couch. Having put his hand into a partridge's nest, to take out the eggs, he had been stung by a poisonous serpent. When they came to the place where the Lord Jesus was sitting, like a king, and the other boys standing round him like his ministers, Jesus enquired on what account they carried the boy? When they told him, he returned with them to the nest, and there caused the serpent to suck all the poison out again.

Ch. 43.—James the son of Joseph was bitten by a viper. Jesus blew upon it, and cured it instantly.

Ch. 44.—The Lord Jesus was playing with other boys upon a house top. One of them fell off and was killed. Jesus being accused of throwing him off, he stood over the dead boy, and said in a loud voice, "Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the house top?" Then the dead boy answered, "Thou didst not throw me down, but (such a one) did."

Ch. 45.—Jesus, being sent by his mother to the well for water, broke the pitcher. He thereupon gathered the water into his mantle, and brought it to his mother.

Ch. 46.—Jesus was with some other boys by a river, drawing water out of the river by little channels, and making fish pools. Jesus made twelve sparrows, and caused them to fly. The son of Hanani, a Jew, came by, and asked if they thus made figures on the sabbath? And he broke down their fish pools. Coming to the fish pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away; and the Lord Jesus said to him, "In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish." And presently the boy died.

Ch. 47.—"Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home, in the evening, with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down; to whom the Lord Jesus said, 'As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise!' And that moment, the boy fell down and died."

Chs. 48 and 49.—Jesus was sent to school to Zaccheus. The master told him to say Aleph, which he did. Then, to say Beth. "Then the Lord Jesus said to him, 'Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.'" Jesus explained the meaning of Aleph and Beth, and all the alphabet. He was taken to a more learned master. When the same scene was repeated, the master raised his hand to whip him, but his hand presently withered, and he died.

Ch. 50.—Jesus with the doctors in the temple. [See next chapter of this work.]

Ch. 51.—Jesus explains to an astronomer, "the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size, and several prognostications."

Ch. 52.—He explains to a philosopher, physics and natural philosophy. "The things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers of the body; the numbers of its members, and bones, veins, arteries and nerves; how the soul operated on the body," &c. [The particulars of these explanations, are not given.]

Ch. 53.—His parents find him among the doctors, in the temple.

Ch. 54.—Jesus conceals his miracles and secret works, and devotes himself to the study of the law, till thirty years old. His acknowledgment by the Father, at the Jordan.

Ch. 55. Conclusion.—"The end of the whole Gospel of the Infancy, by the assistance of the Supreme God, according to what we found in the original."

Testimonies and Citations by the Fathers.

1. Justin Martyr was acquainted with this gospel, A. D. 150 to 160. [See Justin Martyr.]

All the arguments, therefore, against its antiquity, drawn from internal evidence, if directed against the gospel as a whole, fall to the ground. Those arguments are based upon modes of expression which were thought not to prevail until the third or fourth century, or even later; such as "The Lord Christ," "The Lady St. Mary;" &c. also upon the veneration and devotion paid to Mary, and the efficacy ascribed to relics and emblems. Whatever force there may be in these objections, they can only apply to some portions of the gospel, and to some of its phraseology, which may have been introduced by a copyist or a translator.

2. It is referred to by Irenæus, [A. D. 190], in an unmistakable manner.

He claims it was a forgery of the Marcosians, of the second century, and relates with much particularity, the scene between Jesus and the school master.[1]

3. It is alluded to by Origen, [A. D. 230], as the Gospel of Thomas.[2] Also by Epiphanius, [385],[3] by Eusebius, [325],[4] by Cyril, [375],[5] and by Athanasius. [373.]

It is possible that some of the miracles in Egypt, may have been added by a later hand, to a changed version of the Gospel of Thomas. Epiphanius, however, refers to the miracles performed by Jesus in his childhood, and does not discredit them. He says:

"Christ wrought his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, the third day after he began to preach; for Christ is not said to have been at the marriage before his temptation. Nor did he work any miracles, or preach any sermons before that time, except some things which some say he did at play, when a child. And indeed it was fit some things should be done by him in his childhood, that there might not be any foundation for the assertion of those heretics, who say that Christ did not come upon him till he was baptized, in Jordan, in the form of a dove."—*Hær.* 51. 20.

Both Eusebius and Athanasius relate, that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt, they took up their abode in Hermopolis, a city of Thebais, in which was a superb temple of Serapis. When Joseph and Mary entered the temple, not only the great idol, but all the lesser gods fell down before them.[6]

It is agreed by Origen, Jerome and many others, that the Gospel of the Infancy, or the Gospel of Thomas, was one of "the many," referred to in Luke.

Jones, who has made an elaborate attack upon the Gospel of the Infancy, pronouncing its miracles absurd

(1.) Adv. Hær. 1. 20. (2.) In Luc. 1. 1.
(3.) Hær. 51. 20. (4.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 25.
(5.) Hier. Catech. 4, p. 38.
(6.) Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 6, c. 20; Athan. de Incarn. Verbi, p. 89.

and ridiculous, concedes, nevertheless, that the original of this gospel was written early in the second century.[1]

In the Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, one of the Greek fathers, who wrote A. D. 439, will be found the following reference to some of the incidents connected with the residence of Christ in Egypt.

"At Ermopolis in Thebais, is a tree called Persea, of which the branches, the leaves, and the least portion of the bark, are said to heal disease, when touched by the sick. It is related by the Egyptians, that when Joseph fled with Christ and Mary, the Holy Mother, from the wrath of Herod, they went to Ermopolis; and as they were entering the city, this tree bent down, and worshiped Christ. I relate precisely what I have heard, from many sources, concerning this tree. I think that this was the sign of the presence of God, in the city; or perhaps, as seems most probable, it may have arisen from the fear of the demon, who had been worshiped in this large and beautiful tree, by the people of the country, for at the presence of Christ, the idols of Egypt were shaken, even as Isaiah the prophet had foretold. On the expulsion of the demon, the tree was permitted to remain as a monument to what had occurred, and was endued with the property of healing those who believed. The inhabitants of Egypt and of Palestine, [referring to another event which he had related, also], testify to the truth of these events which took place among themselves."—*Sozomen's Ecc. Hist. bk.* 5, *ch.* 21.

Such is the testimony, and such are the conclusions, of one of the more moderate of the ancient ecclesiastical historians. There were many miracles ascribed to Jesus, which were fully accredited by the fathers, for several centuries. Those not contained in the canonical gospels, became after a while, first doubted, then discredited; the miracles related in those gospels only, being considered finally worthy of belief.

(1.) Jones on the New Testament, vol. 2. p. 259.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, COMPARED WITH LUKE AND MATTHEW.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY ONE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE COMPILATIONS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW—THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF THOSE GOSPELS AND THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY COMPARED.

In regard to the taxing, &c., the parallel passage in the Protevangelion, has already been given. The following is the parallel with the Infancy:

THE TAXING, AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, ch. 2.	GOSPEL OF LUKE, ch. 2.
In the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, Augustus published a decree, that all persons should go to be taxed, into their own country.	And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.
Joseph therefore arose, and with	2. And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.
	3. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.
Mary his spouse, he went to Jerusalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed, in the city of his fathers.	4. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David.)
["When they came by the cave," they stopped, and there Jesus was born.]	5. To be taxed, with Mary, his espoused wife, being great with child. (Christ was then born in Bethlehem.)

This reference to "the cave," as something well understood, indicates that the writer of the Infancy was familiar with the Protevangelion.

VISION TO THE SHEPHERDS.

INFANCY, ch. 4.

After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were rejoicing exceedingly, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the Supreme God. As the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ.

LUKE, ch. 2.

8. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night.

9. And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them; and they were sore afraid.

10. And the angel said unto them, fear not; for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

11. For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Savior, who is Christ the Lord.

12. And this shall be a sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger.

13. And suddenly there was with the angel, a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying:

14. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, good will toward men.

15. And it came to pass as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known to us.

16. And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.

The account in the Gospel of the Infancy, though sufficiently marvelous, has much the more natural surroundings.

Mary, on her way to Bethlehem,not being able to continue the journey, stops at a cave, used by shepherds for herding cattle. Here Jesus is born. In the mean time, the shepherds, returning to the cave, build a fire, and as they come to understand the nature of the transaction, they unite in praises to God, in which they are joined by the heavenly host of angels.

In Luke, Jesus is born in Bethlehem, and the shepherds, who are in the field, are informed by an angel

of the birth of a Savior, and that he is lying in a manger; but they are left to find the place the best way they can. Then the heavenly host, instead of appearing where Jesus was, is made to appear to the shepherds in the field.

It is manifest that the story has been taken from its natural setting, in order that Jesus might be born at Bethlehem, in fulfillment of the prophecy of Micah.

THE CIRCUMCISION.

INFANCY, ch. 5.	LUKE, ch. 2.
And when the time of circumcision was come, viz. the eighth day, on which the law commanded that a boy should be circumcised, they circumcised him in the cave, &c.	21. And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

Here again, it may be well to note the remarks of Shleiermacher. He says:

"What we read from 22 to 40 in chapter 2, respecting the presentation of the child in the temple, which was combined with the purification of his mother, seems also to have been originally related and committed to writing, without connection with the preceding passage; for at the end, mention is made of the return to Nazareth, just as though the parents had come from that place to Jerusalem, without notice being taken by a single word, of their residence up to that time in Bethlehem, which would nevertheless have been so easy and natural. This narrative, therefore, knows nothing of that residence. Only I would not on that account understand the surprise of Mary at the language of Simeon, as implying that she herself did not know yet who her son was."—*Essay on Luke*, *p.* 39.

While the narrative of the vision to the shepherds, as contained in Luke, had a basis in the Gospel of the Infancy, there had been a wide departure from the story as there given, and much new matter introduced, showing that the whole account had been re-written.

In the following, however, it will not be difficult to perceive, that we have but different versions of the same narrative:

INFANCY, chs. 5 and 6.

Ten days having intervened, they brought him to Jerusalem; and on the fortieth day of his birth, they presented him in the temple before the Lord, making offerings for him, according to what is prescribed in the law of Moses, to wit: Every male who openeth the womb, shall be called the holy of God.

Then old Simeon saw him shining as a pillar of light, when the Lady Virgin Mary, his mother, was carrying him in her arms, and rejoicing exceedingly, over him. And angels, praising him, stood around him in a circle, like life-guards standing by a king.

Then Simeon, going up before Lady Mary, and stretching out his hands before her, said to the Lord Christ, Now, O my Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen thy mercy,

Which thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples.

A light to all nations, and a glory to thy people Israel.

Hannah, a prophetess, was also present, and drawing near, she gave

LUKE, ch. 2.

22. And when the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord.

23. (As it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb, shall be called holy to the Lord.)

24. And to offer a sacrifice, according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons.

25. And behold there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

26. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

27. And he came by the spirit into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law,

28. Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:

29. Lord now lettest thou thy servant go in peace, according to thy word.

30. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation

31. Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people.

32. A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

33. And Joseph and his mother marveled at those things which were spoken of him.

34. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set, &c.

35. Yea, a sword shall pierce, &c.

36. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser; she was of great age, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity.

37. And she was a widow of about four-score and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers, night and day.

INFANCY, ch. 6.

thanks to God, and celebrated the happiness of Lady Mary.

LUKE, ch. 2.

38. And she, coming in that instant, gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.

INFANCY, ch. 50.

And when he was twelve years old, they took him to Jerusalem, to the feast.

And when the feast was finished, they indeed returned, but the Lord Jesus remained behind, in the temple, among the doctors and elders, and learned men of the sons of Israel; to whom he put various questions in the sciences, and gave them answers in his turn.

[The balance of chapter 50 and the whole of chapters 51 and 52 are taken up with an account of this discussion. It is stated that Jesus explained the books of the law and the mysteries of the prophets; also the sciences of astronomy, philosophy, &c. But the particular explanations are not given.]

CHAPTER 53.

While they were speaking to each other these and other things, the Lady St. Mary came, after having been going about for three days, with Joseph, seeking for him. She therefore, seeing him sitting among the doctors, asking them questions, and answering in his turn, said to him, My son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, I and thy father have sought thee, with much trouble.

LUKE, ch. 2.

41. Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the passover.

42. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast.

43. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.

44. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance.

45. And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.

46. And it came to pass, that after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.

47. And all who heard him, were astonished at his understanding and answers.

48. And when they saw him, they were amazed; and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee, sorrowing.

INFANCY, ch. 53.	LUKE, ch. 2.
He replied, Wherefore did ye seek me? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's house? But they understood not the word which he spake unto them.	49. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not, that I must be about my father's business?
	50. And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.
Then the doctors asked Mary whether he was her son. And when she signified that he was, they said, O happy Mary, who hast brought forth such a son.	51. And he went down with them,
Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things; and his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.	and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them; but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.
And the Lord Jesus grew in stature and wisdom and in favor with God and man.	52. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.

The foregoing accounts are closely parallel, with no particular inference, as to which was first written.

The next chapter of the Infancy is as follows:

CH. 54. "But from this time, he began to conceal his miracles and secret works, and gave himself to the study of the law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year; at which time the Father publicly owned him at Jordan, sending down this voice from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; the Holy Ghost being also present, in the form of a dove."

Passing on to the Gospel of Matthew, the parallel commences with the 7th chapter of the Infancy, and the 2d chapter of Matthew, as follows:

VISIT OF THE MAGI.

INFANCY, ch. 7.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, in the time of Herod the King, behold, wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, as Zoradascht [in the Ante-Nicene copy, Zeraduscht], had predicted; and there were with	Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the King, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem,
	2. Saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.
	[Verses 3 to 10 have a parallel in the Protevangelion, which has been given.]

INFANCY, ch. 7.

them gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And they adored him, and presented to him their gifts.

Then the Lady Mary took one of those swaddling-clothes, (in which the infant was wrapped), and gave it to them instead of a blessing; which they received from her as a most noble present. And in the same hour, there appeared unto them an angel in the form of that star, which had before been their guide in their journey; and they went away, following the guidance of its light, till they returned into their own country.

[On their return, having made a fire and worshiped it, they cast in the swaddling-cloth, which remained unharmed by the fire.]

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshiped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh.

12. And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country, another way.

It will be noticed, that according to the Infancy Gospel, the visit of the magi was made in accordance with the prophecy of Zoradascht. (Zoroaster.)

The reference to the prophecy of Zoroaster cannot well be explained, except on the hypothesis, that the Gospel of the Infancy was first written.

THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT.

INFANCY, ch. 9.

But Herod, perceiving that the wise men did delay, and not return to him, called together the priests and wise men, and said, Tell me in what place, the Christ is to be born. And when they replied, In Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, he began to contrive in his mind, the death of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Then appeared an angel of the Lord to Joseph in his sleep, and said, Arise, take the boy and his mother and go into Egypt, at the crowing of the cock. So he arose and went.

MATTHEW, ch. 2.

13. And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying: Arise and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt; and be there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child, to destroy him.

14. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother, by night, and departed into Egypt.

[Here follows the passage of Hosea, ch. 11, v. 1, referring to the calling of Israel out of Egypt, which is applied, as a prophecy, to this transaction.]

In reply to the enquiry of Herod, as to the place where the Christ was to be born, the priests and wise men said, In Bethlehem. Yet, according to the Infancy Gospel, he was born on the road, before his parents reached Bethlehem. (According to the Protevangelion. three miles distant.) The author of Luke, perceiving this inconsistency, has Christ born in the village of Bethlehem. But in so doing, as has been seen, he is obliged to break up the consecutive incidents, and, in several respects, to reconstruct the narrative.

The slaughter of the children is mentioned in the Protevangelion, but not in the Infancy, in this connection.

In the twelfth chapter, there is a reference to it, as also, to the prophecy of Micah, thrown in, in the midst of the miracles wrought in Egypt. It is, doubtless, an interpolation.

Josephus, though he enlarges upon the cruelties of Herod, says nothing of the slaughter of the children.

The account can scarcely be considered historical. It must be looked upon as legendary, and probably first appeared in the Protevangelion.

THE RETURN FROM EGYPT.

INFANCY, ch. 26.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
	19. But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream, to Joseph in Egypt,
	20. Saying: Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead, who sought the young child's life.
At the end of three years, he returned out of Egypt; and when he came near to Judæa, Joseph was afraid to enter; for, hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son reigned in his stead, he was afraid; and when he went to Judæa, an angel	21. And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel.
	22. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither. Notwithstanding, being

INFANCY, ch. 26.	MATTHEW, ch. 2.
of God appeared to him, and said: O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide. It is indeed wonderful, that the Lord of all countries should thus be carried about, through so many regions.	warned of God in a dream, he turned aside, into the parts of Galilee. 23. And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth.

In the foregoing comparisons, the reader must have noticed, that where, in the account of the birth and childhood of Jesus, as given in Luke and Matthew, there was no parallel in one of the apocryphal gospels, the history was, almost invariably, supplemented in the other. This will appear more plainly by the following arrangement, where the portions of each which contain parallel passages are indicated:

LUKE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT, AND THE VISIT TO ELIZABETH.

Protevangelion, chs. 11 and 12. — Luke, ch. 1, vv. 26 to 56.

THE TAXING, AND THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

Protevangelion, chs. 17 and 18. } Also, Infancy, chs. 2 and 3. } — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 1 to 7.

VISION TO THE SHEPHERDS.

Infancy, ch. 4. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 8 to 16.

CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS.

Infancy, ch. 5. — Luke, ch. 2, v. 21.

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

Infancy, chs. 5 and 6. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 22 to 38.

JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.

Infancy, chs. 50 to 53. — Luke, ch. 2, vv. 41 to 52.

MATTHEW.

JOSEPH AND THE ANGEL.

Protevangelion, chs. 13 and 14. — Matthew, ch. 1, vv. 18 to 24.

VISIT OF THE MAGI, AND SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN

Protevangelion chs. 21 and 22. Also visit of the magi, Infancy, ch. 7.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 1 to 18.

FLIGHT TO EGYPT.

Infancy, ch. 7.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 13 to 15.

RETURN FROM EGYPT.

Infancy, ch. 26.	Matthew, ch. 2, vv. 19 to 23.

In considering the question of priority, it must be borne in mind, that these are, so far as is known, the only histories of the birth and childhood of Jesus, to be found in the ancient gospels. There was no such history, in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in the Gospel of Marcion, or in the Gospel of Tatian; nor have we any evidence that there was any such in the gospels still older, —those of the first century, or in any of the lost gospels of the second century.

On the hypothesis, that the Protevangelion and the Infancy were first written, it might be interesting to enquire, according to what rule or law, the selections were made by the authors of Luke and Matthew. Upon this point, we will venture to make a suggestion.

The Protevangelion and the Infancy were rude gospels. They were very inartificially constructed, and both of them contained accounts which were inconsistent and irreconcilable. They were inconsistent, not only with each other, but each with itself.

Looking at them together, we find, in endeavoring to trace the history of Jesus, that according to one account, he was taken from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, and publicly presented in the temple; thence to Nazareth, where he remained till his dispute with the doctors. The other account represented his parents fleeing with him, soon after his birth, from Bethlehem to Egypt, under a warning from an angel not to return by Jerusalem. These conflicting accounts, founded on different tra-

ditions, ran through the two gospels, indiscriminately.

Each of the compilers of Luke and Matthew, wishing to give, as a sort of preface to his gospel, a history of the birth and childhood of Christ, not too long, but one which would appear consistent in itself, selected, we may suppose, such portions of the other two gospels, as, in his judgment, would form such a history; the one adopting the theory of the presentation in the temple, and the other, the flight to Egypt. This would result in giving us, precisely what we have; two diverse, inconsistent, and utterly irreconcilable histories of the birth and childhood of Jesus.

"If we compare," says Schleiermacher, "without any prepossession, this (Luke, chs. 1 and 2), and the corresponding portion in Matthew, we have two parallel successions of narratives; parallel in the stricter sense of the word, inasmuch as they have no single point, that is, in this case, no entire fact, in common. They are not at all supplemental to each other, but on the contrary, the corresponding members of the two successions, almost entirely exclude each other. Hence, then, if in any one point, the narrative of the one evangelist is correct, that of the other, so far as it relates to the same epoch, cannot be so."—*Essay on Luke, pp.* 44, 45.

Again: "All attempts to reconcile these two contradictory statements, seem only elaborate efforts of art, to which one should not needlessly resort; or indeed, should rather give no explanation at all."—*Ibid.* p. 48.

Conceding them to be irreconcilable, he undertakes, by an ingenious process, to pick out the truth, a little here from Luke, and a little there from Matthew.

He thinks the accounts rest upon "a totally different tradition, one from the other."—[p. 48.]

In the Protevangelion and in the Infancy, the traditions are grouped together. In Luke and Matthew, they are separated.

In the next chapter, we shall endeavor to trace the origin and history of these traditions, and in so doing, some further light may be thrown upon the question of priority as between the two apocryphal and the two canonical gospels.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY.

We are now to search for the origin of the legendary accounts of the conception, birth and childhood of Jesus.

For the purpose of this investigation, the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Infancy may be considered together, as Gospels of the Infancy.

While in the subsequent history of the childhood of Christ, there are incidents which may be traced to other countries, there are certain leading features in the first part of the narrative, which stamp it as of Persian derivation. These are, the visit of the magi, guided by a star, and the fact that the visit was made in accordance with the prophecy of Zeraduscht, or Zoroaster.

This prophecy will be found in the life of Zoroaster, in Du Perron's translation of the Zend-Avesta.

Faber thinks the materials from which the Zend-Avesta was composed, were taken from heathen, rather than from Jewish sources, giving many reasons, based upon the peculiar construction of the legends of the Zend-Avesta. One of these peculiarities consists in the

association of a star with the deluge; a circumstance not to be found in the Mosaic account of the flood.

Taschter, the second man bull, of the creation, to whom was committed the charge of bringing on the deluge, was said to be a star, and his light is spoken of, as shining on high, during thirty days and thirty nights, while the waters of the deluge were increasing.

The star may be found in the mythology of other nations. Astarte consecrated at Tyre, a star, which she found falling from the sky. Electra, the mother of Dardanus, was one of the seven stars of the Pleiades, and was saved from a deluge, both in Arcadia and Samothrace.

The star is older, even than Zoroaster, and according to Faber, older than Hebrew tradition.

There were two Zoroasters. The first, spoken of by Greek writers, flourished, according to these authors, several thousand years before Christ. Pliny speaks of him as thousands of years before Moses; and from that writer and Aristotle, it may be concluded that he lived some six thousand years before Christ. Hermodorus, Hermippus, and Plutarch concur in dating him five thousand years before the siege of Troy.

The other Zoroaster flourished, according to Dr. Prideaux, in the time of Darius Hystaspes.[1] Sir William Jones agrees in assigning him to that period.

It was the opinion of the learned Mr. Faber, that there were two Zeraduschts, or Zoroasters, and that the primeval Zoroaster was none other, than Menu or Mahabad, or Buddha. He traces many analogies and resemblances between the ancient religions and mythologies of the Persians and the Hindoos, and thinks the Zend-Avesta a modern compilation, founded upon re-

(1.) Prideaux's Connect. pt. 1, b. 4, p. 219.

ligious books compiled by the second Zeraduscht; and those again, based upon more ancient legends, which were substantially identical with the older mythology of India.

He ably antagonizes the theory of Dr. Prideaux, that the accounts of the Zend-Avesta concerning the deluge and the ante-deluvial age, were taken from the Mosaic history.[1]

Malcolm, in his history of Persia, states that Zoroaster first introduced the worship of fire.

In the Recognitions, may be found an interesting tradition upon this subject.

Peter states that Zoroaster, being frequently intent upon the stars, and wishing to be esteemed a god among them, began to draw forth sparks from the stars, that he might astonish, as with a miracle, rude and ignorant men. That he attempted those things again and again, until he was set on fire, "and consumed by the demon himself, whom he accosted with too great importunity." That the men of his day, after this, extolled him all the more; raised a monument to his honor, and adored him as a friend of God, and one who had been removed to heaven, in a chariot of lightning. They then worshiped him as a living star; which, says the author of the Recognitions, is the meaning of the name; from 'zoe,' life, and 'aster,' star.

The star, which had previously been an object of worship, now became associated with Zoroaster.

But what about the prophecy, upon which was founded the legend of the magi?

In the life of Zoroaster, as given by Du Perron, in his translation of the Zend-Avesta, is an account of

(1.) Origin of Pagan Idolatry, by George Stanley Faber, B. D., Rector of Long-Newton, London, 1816, vol. 2, pp. 58 to 73.

the three prophetic sons of Zoroaster, who were to appear, according to the Pehlvian and Parsian books of the Persians, at successive periods of time. They were to be the result of immaculate conceptions, caused by the washing of virgins in the water, in which the wife of Zoroaster had bathed.

"The first is named Oschederbami. He will appear in the last millennium of the world. He will stop the sun for ten days and ten nights, and the second part of the human race will embrace the law, of which he will bring the 22nd portion.

"The second posthumous son of Zoroaster, is Oschedermah. He will appear 400 years after Oschederbami. He will stop the sun twenty days and twenty nights, and he will bring the 23rd part of the law, and the third part of the world will be converted."

This is somewhat different from the prophecy as given by Hyde, in his work on the religion of the ancient Persians. But the Oschedermah and the Oschederbami of Du Perron, are doubtless the same as the Oshanderbega and the Osiderbega of Hyde.[1]

Then follows, in Du Perron, this remarkable prophecy:[2]

"The third is named Sosiosch. He will be born at the end of the ages. He will bring the 24th part of the law; he will stay the sun thirty days and thirty nights, and the whole earth will embrace the law of Zoroaster. *After him will be the resurrection.* Behold what the books of the Parsees apprise us of the family of the legislator."—"*Vie de Zoroastre,*" *in the French translation of the Zend-Avesta, by Du Perron, Paris,* 1771, *vol.* 1, *pt.* 2, *p.* 45.

From Abulpharagius, we learn that the prophecy was connected with the appearance of a star, and the visit of magi.

(1.) See his work, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c. 31.

(2.) The following is the text of Du Perron:

"Le troisiéme est nommé Sosiosch. Il naitra a la fin des siécles, apportera le 24 Nosk de la Loi, arrêtera le Soleil trente jours, et trente nuits; & toute la terre embrassera la Loi de Zoroastre. Après lui se sera la résurrection. Voilà ce que les Livres des Parses nous apprennent de la famille de ce Législateur."

Zoroaster declared, says this writer, that in the latter days, a pure virgin would conceive, and that as soon as the child should be born, a star would appear, blazing even at noonday, with undiminished lustre.

"You my sons," exclaimed the seer, "will perceive its rising before any other nation. As soon, therefore, as you shall behold the star, follow it, whithersoever it shall lead you; and adore that mysterious child, offering your gifts to him, with profound humility. He is the Almighty Word, which created the heavens."—*Abulpharagius, according to Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c.* 3.

Here, from a writer vouched for by Faber, as high authority, we have, not only the immaculate conception, the star and the magi of Matthew, but also the Logos of John. The Rev. Mr. Faber considers thoroughly the question, whether this remarkable prediction was before or after the birth of Christ; and concludes it was a long time before. One reason why he rejects the idea of its being a subsequent forgery, is, that in the old Irish history, there was a Zeraduscht, associated with a similar prophecy, which was first delivered by a Daru or Druid of Bokhara.[1]

The same prophecy was, in the East, ascribed by Abulpharagius to a Zeraduscht who was actually a Daru or Druid of Bokhara. This coincidence is so singular, that Faber thinks it can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of an ancient emigration from Persia to Ireland, by the north-west passage, which carried the legend with it.[2]

Thus, in the prophecy of Zoroaster, we have the origin of the legend of the star and the magi, which appeared early in the second century, in the Infancy gospels, and thence became incorporated into the prefa-

(1.) As authority, see Vallancey's Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland, Collect. de Reb. Hibern. vol. 4, p. 202. (Chicago Library.)

tory chapters of Luke and Matthew. To which may be added, that there was a Christian sect called Prodiceans, whose leader, Prodicus, [about A. D. 120], boasted that they had the secret books of Zoroaster.[1]

Having traced to their source, the legends connected with the conception and birth of Jesus, and having found them associated with the central figure of Persian mythology, let us now go farther south, and see what light may be thrown upon the subsequent history, as given in the gospels of the Infancy; portions of which also, are to be found in Luke and Matthew; not forgetting, as we proceed, the intimate connection which existed between the ancient religions of Persia and India.

CHRISHNA.

In the history of Hindostan, by Rev. Thomas Maurice, vol. 2, will be found a complete history of Chrishna, the eighth incarnation of the Hindoo God Vishnu; translated by Mr. Maurice from the Bhagavat Purana, one of the sacred books of India.

Chrishna, according to Col. Todd, was born 1156 years before Christ.[2]

There are many other traditions, that might be collected from different writers, and thrown together, which would show a still closer resemblance between the narratives. But without going into these, except Baldæus, taking the translation of Mr. Maurice from the sacred Hindoo scriptures, we have the following parallel between Chrishna and Christ:

(1.) Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, bk. 1, ch. 15.
(2.) Annals and Antiquities of Rajust'han, vol. 1, p. 37.

Chrishna and Christ.

BHAGAVAT PURANA.	GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY.
Chrishna	Christ
Was believed to be God incarnate, by a miraculous conception.	Was believed to be God incarnate, by an immaculate conception.
Was born in a dungeon.	Was born in a cave.
At the time of his birth, the walls of his chamber were illuminated.	The cave was filled with a great light, and seemed like a glorious temple.
At the time of his birth, a chorus of devatas, or angels, saluted the new-born infant.	At the time of his birth, a chorus of angels saluted the new-born infant.
Of royal descent.	Of royal descent.
As soon as born, had the power of speech. (According to Baldæus, Chrishna, immediately when born, conversed with his mother, soothing and comforting her.)	As soon as born, spoke to his mother, informing her of his divine character, his origin and destiny.
Cradled among shepherds.	Cradled among shepherds.
Cansa, the ruler of the country, fears the loss of his kingdom, and seeks the life of the infant.	Herod, the ruler of the country, fears the loss of his kingdom, and seeks the life of the infant.
The child is carried away by night, and concealed in a remote region.	The child is carried away by night, and concealed in a remote region.
Cansa is wroth, and issues an order for the slaughter of all the young children, throughout his kingdom.	Herod is wroth, and issues an order, for the slaughter of all the children of Bethlehem, from two years old, and under.
Has a combat with, and subdues a huge serpent, in his infancy.	Has several combats with serpents; overcomes them, and drives them out of persons possessed.
The serpent vomits streams of fire from his mouth and nostrils.	In one case, there issued forth, from one of his swaddling-clothes, flames and burning coals, and fell on the head of the serpent.
Performs many miracles in his infancy and boyhood.	Performs many miracles in his infancy and boyhood.
While a boy, raises the dead to life.	While a boy, raises the dead to life.
While a boy, strikes dead, persons who have offended him.	While a boy, strikes dead, persons who have offended him.
Was preceded by his elder brother, Ram, who was his associate in the work of purification, and was hurried away as soon as born, to escape the decree of Cansa.	Was preceded by John the Baptist, who was sent into the wilderness, to escape the decree of Herod.
Lived at Mathurea.	On his visit to Egypt, in his childhood, stopped at a place called Maturea. This name it afterward retained.
One of his first miracles, was curing a leper.	Among the first miracles, was the curing of lepers.
While a boy, is chosen by the other boys as their king.—[Baldæus.]	While a boy, is chosen by the other boys as their king.
Learns all the sciences, in one day and night.	While a boy, teaches the doctors and philosophers in the temple, the whole circle of the sciences.

This remarkable parallel, which leaves no room for doubt, that one of the narratives was drawn upon in the construction of the other, raises at once the question, which was first written? A question of the utmost importance; since if the Bhagavat Purana preceded the gospels of the Infancy, it could hardly be contended, at the same time, that it was subsequent to to Luke and Matthew.

It is considered, by evangelical writers, that the Infancy gospels were composed early in the second century, and the same writers do not now claim that the canonical gospels appeared much sooner. If, therefore, the Hindoo production was long anterior to that time, the only question remaining would be, whether the parallelisms between the life of Chrishna, and that of Christ as recorded in Luke and Matthew, were taken direct from the Bhagavat Purana, or through the medium of the Infancy gospels.

The Rev. Mr. Maurice, who fully appreciated the importance of the question, and saw that in discussing it, the gospels must all be considered together, would have his readers believe, that the Bhagavat Purana was interpolated, "both from the real and the spurious gospels." [1]

In advocating this theory, however, he found himself embarrassed by the fact, that in various places in this and others of his works, he had contended for the great antiquity of the Hindoo books, and had repeatedly hinted at the absurdity of supposing that the Brahmins would ever "descend so far from the conscious superiority of mental distinction" to which they laid claim, as to receive instruction, either in regard

(1.) Volume 2, p. 320.

to the rites of religion, or the principles of science, from aliens.

But while he did not entertain for a moment, the idea, that the Indian philosophers had taken any thing from Greece or Arabia, from a mythology much akin to their own; and while he believed many of the Indian legends to be older than the oldest of Greece, he found no difficulty in supposing that eastern magi would travel a year or more, in search of a king of the Jews; would fall down and worship him, and on their return, would incorporate accounts concerning him, into their own sacred scriptures.

He overlooked the fact, that the prophecy of Zoroaster, in which the magi had been instructed, had no reference to a Jewish king, or to the Jewish people.

What are the facts, upon which an intelligent opinion upon the subject, is to be based? The original Gospel of the Infancy was attributed to the apostle and evangelist, Thomas. In this connection, we cannot ignore the ancient tradition of the church, that Thomas was a missionary to Parthia, and to India. According to that tradition, and the testimony of the fathers, when the distribution was made by the apostles, of the several regions of the Gentile world, in which they were respectively to preach the gospel, the vast district of Parthia, and the more eastern empires of Asia, were allotted to Thomas. He visited the various countries then constituting the Parthian empire: that is, Media, Persia, Carmania, Hyrcania and Bactria. The capital of Bactria was Balkh, the ancient residence of the magi. Here, according to eastern tradition, he had an interview with the sages, and the tradition does not fail to say, he converted them.[1]

(1.) See a work entitled, 'Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum,' hom. 2. This "Imperfect Commentary on Matthew," was written about A. D. 560.

From Parthia, St. Thomas is said to have visited India. It is not claimed that he converted the Brahmins, but it is thought the Brahmins may have profited by his visit, to interpolate their sacred books, from his instructions!

But how did it happen, that after St. Thomas returned, there appeared among the Christians of Palestine, and countries west of it, a Gospel of Thomas, full of stories so closely resembling the legends of the Bhagavat Purana? If the interpolations were made by the Brahmins, how was it, that this gospel appeared after the interpolations, and not before?

In confirmation of the visit of Thomas to India, it is related by Maffæus, that at Cranganor, on the Malabar coast, St. Thomas instituted an order of Christians, still known by his name, and which boasts to retain the records of their institution, and a grant of land to St. Thomas, their pastor, from the reigning king of India.[1]

The records and grant were engraved on tablets of brass, which had been lost for centuries, but were dug up, during the vice-royalty of Don Alfonsa Sonsa, one of the early governors of Portuguese India.

Thomas is said to have been murdered at Meliapoor; from which circumstance, it was afterward called St. Thome.

The conclusion must be, that while for some of the salient points of the Gospels of the Infancy, the authors were indebted to Zoroaster, and the legends of Persia, the outline of the story was largely filled up from the history of Chrishna, as sent back to Palestine, by the Apostle Thomas, from the land of the Brahmins.

(1.) History of India, l. 2, p. 85.

As to the slaughtered infants, there was discovered, in a cavern at Elephanta, in India, a sculptured representation, of great antiquity, of a huge and ferocious figure, bearing a drawn sword, and surrounded by slaughtered infants, while mothers were weeping for their slain.[1]

Antiquity of the Bhagavat Purana.

The Puranas are eighteen in number. The fifth, which was translated by Maurice, is the Bhagavata. The legends concerning Chrishna appear, in substantially the same form, in several of the others.

Those who may wish to examine further as to the antiquity of these books, will find the whole subject thoroughly and ably discussed, in a correspondence between Col. Vans Kennedy, and Prof. Horace H. Wilson, author of a translation of the Vishnu Purana.

The correspondence is in the form of five letters from Col. Kennedy, the reply of Prof. Wilson, and rejoinder of Kennedy. It was published originally, in the London Asiatic Journal, for 1840 and 1841, and was republished in the Appendix to the 5th volume of the work of Prof. Wilson.[2]

This writer inclines to the opinion, that the Puranas, in their present form, are modern compilations; and gives some countenance to the theory, though he does not fully endorse it, that the Bhagavata was written by one Bopadeva, as late as the twelfth century.

This position is opposed, with great ability, by Col. Kennedy, who reminds the learned author of the

(1.) See Forbe's Oriental Memoirs.

(2.) The Vishnu Purana: A System of Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanscrit, by Horace Hayman Wilson, F. R. S. &c., London, 1864.

'Vishnu Purana,' that he had himself, in his Preface to that work, stated, that there is "abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they [the Puranas] teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era."[1]

This concession, Col. Kennedy thinks, leaves it comparatively unimportant when the Puranas assumed the exact form they now have. The word 'Purana' itself signifies 'old,' thus indicating the character of the contents. He maintains, however, that they are now essentially the same that they were two thousand years ago.

"It is unquestionable," says Col. Kennedy, "that certain works called Puranas, have been immemorially considered by the Hindus, as sacred books. They inculcated the doctrines of the Hindu religion."

And proceeding to consider the theory which had been advanced as to the authorship of the Bhagavata Purana, he says:

"If the Bhagavata was written by Bopadeva, at Doulutabad, in the twelfth century, was the original Bhagavata then in existence or not? If it was, what reason, consistent with probability, can be assigned, for supposing that the Brahmins of all India would have suppressed one of their sacred books, to which they ascribed a divine origin, and received, as entitled to the same reverence, the acknowledged composition of an obscure grammarian? The supposition is evidently absurd."—*Appendix to vol.* 5, *of Vish. Pur. by Wilson, p.* 278.

He concludes, "that the present Puranas are, in fact, in all essential respects, the same works which were current, under that name, in India, in the century prior to the Christian era."

(1.) Vishnu Purana, &c., by H. H. Wilson, Pref. p. 99.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

It has been supposed that Pilate made a report to Tiberius Cæsar, of the crucifixion of Christ, and of the circumstances attending it.

Frequent references to such a report, were made by early Christian writers, who called it "The Acts of Pilate." That Justin Martyr [A. D. 150], made frequent allusions to a book or writing of some sort, entitled "The Acts of Pilate," will be seen in a subsequent chapter. [See Justin Martyr.]

Some writers have thought that he alluded to the original report, supposed to have been made to Cæsar. It will be seen however, that he must have alluded to a gospel then in circulation, entitled "The Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus:" since his citations not only were in that gospel, but were such as would not have been in any report made by Pontius Pilate himself. It is possible, that he was not able to distinguish between them, or did not care to do so. He was not a critical writer.

The fact that one of the early gospels was confounded by the Christians themselves, with the report of Pi-

late, renders the existence of such a report, somewhat problematical; although it would have been in accordance with the mode of procedure in such cases, that a report should have been made.

Tertullian, some sixty years later than Justin, refers to it several times; but not in a manner sufficiently definite, to determine whether or not, he distinguishes it from the gospel. He says:

"Tiberius, accordingly, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine, of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favor of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Cæsar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians."—*Apology, ch.* 5, *Ante-Nicene, vol.* 11, *p.* 63.

Speaking of the darkness at the time of the crucifixion, he says:

"You yourselves have the account of the world portent, still in your archives."—*Apol. ch.* 21; *Ant. Nic. vol.* 11, *p.* 94.

The account of the darkness at the crucifixion, was in the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate. Whether Tertullian, like Justin Martyr, alluded to this, assuming that it was the same as the Romans had in their archives, or whether he referred to another document, it is impossible to determine. Again, he says:

"All these things Pilate did to Christ; and now in fact a Christian in his own conviction, he sent word of him to the reigning Caesar, who was at the time, Tiberius."—*Ibid. ch.* 21, *p.* 95.

It would be very important to ascertain, whether there was any report of Pilate. That there was such a report, was the general opinion of the fathers; Eusebius, Jerome and others. Also of Grotius, Bishop Pearson, Spanheim, Fabricius, and modern writers generally. But these opinions are all founded upon the testimony of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. The writings

of these fathers throw no light upon the subject; every thing referred to by them being contained in the gospel. The report, if any ever existed, could not have contained much in common with the gospel. For instance, would Pilate, in describing the crucifixion, have quoted from the Jewish scriptures, and said, "Upon his vesture they cast lots?"

Le Clerk, Jones and others conclude, with good reason, that if there was such a report, neither Justin or Tertullian had ever seen it, nor any subsequent Christian writer.

Eusebius supposes the heathens forged Acts of Pilate to bring the Christian religion into disrepute; a thing in the highest degree improbable.

An attempt has lately been made, to reproduce the original Report of Pilate. This will be considered in another chapter.

The Acts of Pilate—Abstract of Contents.

Chapter 1.—Annas and Caiaphas, and eight others, who are named, went to Pilate, accusing Jesus of many crimes; declaring they were satisfied that he was the son of Joseph the carpenter, and that he declared himself the Son of God, and a king. Also that he attempted a dissolution of the sabbath, and of the laws of their fathers.

Pilate enquired what Jesus had done?

The Jews replied, that he worked cures on the sabbath, contrary to their law; that he cured the lame and the deaf, those afflicted with the palsy, the blind, the lepers, and demoniacs; by wicked methods.

Pilate sent a messenger after Christ. When the messenger met him, he worshiped him, and spread his cloak for Jesus to walk upon. The Jews complained of this act of the messenger. When Pilate asked him why he had done it, he replied, "When thou sentest me from Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw Jesus, sitting in a mean figure, upon a she-ass, and the children of the Hebrews cried out, 'Hosanna;' holding boughs in their hands; others spread their garments in the way, and said, 'Save us, thou who art in heaven; blessed

is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.' " The messenger was again sent, and did as before. "And as Jesus was going in by the ensigns who carried the standards, the tops of them bowed down, and worshiped Jesus." This was repeated, in the presence of Pilate.

Ch. 2.—Pilate's wife sent to him, saying: "Have nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered much concerning him in a vision, this night."

Pilate, then calling Jesus, said: "Hast thou heard what they testify against thee, and makest no answer?" Jesus replied, "If they had not the power of speaking, they would not have spoken; but because every one has the command of his own tongue, to speak both good and bad, let them see to it."

The elders of the Jews charged him with being born through fornication; also that on account of his birth, the infants were slain in Bethlehem, and his father and mother fled into Egypt, because they could not trust the people. Others of the Jews spoke more favorably, among whom a number are named, including James and Judas. (These are the only names that correspond with those of the twelve apostles.) Then Pilate ordered all to go out, except the twelve, and Jesus to withdraw. He then asked the twelve, why the Jews wished to kill Jesus. They replied, that they were angry, because he wrought cures on the sabbath.

Ch. 3.—Scenes between Jesus and Pilate. [See next chapter of this work.] The closing conversation is as follows:

"Pilate saith to him, 'What is truth?' Jesus said, 'Truth is from heaven.' Pilate said, 'Truth, therefore, is not on earth?' Jesus replied, 'Believe that truth is on earth, among those who, when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form their judgment aright.' "

Ch. 4.—Scenes between Pilate and the Jews. Pilate finding no fault in Jesus—the report of the Jews as to what Jesus had said about the temple—Pilate declaring himself innocent of the blood of Jesus, &c.

"Then the governor again commanded the Jews to depart out of the hall; and calling Jesus, said to him, 'What am I to do with thee?' Jesus answered him, 'According as it is written.' Pilate said to him, 'How is it written?' Jesus answered, 'Moses and the prophets made known beforehand, concerning my suffering and resurrection.'

The Jews, hearing this, were enraged, and said to Pilate, "Why will you longer listen to his blasphemy?" Pilate said to them, "If these words seem to you blasphemous, take him, bring him before your synagogue, and try him

according to your law." The Jews said to Pilate, "It is contained in our law, that if one man has sinned against another, he is worthy of nine and thirty stripes; but when he has blasphemed in this manner, against the Lord, he is to be stoned."

Pilate replied, "If this speech is blasphemy, then judge him according to your law." The Jews said, "Our law commands us not to put any one to death. [The preceding sentence in some copies, only.] We desire that he may be crucified, because he is worthy of the death of the cross." Pilate said to them, "It is not proper to crucify him. Let him be whipped and sent away."

"The governor, looking upon the people, and upon the Jews standing around, saw many of the Jews in tears; and said to the foremost of the Jewish priests, 'Not all of the multitude wish him to die.' The Jewish elders said to Pilate, 'We and the whole multitude came hither for this purpose, that he should die.' Pilate said to them, 'Wherefore should he die?' They replied, 'Because he declares himself the Son of God, and a king.'"

Ch. 5.—But Nicodemus, a certain Jew, stood before the governor, and said: "I entreat thee, O merciful Judge, that thou wouldst deign to hear me a few words." Pilate said to him, "Speak on."

Nicodemus said, "I have spoken to the elders of the Jews, and the scribes, the priests and the Levites, and to the whole multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, and have asked them what they would do with this man? He is a man who has done many useful and glorious signs and wonders, such as no man on earth has done, or can do. Dismiss him, and do him no harm. If he is from God, his wonderful works will stand. But if from men, they will come to naught. Thus Moses," &c. [Alluding to the miracles wrought in Egypt, by Jannes, Jambres, &c.]

The Jews became angry at Nicodemus for interfering. Colloquy between them and Nicodemus.

Ch. 6.—"Another certain one of the Jews, rising up, asked the Governor, that he would hear him a word. The governor said, 'Whatever thou hast to say, say.'" [Here follows an account of the miracle at the sheep-pool. See next chapter.]

And another certain Jew, coming forth, said: "I was blind," &c. [See next chapter.]

"And another Jew, starting forth, said: 'I was a leper,' &c. [See next ch.]

"And another Jew came forth and said, 'I was crooked, and he made me straight by his word.'"

CH. 7.—"And a certain woman named Veronica," &c. (See next chapter.)

Then follows from another Jew, the account of the turning of water into wine; from another, the casting out of a devil at Capernaum.

"The following things were also said by a Pharisee:

"'I saw that a great company came to Jesus, from Galilee and Judea, and the sea coast, and many countries about Jordan; and many infirm persons came to him, and he healed them all. And I heard the unclean spirits crying out and saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' And Jesus strictly charged them that they should not make him known.'"

CH. 8.—"After this, another person, whose name was Centurio, said," &c. (See next chapter.)

"And many others, also, from the Jews, both men and women, cried out, saying:

"'He is truly the Son of God, who cures all diseases, only by his word; and to whom all the demons are subjected.' Some from among them said, 'This power is only from God.'

"Others said to Pilate, that he restored Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in the tomb."

"The governor, hearing these things, trembling, said to the multitude of the Jews, 'What will it profit you, to shed innocent blood?'"

Chapters 9, 10 & 11 give an account of the sentence of Jesus, and of the circumstances attending his crucifixion. [See next chapter.]

CH. 12.—The Jews, having heard that Joseph had begged and buried the body of Jesus, sought for Joseph and others, his companions and accomplices. They concealed themselves, all but Nicodemus. He showed himself boldly, and disputed with the Jews. Joseph also, afterward appeared, and expostulated with them. The elders of the Jews were enraged, "and seizing Joseph, they put him into a chamber, where was no window. They fastened the door, and put a seal upon the lock." They also placed a guard about it.

CH. 13.—When he was ordered brought forth, they found the same seal on the lock of the chamber, but could not find Joseph. While they were all wondering at this, one of the soldiers who had guarded the sepulcher, entered, and

reported, that while they were guarding the sepulcher, &c. [See next ch.]

"Then the Jews called together all the soldiers who kept the sepulcher of Jesus, and said to them, 'Who were those to whom the angel spoke? Why did ye not seize them?' The soldiers answering said, 'We know not who the women were; besides, we became as dead persons, through fear of the angel; and how could we seize the women?'"

The Jews do not believe the soldiers, and an altercation ensues between them. The soldiers say, "Do ye produce Joseph, whom ye put under guard in your chamber, and we will produce Jesus, whom we guarded in the sepulcher." The Jews gathered a large sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, &c. [See next chapter.]

Ch. 14.—Three persons came from Galilee to Jerusalem, and reported that they had seen Jesus in Galilee, talking with his eleven disciples, &c. [See next ch.] The chief priests gave these persons a large sum of money, and had them take oath not to declare what they had seen, and sent them back to their own country. The Jews were now in great consternation.

"But Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, saying: 'Why should we believe the soldiers?'" &c. [See next ch.]

Ch. 15.—On the advice of Nicodemus, men were sent into the mountains, to search for Jesus. They could not find him, but found Joseph. They induced him to return. He related his marvelous escape. Jesus had appeared to him in the room, and having liberated him, had shown him the tomb in which he had been laid, &c.

Ch. 16.—The Jews were astonished. They said, they knew the father and mother of Jesus. A certain Levite said, he knew his relations, &c.

Ch. 17.—Joseph related to the Jews, that the two sons of Simeon had risen from the dead, and were at Arimathea. He suggested visiting them, for the purpose of ascertaining some of the mysteries of their resurrection. Five persons then visited their graves, and found them open. They found them in the village, and brought them to Jerusalem, to the synagogue. They took the book of the law of the Lord, and swore them by the God Adonai, and the God of Israel, to tell them how they were raised from the dead, and what they had seen.

Charinus and Lenthius, the two sons of Simeon, called for paper, and wrote down the mysteries which they had experienced.

Gospel of Nicodemus. Part 2. The Descent into Hell. [Hades.]—This part of the gospel consists of the story thus written down, which is, briefly, as follows:

When they were in the depths of hell, suddenly there was a golden light, as of the sun. Adam then rejoiced; also Isaiah the prophet,' &c. Then their father Simeon came, and quoted what he said, when he took Jesus in his arms; the saints in hell then rejoiced; then came John the Baptist, like a little hermit. Seth appeared, and repeated a long speech of Michael. Then Satan, the prince and captain of death, announced to the prince of hell that Jesus was coming. The prince of hell and Satan made long speeches. While they were discoursing, there was heard a voice as of thunder. "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and the King of Glory shall come in."

The prince of hell prepared to resist, but the sound was repeated, and the mighty Lord appeared in the form of a man, lighting up the darkness. The King of Glory tramples upon death; seizes the prince of hell, and takes father Adam and the saints with him to glory. In exchange for the loss of Adam and his righteous sons, he gives Satan over to Beelzebub, the prince of hell, to be subject to his dominion forever.

Ch. 27.—"These are the divine and sacred mysteries, which we saw and heard." Thus say Charinus and Lenthius.

They, having written this all down, gave one copy to the Jewish priests, and one copy to Nicodemus and Joseph; "and immediately they were exchanged into exceeding white forms, and were seen no more."

"But immediately, all these things, which were related by the Jews in their synagogue, concerning Jesus, were directly told to the governor, by Joseph and Nicodemus, and Pilate wrote down all the transactions, and placed them all in the public records of the prætorium."

Ch. 28.—Pilate went to the temple, and calling together the rulers, and the scribes, and the doctors of the law, he stated that he had heard they had a large book in the temple, and he desired it to be brought.

When the great book, carried by four ministers of the temple, and adorned with gold and precious stones, was brought, Pilate adjured them to tell him, if they had found any thing in the scriptures, about Jesus coming for the salvation of the human race; and at what time of the world he should have come. Annas and Caiaphas being sworn, declared that they had found, in the first of the seventy books, where Michael the archangel, gave to the third son of Adam, an account concerning the appearance of Christ after 5500 years.

Here follows, in the copy of the gospel which we have adhered to, taken from the Orthodoxographa, vol. 1, tom. 2, p. 643, a list of chronological periods, footing up 4964 years. But in the Latin form of the gospel, published in the 16th volume of the Ante-Nicene collection, is a list of dates, which, after a slight correction, foots up, 5500 years.

The copy from the Orthodoxographa, closes with a formal ending, stating that these Acts of Christ were found, in the 19th year of Tiberius Cæsar, by the Emperor, Theodosius the Great, in Jerusalem, in the prætorium of Pontius Pilate, among the public records. That it was in the 17th year of Herod the Tetrarch, and in the 102d Olympiad. That the history was written in Hebrew, by Nicodemus.[1]

(1.) In the preface to the Latin form, it is stated, that the Acts were translated by Æneas, from the Hebrew, into the language of the Gentiles, in the 17th consulship of Theodosius, and the 5th consulship of Valentinian. That they had been written by Nicodemus, in Hebrew, in the 19th year of Tiberius.

The same copy closes by saying, that Pilate laid up a statement of the Acts of Christ in the public records of the prætorium, and wrote a letter to Claudius, stating that Jesus had been crucified, and referring to the miracles which he had wrought. Also, that he rose again the third day, while the soldiers were keeping guard.

CHAPTER XVI.

ACTS OF PILATE AND THE CANONICAL GOSPELS COMPARED.

Before instituting a comparison of these gospels, it will be necessary to consider more carefully, a custom which prevailed extensively in the first ages of the church, and especially in the first two centuries.

The prevailing religious excitement and enthusiasm, the trusting credulity and love of the marvelous, which were characteristic of the early Christians, led them to accept, unhesitatingly, what came to them, sanctioned by the authority of their bishops and teachers.

When the better educated among them were called upon to translate or to transcribe the religious writings of the day, they saw at a glance, what liberties had been taken with previous materials, and how readily the changes had been accepted. Accordingly, not with any improper motives, but for the purpose of edification, and of increasing, somewhat, the volume, not then very large, of current Christian literature, they made additions, more or less extensive, to the writings which they were copying or translating. This process, which may be termed literary accretion, prevailed so

extensively and universally, in those times, that it was the rule, rather than the exception; and must be constantly kept in view, in all investigations and discussions of Christian doctrine, as well as in the exegesis of the Christian scriptures.

This practice is well understood by ecclesiastical writers, as well as the disposition and habits of thought to which it is to be referred. "The ancient transcribers of the gospels," says Michaelis, "were always more inclined to insert new passages, than to erase what already exsisted."[1]

Many passages in the New Testament are thus to be accounted for; notably may be mentioned, the last twelve verses of the Gospel according to Mark; which are generally considered a later addition to the narrative.[2]

One of the most remarkable illustrations of the process of interpolation and accretion, is in the Ignatian Epistles. It is now established that the only genuine writings of Ignatius extant, are the Cureton Epistles. These consist of about twelve octavo pages. They were written, A. D. 115.

Twenty-five years later, these three epistles had increased from 12 pages to 20, while four new ones had appeared, making in all, 40 pages. Some time afterward, the 40 pages, which constituted the seven epistles, were found swollen to 60, while eight new epistles had appeared, adding 40 pages more, making 100 pages of the Epistles of Ignatius! These all

(1.) Volume 3, p. 169.

(2.) It is stated in the religious Encyclopedia of Mc Clintock and Strong, that one of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, the one called 'Codex Bezæ,' or the Cambridge manuscript, "is chiefly remarkable for its bold and extensive interpolations; amounting to some 600 in the Acts alone."—[Article 'Cambridge MS.']

passed as genuine, for hundreds of years. Here was a natural growth, from 12 pages to 100. They were all for edification. They all breathed the same spirit with the original epistles; some new doctrines had crept in; but no harm had been intended, and no great violence had been done to any thing but the truth of history.

While 88 pages had been added to the Ignatian Epistles, how many had been taken away? One half page, and that supposed to be by mistake, from the loss of the last half sheet of the MS.

Of the 150,000 various readings which Griesbach found in the manuscripts of the New Testament, probably 149,500 were additions and interpolations.

Prof. Abbott gives us a list of over 60 passages, in the New Testament, the genuineness of which the present Bible Revision Committee consider "more or less questionable." They include Mark, ch. 16, vv. 9 to 20, and John 8. 1 to 11; and if published together, would constitute, of themselves, a gospel of no mean dimensions. What part of the same space would be occupied by the portions which they will find to have been erased? Probably not one-hundredth.

In comparing the Gospels of the Infancy with Luke and Matthew, it was seen, that the changes were to be accounted for by other considerations.

Now, however, when we come to the miracles of Christ, which are given in the Acts of Pilate, on the one hand, and in the canonical gospels on the other, the principle is allowed full play, and can be applied, as internal evidence, tending to show which were first written.

The fact that in the Acts, the narratives are related to Pilate by Jews, testifying in behalf of their master, is no reason why the accounts should be shortened, but

rather the contrary. The witnesses would be anxious to have Pilate impressed with the details of the wonderful occurrences. If the writer of the Acts of Pilate, had before him the gospels containing these narratives, we may be assured he would have put into the mouths of the witnesses, every circumstance of an impressive character, contained in those accounts, and would probably have added others. Let us see if that was the case.

Some of the Miracles of Jesus.

TURNING WATER INTO WINE.

This miracle is related in only one of the four gospels; the Gospel according to John.

The comparison can be made between the Acts of Pilate, and the Gospel of John, with no disturbing forces from the other gospels, to be accounted for:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Gospel of John, ch. 2.
And after other things, a certain	And the third day, there was a marriage, in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there.
Jew said: I saw Jesus invited to a wedding with his disciples, and there	2. And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.
was a want of wine; in Cana of Galilee.	3. And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.
And when the wine was all drank, he commanded the servants, that they should fill six pots that were there,	4. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.
	5. His mother saith unto the servants Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.
	6. And there were set there, six water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece.
	7. Jesus saith unto them, fill the water-pots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.
with water; and they filled them up to the brim. And he blessed them, and turned the water into wine.	8. And he saith unto them, Draw out now and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.
And all the people drank, being surprised at this miracle.	9. When the ruler of the feast, had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was, (but the servants who drew the water knew), the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	John, ch. 2.
	10. And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now.
	11. This beginning of miracles did Jesus, in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him.

Which of the foregoing accounts was probably first written?

The process of accretion, which has been alluded to, has two modes of development. The one, by clothing the same facts in a more copious dress, the other, by the interpolation of additional facts.

Both these processes are here to be observed. Not only are the facts constituting the miracle, which, in the Acts of Pilate, are narrated in a plain, concise and impressive manner, enveloped in much additional and useless verbiage, in John, but also, two additional circumstances are inserted; the size of the water pots, and the fact, that the newly made wine was better than the other. If the author of the Acts had been acquainted with the Gospel of John, is it probable that he would have omitted these circumstances? Would they not have been mentioned, as calculated to impress Herod with the truth of the transaction?

The next miracle, also, is related only by John:

HEALING OF THE NOBLEMAN'S SON.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	John, 4. 46 to 54.
Then a certain nobleman said, I had a son at Capernaum, who lay at the point of death.	46. And there was a certain nobleman, whose son was sick at Capernaum.
And when I heard that Jesus was come into Galilee, I went and besought him, that he would come down to my house, and heal my son;	47. When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judæa into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down, and heal his son; for he was at the point of death.
For he was then about to die.	48. Then said Jesus unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.
	49. The nobleman saith unto him, Sir, come down, ere my child die.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	John, ch. 4.
He said to me, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And my son was cured, from that hour.	50. Jesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And the man believed the word that Jesus had spoken unto him, and he went his way.
	51. And as he was now going down, his servants met him, and told him, saying, Thy son liveth.
	52. Then enquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they said unto him, Yesterday, at the seventh hour, the fever left him.
	53. So the father knew that it was at the same hour in the which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth: and himself believed, and his whole house.
	54. This is again the second miracle that Jesus did, when he was come out of Judæa into Galilee.

The difference in the narrative consists, almost entirely, in the greater diffuseness of style and copiousness of detail, in John, with no new facts introduced of any importance. This difference indicates a later narrative in John. That the short paragraph in the Acts, should under the hand of the author of John, grow into the nine verses, would be in perfect accordance with the law of accretion, then prevailing.

The next miracle is related in Luke and Mark, but not in John or Matthew. The comparison will be made with the shorter narrative, in Luke.

CASTING OUT THE UNCLEAN DEVIL AT CAPERNAUM.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Luke, 4. 31 to 35.
And another Jew stood forth in the midst of them, and said:	31. And on the sabbath days, he taught them.
I saw Jesus in Capernaum, teaching in the synagogue; and there was in the synagogue, a certain man who had a devil.	32. And they were astonished at his doctrine; for his word was with power.
	33. And in the synagogue, there was a man who had a spirit of an unclean devil; and he cried out with a loud voice,
And he cried out, saying: Let me alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know that thou art the Holy One of God.	34. Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the Holy One of God.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 7.	Luke, 4. 31 to 35.
And Jesus rebuked him, and said to him, Hold thy peace unclean spirit, and come ont of the man. And presently he came out of him, and did not at all hurt him.	35. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

In the foregoing account, there is amplification in Luke. Not satisfied that the man should be possessed of a devil, the writer makes it "the spirit of an unclean devil;" and he has the devil, before leaving the man, "throw him in the midst." In Mark, where the narrative is longer, and the amplification still greater, the devil, when required to come out, is made to cry out with a loud voice.

HEALING OF THE LEPER.

The miracle is related in Luke, Mark and Matthew. The account in Matthew is almost exactly the same as that in Luke. Mark shows some evidence of additional accretion. The comparison will be continued with Luke:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	Luke, 5. 12, 13.
Another Jew, also coming forth, said:	12. And it came to pass when he was in a certain city, behold, a man full of leprosy; who seeing Jesus, fell on his face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.
I was a leper, and he cured me by his word only; saying, I will, be thou clean. And immediately I was cleansed from my leprosy.	13. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying: I will: be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

HEALING OF THE INFIRM MAN AT BETHESDA.

This miracle, again, is only related in John:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	John 5. 1 to 16.
Then another certain one of the Jews, rising up, desired of the governor, that he would hear him a word.	After this, there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.
The governor said, What thou wishest to say, say.	2. Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Bethesda; having five porches.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	John, 5. 1 to 16.
He said, I lay for thirty-eight years, by the sheep-pool at Jerusalem, suffering under a great infirmity. I was expecting a cure to come from the coming of an angel, who disturbed the water at a certain time. Whoever, after the troubling of the water, first descended into it, was made whole of every infirmity.	3. In these, lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water. 4. For an angel went down at a certain season, into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first, after the troubling of the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.
	5. And a certain man was there who had an infirmity, thirty and eight years.
Jesus, finding me languishing there, said to me, Wilt thou be made whole? And I answered, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool.	6. When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had been now a long time so, he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole? 7. The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool; but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me.
And he said unto me, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. And I was made whole, and immediately took up my bed, and walked.	8. Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed and walk. 9. And immediately, the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked.
[Here follows a colloquy concerning the sabbath, of the same general tenor as that in John, but much shorter.]	[Then follows a colloquy, concerning the sabbath, verses 10 to 16; varying in detail from that in the other gospel, and considerably longer.]

HEALING OF THE SERVANT OF CENTURIO, OR, THE SERVANT OF THE CENTURION.

The comparison will be made with Luke; the account in that gospel, being more nearly parallel. In Matthew, the narrative is somewhat shorter, but still twice as long, as in the Acts of Pilate.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Luke, ch. 7.
After this, a certain person whose name was Centurio, said: I saw Jesus in Capernaum, and I entreated him, saying:	Now, when, [&c.], he entered into Capernaum. 2. And a certain centurion's servant,
Lord, my servant lieth at home, a paralytic.	who was dear unto him, was sick, and ready to die.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Luke, ch. 7.
And Jesus said to me, I will come and cure him. But I said,	3. And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him, that he would come, and heal his servant.
	4. And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly; saying that he was worthy, for whom he should do this.
	5. For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.
	6. Then Jesus went with them. And when he was not far from the house, the centurion sent friends unto him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself, for I am not worthy, that thou shouldst enter under my roof.
Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldst come under my roof; But only speak the word, and my servant shall be healed.	7. Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.
And Jesus said unto me, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.	8. For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers; and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
And the servant was healed, from that same hour.	9. When Jesus heard these things, he marveled at him, and turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.
	10. And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the servant whole, that had been sick.

Here, the account in Luke, is nearly three times as long as that in the other gospel.

It is manifest, also, that one of the historians made a mistake in the person upon whose servant the miracle was performed; a mistake arising from the use of the word Centurio, or centurion.

In which gospel, was the mistake probably made?

If the Acts of Pilate was written last, and the author had at first mistaken the word centurion for the name of the person, he would, as he proceeded with the nar-

rative, discover his mistake, by noticing the character of the person, and his military position, as a commander of men. On the other hand, if Luke was last written, it would be very natural for the author to suppose, inasmuch as Centurio was an unusual name, that centurion was intended. And having once made the change, either by mistake or otherwise, he would naturally, in the usual process of interpolation, make additions to the narrative, illustrative of the peculiar position occupied by the person upon whom the miracle was wrought, and of the willingness of Jesus to cure Gentiles as well as Jews.

THE HEALING OF VERONICA.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 7.	LUKE, 8. 43 to 48. [Shortest form.]
And a certain woman, Veronica by name, said:	43. And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, who had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed of any,
I was flowing with blood for twelve years; and I touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately the flowing of my blood stopped.	44. Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment: and immediately, her issue of blood stanched.
[Note. The name of the woman is not given, in the first Greek form of the Acts of Pilate, as published in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 16, pp. 125 to 148.]	[Then follow four verses, giving a conversation concerning the matter, between Jesus, the people and the woman.]

According to Eusebius, this woman erected a statue to the honor of Christ, on account of the miracle.[1]

The historian says, the woman lived at Cæsarea Philippi; that her house was to be seen in his time, and several monuments of the miracle. That near her house was a brazen statue of the woman, fixed on a pedestal of stone, in the posture of a suppliant, on bended knees, with outstretched hands. Opposite to it, made of the same metal, was the statue of a man, in a standing posture, with a cloak over his shoulders, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of

(1.) Ecclesiastical History, 7. 18.

this statue, at the very base of the column, grew a certain unknown herb, which, growing up to the hem of the garment, was a present remedy, so said Eusebius, for all sorts of distempers. This statue was said to be like Christ. "It continued," says Eusebius, "to my time, and I went to that city, and saw it myself."

Sozomen, the historian, [A. D. 439], mentions the same story, and says that Julian, the apostate, took down the statue, and placed his own in the room of it. He adds, that a fire from heaven smote the statue erected by Julian, and took off the head and neck, and fixed it in the earth; where it continued to his day, looking black, as if it had been burnt by lightning.[1]

The statue is also mentioned by the historian, Cassiodorus, [A. D. 550], by Theophylact, Epiphanius and Nicephorus. Also by Asterius, a writer of the fourth century, who says it was removed by the Emperor Maximus.[2]

Lubke, who was unacquainted with this tradition, or did not give credit to it, speaks of the first statue of Christ, as having been erected by Alexander Severus.[3]

It is said, also, that the second picture of Christ ever taken, (the first being the one sent by him to Abgarus, King of Edessa), was stamped or impressed upon the handkerchief of Veronica. That when Jesus was led to his crucifixion, Veronica, who followed him, put a handkerchief to his face, on which Christ impressed his picture. This is attested by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, [A. D. 300], Constantius Porphyrogenitus, and others.[4]

(1.) Sozomen's Ecc. History, 5. 21.
(2.) See Photius, Bib. Cod. 272, p. 1507.
(3.) History of Art, vol. 1, 3d Ed. p. 306.
(4.) See Durant, de Retib. Cath. Eccles. l. 1, c. 5:
"Altera Christi imago sudario Veronicæ impressa fuit: cum enim Christus ad crucifigedum duceretur, Veronica, quæ Christum sequebatur, faciei suda-

CURING BLIND BARTIMEUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 6.	Luke, 18. 35 to 43.
And a certain other Jew, rising up, said: I was blind; could hear sounds, but could see no one.	35. And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side, begging:
And as Jesus was going along, I heard the multitude passing by, and I asked what was there? They told me that Jesus was passing by. Then I cried out, saying: Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me.	36. And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant. 37. And they told him that Jesus of Nazareth passed by. 38. And he cried, saying: Jesus thou Son of David, have mercy on me. 39. And they who went before, rebuked him; that he should hold his peace; but he cried so much the more, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
And he, standing still, commanded me to be brought to him, and said to me, What wilt thou? I said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.	40. And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and when he was come near, he asked him, 41. Saying: What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.
And he said to me, Receive thy sight.	42. And Jesus said unto him, receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee.
And immediately I saw, and followed him, rejoicing and giving thanks.	43. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God; and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

The author of Matthew has two blind men; and as Schleiermacher observes, has a habit of duplicating, in such cases.

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 8.	Gospel of John.
But others said to Pilate, that he raised Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in his grave.	The reader is familiar with the long account of this miracle, contained in the 11th chapter of John, consisting of 44 verses.

rium, admovit, in quo Christi effigiem, expressam retulit. Hujus rei, auctores sunt Methodius," &c.

Durant also refers to the image of Christ erected by the woman cured of the flowing of blood.

The foregoing are all of the gospel miracles, which are related in the Acts of Pilate. The result of the comparison may be stated thus:

In every instance, the account in the Acts of Pilate, is shorter than the shortest narrative in the canonical gospels.

In view of the practice of interpolation, which prevailed so extensively in the second century, it is for the reader to judge which were last written.

THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS.

The account of the crucifixion, as given in the Acts of Pilate, is undoubtedly the nearest historical, of any religious writings of the second century. As every thing connected with this event, is of absorbing interest, the subject cannot be approached with indifference.

Bishop Ellicott, in an able Essay on the Apocryphal Gospels, published in the Cambridge Essays, for 1856, admits that this account was used by the earlier fathers.

To show the value of this testimony, we will quote from his prefatory remarks, the contemptuous language which he employs, when speaking of the apocryphal gospels as a class:

"Their real demerits, their mendacities, their absurdities, their coarsenesses, the barbarities of their style, and the inconsequence of their narratives, have never been excused or condoned. It would be hard to find any competent writer, in any age of the church, who has been beguiled into saying any thing civil or commendatory."

And yet the writer who could not refrain from expressing himself thus strongly toward these unfortunate, bantling gospels, when he comes to consider the Acts of Pilate, feels compelled to speak in a more respectful manner. In commencing, he says:

"We pass onward, to a very important document, apparently of a very early date, the first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, or, as it is commonly called, the Acta Pilati.

"The question of real interest is this:

"Whether the present Acta Pilati are substantially the same with the very ancient document, referred to with such respect by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other early and reputable writers. It need scarcely be said, that these ancient Acta were not the real, judiciary acts of Pilate. The Acta noticed by Tertullian, was probably an account of our Savior's condemnation, written by some early Jewish-Christian, and derived from eye-witnesses, or from important oral traditions, which, in so short a time, and on such an event, could not have become seriously erroneous."

After stating that it would be liable to changes and interpolations, and that there is reason to think the apocryphal Acts of Pilate, was one of the interpolated manuscripts, he says:

"When, however, it is remembered that the quotations made by Tertullian and others from the ancient Acta, are all found in the present Acta, it seems fair to conclude, especially from the nature and length of the composition, that these changes or interpolations have not been very serious, and that we have, in this first part of this Gospel of Nicodemus, substantially, the very ancient and important Acta Pilati, of the second century."

Again: "If we strip off the obviously fabulous, it does seem that the writer has related some portions of the trial in a manner so very probable and plausible, that we may well pause, before we sweep away the whole as a mere party fiction. There is something very natural in the way in which the Jews heap up indiscriminate accusation; there is an eager ferocity on their part, met by a steady and almost indignant scorn on the part of the governor, that seems, at any rate, very happily depicted. The desire of the Jews, not only that Christ should die, but that he should be crucified, that he should die the death of a malefactor,— is brought out very distinctly.

"There are minor incidents, the weeping populace,— the appearance of witnesses in favor of the accused, (though here there is evidently much interpolated),— the steady defence of Nicodemus—the persecution of the pious Joseph, the cloth wound round the crucified Savior—the crown of thorns still retained on the brow—the account given by the centurion to Pilate, and the distress of that unjust man and his wife—which all tend to make us to regard these interpolated, but still very ancient records, with a greater interest than we can feel for any other member of the apocryphal family."

After so respectable a testimony for this gospel, from one who cannot be accused of any prejudice in its favor, we proceed to contrast its narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, with the parallel accounts in the canonical gospels:

THE PROPOSAL TO RELEASE A PRISONER.

This account is given in all four of the evangelical gospels. The narrative is, however, so divergent, that it can scarcely be considered parallel, except in Mark and Matthew. Of these, the comparison will be made with the shorter form:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 9.	Matthew, 27. 15 to 23.
Pilate, again calling the multitude, said to them, Since there is a custom among you, on the day of passover, that I should release to you one that is bound; I have a noted murderer, called Barabbas, also Jesus who is called Christ; in whom I find no cause of death.	15. Now at that feast, the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would. 16. And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas. 17. Therefore, when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Christ? 18. For he knew that for envy they had delivered him. 19. [Omitted. Parallel in another part of the Acts of Pilate.] 20. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude, that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.
Which, therefore, of these two, do you wish to have released? They all cried out, saying, Release unto us Barabbas.	21. The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.
Pilate saith unto them, What then shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.	22. Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified. 23. And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying: Let him be crucified.

The foregoing accounts are closely parallel. But the canonical gospel exhibits considerable accretion. There is some amplification of language, and the introduction of the dream of the wife of Pilate.

PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS OF THE BLOOD OF JESUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 9.	Matthew, ch. 27.
Then Pilate, taking water, washed his hands before the people, saying:	24. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person, see ye to it.
I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it.	
The Jews answered, saying:	
His blood be upon us, and upon our children.	25. Then answered all the people, and said, his blood be on us, and on our children.

Not in either of the other gospels.

In the Acts of Pilate, Jesus is now sentenced, as follows:

"Then Pilate commanded Jesus to be brought before him, and spake to him the following words:

" 'Thy own nation hath charged thee, as making thyself a king. Wherefore, I, Herod, sentence thee to be whipped, according to the laws of former governors; and that thou be first bound, then hanged upon a cross, in that place where thou art now a prisoner; and also two criminals with thee; whose names are Demas and Gestas.' "

JESUS TAKEN TO EXECUTION.

As the account is less connected in the canonical gospels, we shall be obliged here, in order to preserve the parallel, to put several passages together:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Matthew, ch. 27.
Then Jesus went out of the hall, and the two thieves with him. And when they were come to the place which is called Golgotha, they stripped him of his raiment, and girt him	26. And he delivered him to be crucified.
	33. When they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull,
	28. They stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe,
about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand.	29. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand.

PRAYING FOR HIS ENEMIES.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Luke, 23. 34.
But Jesus said, My Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.	Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.

HIS GARMENTS ARE DIVIDED.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Mark, 15. 24.
And they divided his garments, and upon his vesture they cast lots.	And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take.
Luke, 23. 24.	Matthew, 27. 35.
And they parted his raiment, and cast lots.	And parted his garments, casting lots; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet: They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.

The law of accretion is well illustrated here, by comparing the short statements in Luke and the Acts of Pilate, on the one hand, with Mark and Matthew on the other. Luke being a compilation, this portion of it is probably from a manuscript older, even, than the Acts of Pilate.

In John, the account is extended, with the additional statement, that the garments were divided into four parts, to every soldier a part, and that lots were cast for the coat, which was without seam.

MOCKED BY THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND SOLDIERS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Mark, 15. 29 to 32, 36.
The people in the mean time stood by, and the chief priests and elders of the Jews mocked him, saying:	29. And they that passed by, railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying: Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days,
He saved others, let him now save himself if he can; if he be the Son of God, let him now come down from the cross.	30. Save thyself, and come down from the cross. 31. Likewise, also, the chief priests mocking, said among themselves, with the scribes, He saved others, himself he cannot save. 32. Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.
The soldiers also mocked him, and taking vinegar and gall, offered it to him to drink, and said to him: If thou art King of the Jews, deliver thyself.	36. And one ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

JESUS PIERCED IN THE SIDE.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	John, 19. 34.
Longinus, a soldier, taking a spear, pierced his side; and directly, there came forth blood and water.	But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.

THE TITLE UPON THE CROSS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	John, 19. 19, 20.
And Pilate wrote a title upon the cross, in Hebrew, Latin and Greek letters; to wit:	19. And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross. And the writing was,
'This is the King of the Jews.'	'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.'
	20. This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified, was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.

In the synoptic gospels, it is not stated who wrote the title. In Luke, it is 'This is the king of the Jews.' In Mark, 'The King of the Jews.' In Matthew, 'This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.' In Luke, it is stated to have been in Greek, Latin and Hebrew.

THE THIEVES ON THE CROSS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 10.	Luke, 23. 39 to 43.
But one of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus, whose name was Gestas, said to Jesus, If thou art the Christ, deliver thyself and us.	39. And one of the malefactors who were hanged, railed on him, saying: If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.
But the thief who was crucified on the right hand, whose name was Demas, answering, rebuked him, and said:	40. But the other answering rebuked him, saying: Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?
Dost not thou, who art condemned to this punishment, fear God? We, indeed, rightly and justly, according to what we have done, receive our reward. But this Jesus, what evil hath he done?	41. And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.
After this, groaning, he said to Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.	42. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom.
Jesus answering, said to him, Verily, I say unto thee, to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.	43. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

The account in the compilation of Luke, is the shortest, and indicates a manuscript of greater antiquity

than the Acts of Pilate. The accretion is in the latter gospel, which gives as additional circumstances, the names of the thieves; the crucifixion of Demas on the right hand and Gestas on the left hand of Jesus, and the groaning of Demas, before making his dying request.

In Mark and Matthew, both of the thieves revile Jesus.

Attention might here be called to the fact, that while there are older manuscripts concerning the crucifixion, &c., which found their way into the Gospel of Luke, the case is different with the miracles. The shortest, and as there is reason to believe, the earliest accounts of these, are in the Acts of Pilate.

THE DARKNESS AT THE CRUCIFIXION.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Luke, 23. 44, 45.
And it was about the sixth hour; and there was darkness over the whole earth until the ninth hour. And while the sun was eclipsed, &c.	44. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth, until the ninth hour. 45. And the sun was darkened, &c.

In Mark and Matthew, it is stated, "There was darkness over all the land, until the ninth hour."

RENDING OF THE VAIL OF THE TEMPLE.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Matthew, 27. 51.
Behold, the vail of the temple was rent from the top to the bottom; and the rocks also were rent.	And behold, the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent:

In Matthew, there is the work of a later hand, which interpolated the earthquake. In Luke and Mark, there is only the rending of the vail.

RISING OF THE SAINTS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Matthew, 27. 52, 53.
And the graves opened, and many bodies of saints who slept, arose.	52. And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints who slept, arose, 53. And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

No such account in any of the other gospels. The interpolation by the author of Matthew, of the Acts of Pilate or of some common manuscript, is manifest. The whole of the 53d verse is accretion; and by a strange anachronism, though the author of Matthew has the graves opened by the earthquake, at the time of the crucifixion, and manifestly intends to represent their inhabitants as coming forth, in consequence of that event, they do not arise, until several days afterward.

Michaelis, Farrer, Dean Milman and others, attribute this scene to the excited imaginations of some of the disciples.

THE DYING WORDS, AND DEATH OF JESUS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Mark, 15. 34.
And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, Heli, Heli, lama, zabathani? Which interpreted, is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?	And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: Eloi, Eloi, lama, sabachthani? Which is, being interpreted, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?
	Luke, 23. 46.
And after these things, Jesus said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And having said this, he gave up the ghost.	And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands, I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

SCENES AT THE CROSS AFTERWARD.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 11.	Luke, 23. 47, 48.
The centurion, when he saw that Jesus, crying out, thus gave up the ghost, glorified God, and said: Of a truth, this was a just man. And all the people who stood by, were accordingly troubled at the sight, and reflecting upon what had passed, smote upon their breasts, and returned to the city of Jerusalem.	47. Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying: Certainly this was a righteous man. 48. And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned.

In one of the canonical gospels, the centurion is made to say, "Truly this was the Son of God;" and in another, "Truly this man was the Son of God."

THE WOMEN AT THE CRUCIFIXION.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

But all his acquaintances stood at a distance, as also the women who had followed him from Galilee; beholding these things.

LUKE, 23. 49.

And all his acquaintance, and the women who followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

And, behold,, a certain man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, came to the governor, and entreated the governor, that he would permit him to take the body of Jesus from the cross. And the governor permitted it.

JOHN, 19. 38.

And after this, Joseph of Arimathea, being a disciple of Jesus, (but secretly for fear of the Jews), besought Pilate, that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate gave him leave.

[Longer accounts in Luke and Mark.]

THE BURIAL OF JESUS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 11.

And Nicodemus came, bringing with him a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight.

And with tears, they took down Jesus from the cross, and bound him in linen clothes, with spices, according to the custom of burying among the Jews, and placed him in a new tomb, which Joseph had built and had caused to be cut out of a rock; in which no man had yet been placed; and they rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher.

JOHN, 19. 39 to 41.

39. And there came also Nicodemus, (who, at the first, came to Jesus by night), and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds weight.

40. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

41. Now, in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid.

42. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulcher was nigh at hand.

MATTHEW, 27. 60.

And he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher, and departed.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

ACTS OF PILATE, ch. 13.

And while they (the priests and rulers of the Jews assembled) were all wondering (at the miraculous escape of Joseph), behold, one of the soldiers

MATTHEW, 28. 1 to 7.

In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn, toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulcher.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 13.	Matthew, ch. 28.
who were guarding the sepulcher, (of Jesus), spake in the synagogue, and said:	
While we were guarding the sepulcher of Jesus, there was an earthquake; and we saw an angel of God, who rolled away the stone from the sepulcher, and sat upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and	2. And behold, there was a great earthquake; for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.
	3. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow.
his garment like snow; and we became through fear, as dead persons.	4. And for fear of him, the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.
And we heard the angel saying to the women at the sepulcher of Jesus, Fear not; I know that ye seek the	5. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye; For I know that ye seek Jesus, who was crucified.
crucified Jesus. He has risen, as he foretold. Come and behold the place	6. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.
where he was laid; and go quickly, and say to his disciples, He has risen from the dead, and will go before you into Galilee. There ye shall see him, as he told you.	7. And go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead; and behold, he goeth before you unto Galilee. There shall ye see him; lo, I have told you.

BRIBING THE SOLDIERS.

Acts of Pilate, ch. 13.	Matthew, 28. 11 to 15.
The Jews, hearing this, were afraid; and said among themselves, If by any means these things become public, everybody will believe in Jesus.	11. Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests, all the things that were done.
Then gathering a large sum of money, they gave it to the soldiers, saying: Tell the people, that while ye were sleeping, the disciples of Jesus came by night, and stole the body of Jesus. And if this should come to the ears	12. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,
	13. Saying: Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away, while we slept.
of Pilate the governor, we will satisfy him, and secure you.	14. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.
The soldiers, accordingly, receiving the money, said as they were instructed by the Jews. And their report was spread abroad, among all the people.	15. So they took the money, and did as they were taught. And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day.

The account in Matthew, which is most nearly parallel with the Acts of Pilate, differs from it in one very important feature. In the Acts of Pilate, the resurrec-

tion is only stated upon the report of the soldiers. In Matthew, it is related as a distinct narrative, on the authority of the historian himself; while the report of the soldiers is brought in afterward, as confirmatory testimony. But in the bribing of the soldiers, for the purpose of keeping the resurrection a secret, the narratives again run together.

The closing sentence in the Acts of Pilate, is,

"And their report was spread abroad, among all the people."

In Matthew it reads, "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

The language of Matthew appears to be that of the later document.

THE ASCENSION OF JESUS.

Acts of Pilate, and Appendix to Mark.

It is generally agreed, that the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark, are an interpolation; a sort of appendix to the gospel, added by some transcriber.

There is the following parallel between the Acts of Pilate and a portion of this appendix:

Acts of Pilate, ch. 14.	Mark, ch. 16.
But a certain priest named Phineas, Ada, a schoolmaster, and a Levite named Ageus, they three came from Galilee to Jerusalem, and told the chief priests and all who were in the synagogues, saying:	14. Afterward, he appeared unto the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen him after he was risen.
We have seen Jesus, whom you crucified, talking with his eleven disciples, and sitting in the midst of them on Mt. Olivet, and saying to them:	
Go ye into all the world; preach to all nations; baptizing them in the	15. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.
name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and he who shall believe and be baptized, will be saved.	16. He that believeth and is baptized; shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.
	17. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues;

Acts of Pilate, ch. 14.	Mark, ch. 16.
	18. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.
And when he had said these things to his disciples, we saw him ascending into heaven.	19. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

This parallel would indicate that the Acts of Pilate was antecedent to the gospel, since if it were subsequent, this portion of the Acts could not be accounted for; it not being in the original Gospel of Mark.

In the Acts of Pilate, the narrative is continued in the following manner:

The chief priests, being alarmed at the news of the resurrection of Jesus, and his appearance to the Galileans, gave them money, and sent them back.

The Jews then assembled in consultation, and Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, saying:

"Why should we believe the soldiers who guarded the sepulcher of Jesus, telling us that an angel rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? Perhaps his own disciples told them this, and gave them money, that they should declare these things; and that they, the disciples, might bear away the body of Jesus. Besides, consider this: That there is no credit to be given to the foreigners, because they also took a large sum from us, and have declared to all, according to the instructions we gave them. They have to maintain faith either to us, or to the disciples of Jesus."

The foregoing are all the parallels between the Acts of Pilate and the canonical gospels.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the narrative in the Acts of Pilate is more natural and consistent, and better sustained throughout.

In Luke, there is a preliminary trial before Herod; who has Jesus arrayed in a gorgeous robe, and sent back to Pilate. Then, after the trial, he is taken to execution, addressing the women by the way. After the mocking and deriding, the dividing of the raiment,

&c., and the inscription on the cross, the historian gives the prayer of Jesus for his enemies. Then the scene between the two thieves on the cross, and between one of them and Jesus. It is stated that the sun was darkened at the crucifixion. After describing the other scenes in a manner somewhat similar to the other synoptics, the author of this gospel states that on the first day of the week, early in the morning, the women who came with him from Galilee, came to the sepulcher, bringing spices, &c. for the purpose of embalming the body of Jesus. They found the stone rolled away, and the sepulcher empty. They then saw two men, clothed in shining garments, who told them Jesus had risen, and reminded them of his words, that he should rise the third day. Then Peter went, and saw the grave empty. Jesus afterward appeared to the two disciples, on their way to Emmaus, and to the eleven apostles, at Jerusalem. Then, leading them to Bethany, he blessed them, and ascended into heaven.

In MARK, Jesus is delivered to Pilate, directly, by the chief priests, who, after holding a consultation with the elders and scribes, and with the council, had apprehended and bound Jesus; nothing being said about the examination before Herod. Then follows the trial or examination, before Pilate—the clamor of the Jews—the show of resistance and final yielding by Pilate—scenes on the way to the crucifixion, and at the cross, differing from Luke, in various details, with which the reader is familiar. Then, after the death and burial of Jesus, when the sabbath was past, three women, whose names are mentioned, went with spices, to embalm him. They found the stone rolled away, and entering into the sepulcher, they saw a young man, sitting, clothed in a long white garment. He told them Jesus had gone into Galilee. Jesus then appeared, first to

Mary Magdalene, after that to the two disciples. Then to the eleven, as they sat at meat. Then follows the remainder of the spurious appendix.

In MATTHEW, the author relates nearly all the incidents given in Luke and Mark, concerning the crucifixion, and several of his own besides. He has two earthquakes, and many other incidents, unknown to the other synoptics. After the death and burial, the two Marys came to the sepulcher; there they saw one who is now represented, as the angel who had rolled away the stone from the sepulcher. He stated also, that Jesus had gone into Galilee. Jesus appeared to the women, as they were returning. He then appeared to the eleven, on a mountain in Galilee.

The narrative in JOHN, differs still, in many particulars, from all three of the synoptics; not only omitting many incidents, but adding important additional matter, not always consistent with the other accounts. Among such might be mentioned much that Jesus said to Pilate, sayings of Jesus on the cross, &c., the piercing of his side; the scene with Thomas after the resurrection; the appearance of Jesus, after that event, to the fishermen on the Sea of Tiberias, and the miraculous draft of fishes, which are manifestly confounded with scenes in Christ's ministry.

If we turn to the narrative of all these events, as found in the Acts of Pilate, while there is sufficient that is marvelous, there will be found, nevertheless, a degree of unity and consistency, which is wanting in the other gospels.

In the first place, there is the trial before Pilate; and in the language of Bishop Ellicott, the Jews "heaping up indiscriminate accusation;" "an eager ferocity on their part, met" at first, "by a steady and almost indignant scorn on the part of the governor." At the same

time, "the weeping populace; the appearance of witnesses in favor of the accused." These witnesses testify to many miracles that Jesus had wrought, hoping thereby to save his life.

All this having failed, Pilate, overborne by the Jews, passes sentence on Jesus; something quite natural, in a judicial proceeding, but which is entirely omitted in the other gospels, except that in Luke it is stated, that Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as the Jews required.

Then Jesus is taken to execution. The scenes at the cross are stated briefly, and in natural order.

Coming to the resurrection, we find it related on the report of the soldiers. The appearance of Jesus was to the Galileans and to Joseph of Arimathea.

When considered in reference to the length of the accounts, it will be found that the narratives in the Acts of Pilate are generally, though not invariably, shorter than those in the canonical gospels.

Upon the whole, we may reasonably conclude, that the older gospels—those of the first century—contained fragmentary accounts of the crucifixion; that these were first put together, in a connected form, in the Acts of Pilate, to which there was added, for the first time, the material resurrection. This event, at first stated at second hand, as coming from the soldiers, was afterward incorporated into the canonical gospels, as a part of the principal narrative.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER EXTANT GOSPELS.

History of Joseph the Carpenter—Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea—Pseudo Matthew—The supposed Gospel of the Nativity of Mary—Letter of Pontius Pilate—Report of Pilate—The Giving up of Pontius Pilate—The Death of Pilate—Avenging of the Savior—The Newly-Discovered Acts of Pilate.

The remaining extant gospels must be considered very briefly; since none of them have fully established their claims to the great antiquity accorded to those which have been examined. As a part of the literature connected with the early history of the Christian religion, they cannot be passed unnoticed.

History of Joseph the Carpenter.—Tischendorff thinks this gospel was written in the fourth century. There is no reason for placing it earlier. The early fathers knew nothing of it.

It purports to be a discourse of Jesus Christ himself to his disciples, on the mount of Olives, in which he relates to them the history of his father Joseph.

He speaks of the former marriage of Joseph, and the death of his first wife; his marriage to the virgin Mary. Says she brought up James, one of the sons of Joseph's former wife; whence she was called the mother of James. Refers to the birth at Bethlehem, the flight to Egypt, and return. Joseph lived to be 111 years old.

A large part of the gospel is occupied in a minute and affecting account of the scenes attending the death of Joseph.

The last paragraph of the narrative, is as follows:

"Having thus spoken, I embraced the body of my father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of the tomb, and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob. And at the time when he fell asleep, he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years. Never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp, nor his body bent, nor his strength impaired: but he worked at his trade of a carpenter, to the very last day of his life; and that was the six-and-twentieth of the month of Ahib."

This having been related to the apostles, they rose up and prostrated themselves, making an address to Jesus, to which he replied, referring to the prophecies, and to the return into the world of Enoch and Elias, &c.

Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea.—The full title of the gospel is,

"*The Narratiive of Joseph of Arimathea, that begged the Lord's Body; in which also he brings in the Cases of the Two Robbers.*"

It is not known when it was written. It was popular in the middle ages.

It is based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate. The narrative in the Acts is closely followed. But Judas charges Jesus with stealing the law from the temple, and betrays him. Judas was son of the brother of Caiaphas the priest. Trial of Jesus, and crucifixion with the thieves.

In the incidents taken from the Acts of Pilate, there is the customary accretion. For instance, the thief says to Jesus,

"Before, then, O Lord, my spirit departs, order my sins to be washed away, and remember me, the sinner, in thy kingdom, when upon the great, most lofty throne, thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel."

This sentence is sufficient evidence, that the composition of the book was subsequent to the second century. The law of accretion is also aptly illustrated in the address of the other thief upon the cross:

"If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may believe in thee. But now I see thee perishing along with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast."

The gospel contains original matter, also, of a wonderful and startling character.

Pseudo Matthew.—A mere compilation of portions of the Gospel of the Infancy, with such accretions as might be expected after two hundred years.

There is reason to believe, it did not appear much before the time of Jerome. Some have thought it to have been the publication of Seleucas, alluded to in the correspondence between Jerome and the bishops. Others have thought it the translation which Jerome made at the request of the bishops. But that, as will be seen, was another document.

The supposed Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.—In all the collections of apocryphal gospels, will be found a Gospel of the Birth of Mary. It is sometimes spoken of as among the most ancient.

We are satisfied there was anciently no such gospel; that its supposed existence is based upon a misapprehension. The facts are these:

In the works of Jerome is found a correspondence between him and two bishops, named Chromatius and Heliodorus. The bishops, addressing their beloved brother and presbyter, Jerome, state that they had found in some apocryphal books, "an account of the birth of the Virgin Queen Mary, as also the birth and

infancy of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ;" in which they had observed many things contrary to their faith. They say they had heard that he (Jerome) had found a volume in Hebrew, written with St. Matthew the Evangelist's own hand; "in which was described the infant state of the Virgin Mary and our Savior." They therefore entreat him to translate it out of Hebrew into Latin; that they might know what the famous things concerning Christ were, and to refute the heretics, who had mixed other things "with the genuine history of the Savior's nativity."

Jerome replies, saying it was a difficult task which they had imposed on him,

"Because the holy apostle and evangelist Matthew did not himself wish to have it written for the public. [nec voluit in aperto conscribi.] For if it was not to have been a secret, he would certainly have annexed it to his own gospel which he published.

"But he composed this little book in Hebrew letters, [sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obsignatum], which he so published, in order that this book might be in the hands of religious men, written in his own hand, in Hebrew characters. [ex manu ipsius scriptus Hebraicis literis.] They have transmitted it from preceding to subsequent times. They have taken care, however, never to have it translated by any one, and have given different accounts of its contents. [tex ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt.]

"But the truth is, that the book was published by a certain Manichæan disciple, Seleucas by name, who also composed a false history of the Acts of the Apostles."

He speaks of the publication as injurious, and not to be listened to by the church. He then accedes to their request.

In another epistle, he says that he will translate it "as well as he can remember;" [in quantum recordari possum]; and notifies them, that not only will the translation not be literal, but that he will feel at liberty to wander considerably from the original. He says he will translate, following the meaning rather than the words, and saying nothing "which is not written, or

may be supposed consistently, to have been written;" [et non alia dicam, quam quae aut scripta sunt ibi, aut consequenter scribi potuerunt;] "sometimes walking in the same path with the author, though not in the same steps; and though sometimes turning a little one side, returning the same way again." [nunc eadem semita non iisdem vestigiis incedens, nunc quibusdam diverticulis, et eandem viam recurrens.]

It will be noticed that nowhere in the correspondence, is either the gospel which the bishops had seen, or the one which Jerome claimed to have seen in Matthew's handwriting, spoken of as a Gospel of the Birth or Nativity of Mary only, but in connection with the Infancy of the Savior.

Jerome proceeded to make his translation, but the publisher of his works, for some reason, omitted the last part, and published only that relating to the birth and infancy of Mary. This was placed after the correspondence, and the whole was entitled, "De Nativitate Mariæ:" indicating that all that followed, was concerning the nativity of Mary. The translation was only what Jerome remembered of the Gospels of the Infancy; he having probably seen a version purer than that published by Seleucas.

The translation, under the very wide latitude which the pious father had given himself, doubtless differed from any version of those gospels which had previously been seen. Hence it was thought to be a new gospel; an impression which was strengthened by the title placed by Jerome's publisher before the correspondence; "De Nativitæ Mariæ."

This view of the matter is confirmed by the historical evidence. The first writers who refer to this gospel. are Epiphanius and Gregory Nyssen, both of whom were contemporary with Jerome. Neither of these

writers speak of it as "the Gospel of the Birth of Mary," but as "De Nativitate Mariæ."[1]

Letter of Pontius Pilate.—This letter may be seen in translation from Latin and Greek manuscripts, the date of which is uncertain. The Greek text is given in "The Acts of Peter and Paul."

There is a discussion between the Emperor Nero, Peter, and Simon Magus. Peter appeals to the writings of Pontius Pilate, sent to Claudius. Nero orders them to be brought and read, which was done. The letter stated,

> That the fathers of the Jews had promised, that God would send Jesus from heaven, who should be their king; and he should come to earth, by means of a virgin. That he came into Judæa, and the Jews saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders. That the Jews seized him and delivered him up to Pilate, who, after scourging him, gave him up to their will. That they crucified him, but Jesus rose on the third day, while the soldiers of Pilate were guarding him. That the Jews bribed the soldiers. That the soldiers could not keep silence, and had testified that they had seen Jesus, after he was risen.

Another and probably older form of this letter is in one version of the Acts of Pilate. It is not materially different.

Report of Pilate.—There are two forms of this in the Greek. It is similar to the foregoing. It enlarges upon the miracles, and is written in a more fervid style.

It is possible that some ancient form of the Letter or Report, was the original from which the Acts of Pilate, or the first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus was constructed. In their present form the Letter and Report are manifestly of a later date.

(1.) See Epiphanius, Hæres. 26. Gnost. No. 12, and Hæres. 79. Collyr. No. 5. Also Gregory Nyssen, Hom. de Nativ. S. Mari. Vir. tom. 3. Opp. p. 346.

THE GIVING UP OF PONTIUS PILATE.—Cæsar, filled with rage at what had happened, sent soldiers, and ordered them to bring Pilate a prisoner. When brought to Rome, he was arraigned for what he had done.

While Cæsar was addressing Pilate, when he named the name of Christ, all the multitude of gods fell down in a body. Pilate making his defense, and throwing the blame on the Jews, Cæsar sent, and had "all the nation of the Jews" seized. He ordered Pilate to be beheaded. Pilate prayed to the Lord, and received assurances that he should be blessed, because, under him the prophecies had been fulfilled.

When he was beheaded, an angel of the Lord received his head. His wife Procla, seeing this, filled with joy, immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried with her husband.

THE DEATH OF PILATE.—A variation of the foregoing.

Tiberius Cæsar, emperor, had a disease, and sent for Jesus to come and cure him. The messenger, on arriving in Palestine, found that Christ had been crucified. But on his journey, he met Veronica, who lent him the cloth on which was impressed an image of the Savior, which, she said, would cure Cæsar.

"Cæsar therefore ordered the way to be strewn with silk cloths, and the picture to be presented to him. As soon as he had looked upon it, he regained his former health."

Pilate was brought to Rome, where the emperor was furious against him. But Pilate appearing before him in the seamless tunic which Jesus had worn, all the anger of Tiberius at once disappeared.

Having been condemned to a disgraceful death, Pilate killed himself with his own knife. His body was bound to a great mass, and sunk in the River Tiber.

"But malignant and filthy spirits, in his malignant and filthy body, all rejoicing together, kept moving themselves in the waters, and in a terrible manner, brought lightnings and tempests, thunders and hail-storms, in the air, so that all men were kept in horrible fear." Wherefore the Romans, driving him out of the Tiber, carried him to Vienna, and sunk him in the River Rhone. "But there evil spirits were present, working the same things in the same place. Those men therefore, not enduring such a visitation of demons, removed from themselves that vessel of malediction, and sent him to be buried in the territory of Losania. And they, seeing that they were troubled by the aforesaid visitations, removed him from themselves, and sunk him in a certain pit, surrounded by mountains; where, to this day, according to the account of some, certain diabolical machinations are said to bubble up."

THE AVENGING OF THE SAVIOR.—There are, in this document, two distinct legends; one of Veronica, the other, that of Nathan's embassy.

In the days of Tiberius Cæsar, Titus, a prince under Tiberius, in Equitania, was afflicted with a cancer in his face. And Tiberius was ill, and full of ulcers and fevers, having nine kinds of leprosy. Nathan was sent from Judæa, to carry a treaty to Rome. He tells about Christ, his miracles, his crucifixion and his resurrection. Titus addresses Tiberius strongly in condemnation of the Jews who had slain Jesus. Whereupon the wound fell from the face of Titus, "and his flesh and his face were restored to health. And all the sick who were in the same place, were made whole, in that hour." He then sent for Vespasian, who brought five thousand armed men. With them they went and made war on the Jews for killing Jesus.

Jerusalem was taken with great slaughter. A search was made, and Veronica was found, who had the portrait of Jesus. When the emperor saw the portrait, he was immediately cured. And all the blind, the lepers, and those afflicted in divers ways, were healed.

Nathan then came forward, and baptized Tiberius, who ascended his throne, and publicly returned thanks to God.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ACTS OF PILATE.—A learned German, while traveling in Missouri, some years ago, became the guest of a clergyman by the name of W. D. Mahan, at Boonville. In conversation, he mentioned to this clergyman, that he had seen, in the Vatican Library, at Rome, the original Acts of Pilate.

After the German had left, Mr. Mahan, deeming the matter of great importance, wrote to him, in Europe, and at considerable expense, had the manuscript copied. He then published it, with the correspondence.

Afterward, the same document was published, under an arrangement with the proprietor, by Rev. George Sluter, A. M., of the Presbyterian Synod of Missouri.

The publication is preceded by a statement of the discovery and procuring of the document; an introduction, giving the references to the Acts of Pilate

by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and the subsequent comments of Eusebius. The volume contains, also, remarks and critical notes.

Without doubt, these clergymen are acting in good faith, and think they have obtained the original Acts of Pilate. There is none the less doubt that they are mistaken. One sentence alone is sufficient to show that the document published by them is of comparatively modern date; if indeed the whole affair is not an imposition upon them, by some astute adventurers.

When Pilate requested Jesus to be more circumspect in his language, when discoursing to the Jews, he is represented in this document, as replying to Pilate, as follows:

"Say to the torrent, Stop in the midst of the mountain home, because it will uproot the trees of the valley."—*Page* 55, *of Sluter's Edition.*

This, with considerable more of the same sort, is sufficient, without taking time with other reasons, to brand the document, not only as a forgery, but as a modern, and a vulgar one. Any person of but a small degree of literary skill, would have come nearer to the simple and impressive style of Jesus. "Brief and concise utterances," says Justin Martyr, "fell from him; for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God."

CHAPTER XVIII.

WRITERS OF THE THIRD PERIOD.

MENANDER—SATURNINUS—BASILIDES—PRODICUS—ARISTIDES—QUADRATUS—BARNABAS—AGRIPPA CASTOR—ARISTION—JOHN THE PRESBYTER.—ANONYMOUS WRITINGS.—PROVERBS OF XYSTAS—PREACHING AND DOCTRINE OF PETER—TESTIMONY OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS—SIBYLLINE ORACLES—PREACHING OF PAUL—SYRIAC DOCUMENTS.

Most of the Christian writers of the second century, who immediately succeeded the apostolic fathers, advocated doctrines which were afterward considered heretical.

"Heresy," says Dr. Lardner, "in Greek, αἵρεσις, signifies election, or choice; and is used for any opinion which a man chooseth as best, or most probable." —*Works, vol.* 4, *p.* 505.

Menander, Saturninus and Basilides, are generally classed together, by the orthodox fathers, and their heresies considered in the order here named.

MENANDER,—A. D. 120,

Is said to have been the fellow countryman and disciple of Simon Magus.[1] This is denied, however, by some. He is said to have aspired to the honor of being a Messiah, and one of the Æons, sent from the pleroma, or celestial regions, to succor souls oppressed by the demons of earth. He had a form of baptism in his

(1.) Westcott, Canon, p. 252.

own name. His influence continued for several centuries. He was written against by Justin Martyr, by Irenæus, Eusebius, and several others. Justin speaks of him as follows:

"And a man, Menander, also a Samaritan, of the town of Capparetæa, a disciple of Simon, and inspired by devils, we know to have deceived many, while he was in Antioch, by his magical art. He persuaded those who adhered to him, that they should never die. And even now, there are some living, who hold this opinion of his.—*Apology*, 1. 26.

Saturninus.—A. D. 125.

Saturninus, like Menander, held that there was one Father, unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, principalities and powers. He said the world and all things therein, were made by a company of seven angels. Man was made, too, by angels. The Savior, he taught to be unbegotten and incorporeal; and that he was a man in appearance only. "He says that marriage and generation are of Satan."[1]

Basilides,—A. D. 125,

Was a Gnostic of Alexandria. Is said to have written a commentary, in 24 books, on "The Gospel." This was refuted by Agrippa Castor.

Fragments of his writings are given by Hippolytus, who wrote in the third century. They have caused much discussion in reference to the gospel upon which he commented; whether it was in writing, and whether his own or another's.

He made use of "The traditions of Matthias;" or, as Miller supposes, the traditions of Matthew. These "claimed to be grounded on private intercourse with the Savior."[2] They were, possibly, the much talked of Oracles of Matthew.

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. lib. 1, c. 24.
(2.) Westcott, Canon, p. 264.

The fact that Basilides made use of such a collection, is significant, and may go far to explain the source of many of the sayings of Christ, so often quoted by the fathers before Irenæus, and which have been supposed to be evidence of the existence of the canonical gospels.

Some have claimed Basilides as a witness to the four gospels, more particularly to Luke. The arguments upon which the claim is based, are vague and unsatisfactory. Perhaps it will be sufficient, upon this question, to take the judgment of Dr. Davidson. He says,

"As to Basilides, his supposed quotations from the New Testament, in Hippolytus, are too precarious to be trusted."—*Canon, p.* 86. *See also his Introduction to the N. T., vol.* 2, *p.* 388.

Any apparent use of Luke may be explained by the fact, that Basilides had access to the same manuscripts from which the Gospels of Marcion and Luke were compiled.

Doctrines.—"Basilides," says Irenaeus, "that he may appear to have discovered something more sublime and plausible, gives an immense development to his doctrines. He sets forth that Nous was first born of the unborn Father; that from him again was born Logos, from Logos Phronesis, from Phronesis Sophia and Dynamis; and from Dynamis and Sophia, the powers and principalities, and angels, whom he calls the *first;* and that by them the first heaven was made. Then other powers, being formed by emanation from these, created another heaven, similar to the first." &c.

The chief of the angels who occupy the lowest heaven, is the God of the Jews, and he and his angels created the world.

That Jesus himself was not crucified, but Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross, and assumed the form of Jesus. Salvation belongs to the soul alone, for the body is by nature, subject to corruption.—*Irenæus adv. Hæres. bk.* 1, *ch.* 24. *Ante Nic. vol.* 5, *p.* 90.

Eusebius makes the doubtful statement, that like Pythagoras, Basilides enjoined upon his followers, a silence of five years.[1] A gospel is attributed to him. But this is thought to be the same as the commentaries.

(1.) Ecclesiastical History, 4. 7; attributing it to Agrippa Castor.

PRODICUS.—A. D. 120.

But little is known of this writer, except that he was a leader of a sect called Prodiceans; and that they were accused by Clement of Alexandria, of licentious practices.

"They say," says Clement, "they are by nature, the children of the supreme deity; but they dishonor their high birth and freedom; for they live as they choose, and they choose to live in pleasure. They scorn to be controlled, as being lords of the sabbath, and the King's children."—*Clem. Alex. Str.* 3. 4.

They also held that prayer was needless.[1]

They did not separate themselves from the Christian churches.

The followers of Prodicus boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster.[2]

Baring-Gould thinks they may have used the Gospel of Philip.[3]

ARISTIDES AND QUADRATUS.—A. D. 126.

They delivered to the Emperor Hadrian, Apologies for the Christian Religion. That of Quadratus is said to have procured the Rescript of the emperor to Minucius, in favor of the Christians.

Eusebius says that this was in circulation among the brethren, and that he had a copy of it. He gives an extract, in which there is reference to the miracles of Christ.[4] If we could rely upon the correctness of the statement, this might be recorded as the earliest historical reference to the miracles of Jesus.

The same historian, speaking of Quadratus and others, "who held the first rank in the apostolic succession," makes a statement, by which he manifestly intends to leave the impression, that the canonical gospels were in circulation at that time. He says:

(1.) Stromata, 7. 7. (2.) Strom. 1. 15.
(3.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 293.
(4.) Ecc. History, 4. 3.

"Afterwards, leaving their country, they performed the office of evangelists to those who had not yet heard the faith, whilst with a noble ambition to proclaim Christ, they also delivered to them the books of the holy gospels."—*Ecc. Hist.* 3. 37.

Westcott, after speaking of the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, says: "Nothing, it will be seen, can be drawn directly from these scanty notices, in support of the Canon." [1]

BARNABAS.—About A. D. 130.

The Epistle of Barnabas, is often classed among the writings of the apostolic fathers. There is much difference of opinion as to its date, but those writers who place it after A. D. 120, comprise a large majority.

The ancient fathers of the church held it in high esteem, and attributed it to Barnabas, the companion of Paul. Such was the opinion of Clement of Alexandria. [2] Origen called it a "catholic epistle," and ranked it among the sacred scriptures. [3]

In the introduction to the epistle, in the Ante-Nicene Collection, it is stated, the ancients unanimously attribute it to Barnabas the Levite, of apostolic times.

"Certainly," says the editor, "no other name is even hinted at in Christian antiquity, as that of the writer." [4] The editor is equally explicit in asserting, that scarcely any scholars now ascribe it to the illustrious friend and companion of St. Paul. What a commentary upon the credit to be given to the opinions of the fathers, upon such questions!

THE GOSPELS.—Some writers have supposed they saw in this epistle, evidence of the use of the canonical gospels. It is not, however, much relied upon. The read-

(1.) Canon, p. 76.
(2.) Strom. 2. 6; 2. 7. &c.
(3.) Contra Celsum, 1. 63, Comm. in Rom. 1. 24.
(4.) Ante. Nic. vol. 1, p. 99.et seq.

er will remember the verdict of Dr. Less, upon this subject.

Dr. Davidson says he has apparently a citation from Matthew, but it is uncertain.[1]

Dr. Westcott, speaking of this class of evidence, says:

"References in the sub-apostolic age, to the discourses or actions of our Lord, as we find them recorded in the gospels, show, so far as they go, that what the gospels relate, was then held to be true; but it does not necessarily follow, that they were already in use, and were the actual source of the passages in question."—*Canon, p.* 49.

THE MIRACLES.—In the 5th chapter of the epistle of Barnabas, is the first reference to the miracles of Christ; if we except those in the apocryphal gospels, which appeared about the same time. Speaking of Jesus, he says:

"Moreover, teaching Israel, and doing such great miracles and signs, [*Πέρας γὲ τοι δεδασκων των Ισραηλ, καὶ πηλικαυτα τέρατα καὶ σημεια τοῖων*], he preached the truth to him, and greatly loved him."

AGRIPPA CASTOR.—A. D. 130.

According to Eusebius, Agrippa Castor wrote books against Basilides.[2] Eusebius says he was one of the most distinguished writers of that day.[3]

These with many other writings of the kind, are lost or destroyed. It was a natural source of information, and would have disclosed, almost certainly the nature of the gospels or other writings used by Basilides.

It is somewhat remarkable, that all the writings of the second century, which would have furnished the most direct evidence as to the gospels then in use, have perished.

(1.) Canon, p. 94.
(2.) Ecclesiastical History, 4. 7.
(3.) See also Jerome, Catal. Script. c. 20.

Aristion.—About A. D. 130.

It might be inferred from a passage in Eusebius, that Aristion had preserved written traditions of the time of Christ. Speaking of Papias, he says:

"He moreover hands down, in his own writing, other narratives given him by the previously mentioned Aristion, of the Lord's sayings, and the traditions of the presbyter, John.—*Ecc. Hist.* 3. 39.

A fair inference would be that these "narratives" were in writing; as they are distinguished from the "traditions" of the presbyter.

John the Presbyter,—About A. D. 130,

Is supposed by some, to have written the Revelation. This was the opinion of Eusebius.[1]

He is also, not without reason, believed to have been the author of the epistles of John. It will be noticed that in the 2d and 3d of these epistles, the writer styles himself "the elder," or presbyter.

The theory that he wrote the Gospel of John, has less plausibility; since there is no sufficient evidence of its existence, until about half a century later.

Anonymous Writings.

There are also some anonymous writings, belonging to the third period, which will be briefly considered.

The Proverbs of Xystas.

Written, about A. D. 119. The genuineness of the book is doubted by Westcott and others. Ewald places it among the most valuable relics of early Christian literature.—*Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1859, *p.* 261; *and Gesch.* 7. 321.

Westcott says it contains no definite references to the New Testament.—*Hist. Canon, p.* 174.

The Preaching, and Doctrine of Peter.

These books were well known in the second century.

The preaching of Peter was condemned by Eusebius, in the same language used in reference to the Gospel of Peter. He pronounced it a forgery, and stated that none of the ancients, nor any ecclesiastical writers had taken testimonies from it.—*Ecc. H.* 3. 3.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 39.

On the contrary, it is referred to by Heracleon, A. D. 190, according to Origen, [*Tom.* 1, *in Joan. p.* 211], and repeatedly by Clement of Alexandria.—*Stromata*, 1. 29; 2. 15; 6. 5; 6. 6, *and* 6. 15. Also by Lactantius; all before Eusebius. Clement took numerous testimonies from it, and endorsed it in the most emphatic manner; declaring that Christ said to his disciples, what he is reported to have said, in the Preaching of Peter.—*Strom.* 6. 6.

It was also referred to in the epistle of Peter to James, published by Cotelerius.—*See Ante-Nic. Ch. Lib. vol.* 17, *p.* 1.

The book was subsequently cited by Theodotus, Byzantius, and Gregory Nazianzen, of the ancients, and among the moderns has been very favorably spoken of by Dr. Grabe, Mr. Toland, Mr. Whiston, Dr. Mill, and others.

The Doctrine of Peter was a small book, in use in the 2d century, of which little is now known. It was referred to, and condemned by Origen. From him we learn, that it contained the same passage which Jerome says was in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in which Christ said to those who were with Peter, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."—*Origen, de Princip. Præf. sec.* 8.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Supposed to have been written, about A. D. 125. The character of the book, is indicated by the title. Each of the sons of Jacob gives his dying testimony, on some important subject.—"The Testament of Reuben concerning Thoughts;" "The Testament of Simeon concerning Envy;" &c.

Dr. Lardner thought he discovered in it, some slight evidence of the use of some of the canonical gospels. Nothing better illustrates the dearth of evidence, than the necessity of searching for it in a document of this kind.

The Sibylline Oracles,

Belong properly to an earlier age, but are supposed to have been interpolated about this time, in order to furnish additional evidence for the Christian religion. They were extensively quoted, from Justin Martyr down; though the quotations of Justin have reference, for the most part, to the utterances of the ancient sibyl.

The Preaching of Paul.

This, as well as the Preaching of Peter, was referred to by Lactantius and others, and was generally known in the second century. It contained references to the sibylline writings. Also to the fire in Jordan, at the time of the baptism of Jesus.—*See Anonymous Treatise on Re-Baptism, Ante-Nicene, vol.* 13, *p.* 426.

It has been favorably referred to by Cardinal Baronius, Dr. Grabe, and others. Sixtus Senensis believed it to have been written by Paul.—*Bib. Sanc. lib.* 2, *p.* 113.

Syriac Documents.

The late Dr. Cureton found among the Syriac manuscripts of the British Museum, several documents purporting to have been written in the first and second centuries.—*See* 20*th volume of Ante-Nicene Collection.*

They are full of mistakes and anachronisms, and cannot be considered of much value.—*Consult "Revelations of Anti-Christ;" Boston and N. Y.* 1879; an able work, but written in an objectionable style.

FOURTH PERIOD.—A. D. 130 TO 170.

FORTY YEARS OF CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—A. D. 130 to 150.

CARPOCRATES—EPIPHANES—CERDO--HERMAS—CERINTHUS—ISIDORUS—VALENTINUS—PAPIAS—EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS—THE CLEMENTINES.

CARPOCRATES.—About A. D. 135.

Irenæus, in his first book against Heresies, writes as follows:

"Carpocrates, again, and his followers, maintain that the world and the things which are therein, were created by angels greatly inferior to the unbegotten Father. They also hold that Jesus was the son of Joseph, and was just like other men, with the exception that he differed from them in this respect, that inasmuch as his soul was steadfast and pure, he perfectly remembered those things which he had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God. On this account, a power descended upon him from the Father, that by means of it, he might escape from the creators of the world."

After enlarging upon this idea, and stating that they believe the human soul, which is like that of Christ, can rise above the creators of the world, he says:

"This idea has raised them to such a pitch of pride, that some of them declare themselves similar to Jesus; while others still more mighty, maintain that they are superior to his disciples, such as Peter and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, whom they consider to be in no respect inferior to Jesus."

He then charges them with practicing magical arts and incantations; of using philters and love potions;

of having recourse to familiar spirits, dream-sending demons, "and other abominations;" and of leading a licentious life.[1]

Dr. Lardner thinks the charge of licentiousness a slander.[2]

Clement of Alexandria speaks of Carpocrates and Epiphanes as both advocating a community of wives. Clement argues against it in the 2d Chapter of the 3d book of the Stromata.[3]

Epiphanes,—About A. D. 140,

Was the son of Carpocrates, and was, like his father, a Gnostic. He believed in an infinite, eternal principle. It is ignorance and passion, which, in disturbing the equality and community of goods, have introduced evil into the world. The idea of property forms no part of the divine plan. All unequal laws should be abolished, and equality should be re-established. He is reported to have advocated the community of wives, as well as of the fruits of the earth.

He died at the early age of seventeen years.

A temple was consecrated to him in Cappadocia, and according to Clement of Alexandria, he was honored as a god.[4]

Cerdo, or Cerdon.—About A. D. 140.

Cerdon, also, was a Gnostic. Irenæus says he came to Rome from Syria, in the time of Hyginus. His views were adopted, and amplified by Marcion. Like Marcion, he is accused of mutilating the Gospel of Luke; and with as little reason. [See 'Marcion.']

(1.) Adv. Hær. 1. 25. Ante-Nic. vol. 5, p. 93.
(2.) Lard. Works, vol. 4, p. 562.
(3.) Ante-Nic. vol. 12, p. 86.
(4.) Stromata, bk. 3, ch. 2.

Hermas.—A. D. 145.

Hermas, like Barnabas, is often classed with the apostolic fathers. He is, however, placed after 120, by a large majority of writers, and most of them date his works near the middle of the second century.

The authorship of the Pastor or Shepherd of Hermas, as stated in the Muratorian Fragment, is generally accepted. "The Pastor, moreover," says the Fragment, "did Hermas write, very recently, in our times, in the city of Rome, while his brother, Bishop Pius sat in the chair, in the Church of Rome."

According to the 'Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte,' a work extensively used as a text book among Catholics, Pius was Bishop from A. D. 142 to 157.

This, which may now be considered the settled verdict of scholars as to the authorship of the Pastor, by no means accords with the opinions of the fathers.

With them, Hermas, the author of the Shepherd, was the Hermas of apostolic times. Origen distinctly ascribes the Shepherd to the Hermas mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.[1] This is favored by Eusebius,[2] and by Jerome.[3]

The early writers considered it an inspired book.

Irenæus quotes it as scripture.[4] Clemens Alexandrinus considered it divinely inspired.[5] It was read in the churches as scripture.

Here we have the same phenomenon as in the case of the Epistle of Barnabas. A work universally attributed to a co-worker and companion of Paul, which modern scholars, of all shades of religious opinion,

(1.) Comment. in Rom. 16. 14; lib. 10, 31. Origen there states that he thinks it divinely inspired.

(2.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 3.

(3.) De Viris Illust. c. 10.

(4.) Adv. Hær. 4. 20. 2.

(5.) Strom. 1. 29.

concur in deciding was never written by him, nor even in that century. In view of such facts, it is impossible not to perceive that the books finally admitted into the canon, were selected with reference to their contents, rather than to any question of authenticity, or of proof of apostolic origin.

The Shepherd of Hermas was one of the most popular books, among the Christians of the second century.

About the year 494, it was condemned in the decree of Pope Gelasius; from which time it began to decline in public favor.

As late as the 15th century, a translation of the Shepherd of Hermas was found in a MS. of the Latin bible.

The Pastor or Shepherd consists of three books. The first is entitled Visions, the second, Commandments, the third, Similitudes. There is in it all, nothing attractive to the modern mind. It is not easy to understand how, in any age, its wild vagaries and crude piety, could have been found interesting, and even been considered inspired. A partial explanation may be found in its supposed semi-apostolic origin.

Its Evidence for the Gospels.—Dr. Westcott says it contains no definite quotation from either the Old or New Testament.[1]

"From the Shepherd of Hermas," says Dr. Less, "no inference whatever can be drawn."

Cerinthus and his Gospel.—About A. D. 145.

The history as well as the writings of Cerinthus are strangely blended with those of John the presbyter, and even with John, the apostle.

By the ancient writers on heresies, he is generally placed after Carpocrates.

A sect called the Allogi, attributed to him, (so says

(1.) Canon, p. 181.

Epiphanius), the gospel, as well as the other writings of John.

Cerinthus had both a gospel and a revelation.

Toland intimates that the Gospel of John might have been written by Cerinthus.[1]

Cerinthus is believed to have been a Jew by birth. He was educated at Alexandria, and taught philosophy there.[2]

Irenæus says:

"He represents Jesus as not having been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation; while he nevertheless, was more righteous, prudent and wise than other men." "Moreover, after his baptism, Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove, from the Supreme Ruler, and that he proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles."—*Adv. Hær.* 1. 26.

The same writer says, John's Gospel was written to confute the errors spread abroad by Cerinthus.[3]

This may be accepted, as throwing some light on the time when the Gospel of John was written. Jerome also asserts that John wrote against Cerinthus.[4]

Isidorus.—A. D. 150.

Isidorus was the son of Basilides. He wrote works of an exegetical and ethical character. Fragments are preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius. There are other fragments by Hippolytus. Isadorus maintained the doctrine of his father.

"No references to the gospels;" says Westcott.[5]

Valentinus, and the Gospel of Truth.—A. D. 150.

Valentinus was one of the most famous Gnostics, in the early history of the church. According to Tisch-

(1.) Amyntor, p. 65.
(2.) Mosheim, vol. 1, pp. 93 to 95.
(3.) Adv. Hær. 3. 11.
(4.) See Michaelis, vol. 3, p. 278.
(5.) Canon, p. 267.

endorff, he came from Egypt to Rome, about A. D. 140. He was by birth an Egyptian and possibly of Jewish descent. Lardner says he was a man of letters.[1]

The Valentinians did not admit that Christ had a human body. Such a body, they said, must have sprung, not from spirit, or from God, but from the will of man.[2]

The Gospel of Truth is generally attributed to Valentinus; though Westcott says it was composed by his followers.

There was a tradition among the Valentinians, that Jesus remained among his disciples eighteen months after his resurrection.[3]

THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.—An effort has been made, to make Valentinus a witness for the canonical gospels.

Davidson says it is doubtful whether Valentinus' alleged citations from the New Testament can be relied upon.[4]

PAPIAS.—A. D. 150.

Papias, who had long been considered an immediate successor to the apostles, is now, by general consent, relegated to the middle of the second century. The time when he suffered martyrdom, is variously stated, from A. D. 161 to 167.

Papias was bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia. He was a millenarian. The doctrine that the end of the world was near at hand, was extensively believed, and may be considered as orthodox in the second century.

FRAGMENTS FROM PAPIAS.—Œcumenius represents him as saying that Judas came to his death in this manner:

(1.) Vol. 4, p. 526.
(2.) Tertullian, de Carne Christi, c. 15.
(3.) Irenæus adv. Hær. 1. 3. 2.
(4.) Canon, p. 87.

"His body having swollen to such an extent, that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out."

The writer of this could scarcely have seen the Gospel of Matthew. Irenæus, in the 33d chapter of the 5th book against heresies, cites from Papias, sayings of Christ unlike any thing in the New Testament:

"The elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him, how the Lord used to teach, in regard to these times, and say:

'The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, will give five and twenty metrets of wine.' "&c.

Also that 1,000,000,000 pounds of clear, pure, fine flour would be produced from one grain of wheat; and that animals should become peaceful and harmonious, and in perfect subjection to man.

Irenæus adds, that these things were borne witness to by Papias, the hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp.

The famous testimony of Eusebius, concerning Papias, which, in some form, will be found in every work on the canon of the New Testament, is as follows:

That Papias wrote five books, called an Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord; citing Irenæus.

That Papias affirmed that he received the sayings of the apostles from those who accompanied them, and that he heard in person Aristion, and the presbyter John; and gives their traditions.

That there was a narrative received by Papias from the daughters of Philip, of the raising of a man from the dead, and how Justus, surnamed Barsabas, swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm.

That Papias had set down, as coming to him from unwritten tradition, "some strange parables and instructions of the Savior, and some other things, of a more fabulous nature."

Eusebius then adds "as a matter of primary importance, a tradition regarding Mark, who wrote the gospel."

That the presbyter said that Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order, that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor accompanied him. But afterward, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities (of his hearers), but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit any thing he had heard, and not to put any thing fictitious in the statements.

That "Matthew put together the oracles (of the Lord) in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could."

That Papias gives a story of a woman who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which was to be found in the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Also that Papias considered, "That the information which he could derive from books, was not so profitable as that which was preserved in a living tradition."—*Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. bk.* 3, *ch.* 39.

Such is this far famed testimony. That portion relating to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, may be stated as follows:

Eusebius says, that Papias said, that John the presbyter said, in what manner certain writings of Mark and Matthew had been constructed.

The value to be attached to any statements of Eusebius, will be considered hereafter.

One important circumstance will be noted, in the evidence, as it stands:

Notwithstanding this explanation of the apostolic origin of the books, it appears that Papias considered them, as evidence, inferior to oral tradition. That, too, a hundred years after the time, when, as is claimed, they were written.

Again, it is contended by able critics, that the language here attributed to Papias, concerning the book

written by Mark, cannot be applied to the gospel which bears his name.[1] They insist that it must be referred to the Preaching of Peter, or some other document more ancient then the Gospel of Mark. So also of the logia, oracles or sayings of Christ, by Matthew, which were not the same as the Gospel of Matthew.

Epistle to Diognetus.—About A. D. 140.

This is an apology, or argument, in favor of the Christian system, and in defense of the Christians of that day. It is well written. It has been variously attributed to Quadratus, to Aristides, Justin Martyr, and others. Bunsen thought part of it was written by Marcion.[2] Westcott thinks he sees some indications of John's Gospel in this document, but says there are no direct references.[3] This epistle is only to be found in a single manuscript of a late date, and hence has been suspected of being a forgery.

The Clementines.—A. D. 150.

The Recognitions, the Homilies, Epitome, &c. These are Ebionite productions. The writer appears to have had the same gospels which were used by Justin.

Tischendorf thinks the Gospel of the Hebrews was used by Justin Martyr, by the author of the Clementines, and by Tatian and Hegesippus.[4]

(1.) Credner, Davidson, Guericke, Griesbach, Neander and many others.
(2.) Analecta Ante-Nic. 1. 103.
(3.) Canon, p. 81.
(4.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 78.

CHAPTER XX.

FIRST HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—Continued.

MARCION.—A. D. 145.

Marcion, the great heresiarch, was born at Sinope, in Pontus, early in the second century. He came to Rome, about the year 142.

Tertullian says, the fiercest and most barbarous nations lived upon the Euxine Sea—that nothing had the glow of life there—that all things were torpid and stiff with cold—that nevertheless, nothing in Pontus was so barbarous and sad, as that Marcion was born there.

Dr. Lardner, on the authority of Jerome and Augustine, credits Marcion with being a man of letters.[1] He preached and disseminated his doctrines, for twenty years; and with such success, that in the time of Epiphanius, his followers were in every nation under heaven.

The story that before he came to Rome, he had seduced a young woman, Dr. Lardner thinks an invention of Epiphanius.[2] It probably originated in the fact, which we learn from Jerome, that Marcion had sent before him to Rome, a woman, to prepare the minds of the people for his doctrines.[3]

(1.) Lardner's works, vol. 4, p. 526. (2.) Ibid. vol. 4, p. 591.
(3.) Jerome, adv. Ctesiph. t. 4, p. 477.

Marcion is said to have rejected the Old Testament entirely; not considering it of any authority, after the coming of Christ. He wrote a work entitled "Antitheses," in which he contrasted the old system with the new—the God of the one, with the God of the other—the law with the gospel. He represented Christianity as a new system, abrogating the old, and as entirely disconnected from it. The Creator of the world described in the Old Testament, [The Demi-ourgos], was different from the God of the new dispensation, and inferior to him. From the superior God, Jesus had come, endued with divine power, commencing with the beginning of his ministry.

He maintained the doctrine of the impurity of matter and could not therefore, believe in the immaculate conception. According to Tertullian,[1] he even denied the corporeal reality of the flesh of Christ. But this statement may be received with some allowance.

Marcion denied the resurrection of the body, and believed in the doctrine of necessity.

He was a follower of Paul, and accused the other apostles of having perverted the gospel doctrines.

Tertullian ingeniously endeavors to treat this accusation as aimed at the four gospels; and argues thence that they must have been in existence before Marcion. His argument, however, destroys itself; since the apostles denounced, were Peter, James and John; only one of whom has credit for writing either of the four gospels, while to the other two were attributed two of the apocryphal gospels. Marcion probably referred to the corruption of "the gospel," and not to any written books.

Marcion taught and permitted the baptizing by wo-

(1.) Adv. Marcion, 3. 8. See also de Pr. c. 33, 34.

men. It may be inferred, also, from Epiphanius, that he did not treat with much respect, those who refused them this privilege.[1]

Marcion's New Testament.

The first New Testament that ever appeared, was compiled and published by Marcion. It was in the Greek language. It consisted of 'The Gospel,' and 'The Apostolicon.' No Acts—no Revelation, and but one gospel. The Apostolicon comprised ten of Paul's Epistles, as follows: Galatians, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Romans, except the 15th and 16th chapters, 1st and 2d Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon and Philippians; arranged in the order as here named.[2]

This canon of the New Testament was prepared and published soon after his arrival at Rome; probably about A. D. 145. Baring-Gould thinks he brought the gospel with him from Sinope.[3]

Tertullian accuses Marcion of giving no name or title to his gospel. It was called simply "the Gospel;" and sometimes, "the Gospel of the Lord." Marcion claimed for it, the authority of Paul himself. It closely resembles the Gospel of Luke, but is much shorter.

Ever since the time of Tertullian, it has been, by many, charged against Marcion, that he corrupted the Gospel of Luke. This charge, it will be seen as we proceed, cannot be sustained.

Nearly all we have concerning the Gospel of Marcion, comes through Tertullian and Epiphanius, both of whom were violently opposed to him, and neither of whom was particularly scrupulous in the means employed against an adversary. Hence it has been difficult to reproduce the gospel. Several German crit-

(1.) Adv. Hær. 42. 4.
(2.) Also part of the Ep. to the Laodiceans. (3.) Lost and Host. Gos. p. 241.

ics have attempted to reconstruct it, and it is published in the Codex Apocryphus of Thilo, from the works of Hahn.

In Marcion's Gospel, there was nothing corresponding to the first three chapters of Luke.

The first chapter of Marcion was similar to the fourth of Luke, but had many variations from it; and it is here that the critics have had the most difficulty.

After passing the first chapter of Marcion, and fourth of Luke, the progress is somewhat easier. Tertullian furnishes but little aid; but Epiphanius, who wrote in the same language with Marcion, gives a list of 78 passages, in which, as he claims, Marcion corrupted the text of Luke. As he mentions the most trivial deviations, giving the exact words in every instance, we think it may be taken as the correct text of Marcion.

This opinion is confirmed by the fact, that in his scholia, he recapitulates every reading in almost precisely the same words; the deviations being few and unimportant.

Tertullian, in his work against Marcion, has a running commentary on Luke, with a constant invective against Marcion, and an occasional allusion to his gospel. From this some little further assistance may be obtained. Too much reliance has been placed upon it by some critics, as it is quite uncertain, in many cases, whether Tertullian is referring to the Gospel of Marcion, or to the text of Luke, as it prevailed in his day. By comparing all that is said by these two writers, the text of Marcion may be pretty nearly discovered.

We have not been able to procure a copy of this important gospel, as it appears in Thilo, or elsewhere.

From the works of Tertullian and Epiphanius, we have, however, attempted to reproduce it; occasionally invoking the aid of some of the German critics.

THE GOSPEL. [According to Marcion.]

CHAPTER 1.—[Mostly in the 4th chapter of Luke.]

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberias Cæsar, [Part of Luke 3. 1], Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath days. [Luke 4. 31.]

Verse 2. And they were exceedingly astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power. [For parallel to verses 2 to 9 inclusive, see Luke, ch. 4. vv. 32 to 39.]

3. And in the Synagogue there was a man who had a spirit of an unclean devil, and who cried out, with a loud voice,

4. Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus? [omitting the words "of Nazareth".] Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God.

5. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

6. And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying: What a word is this? For with authority and power, he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.

7. And the fame of him went out into every place, in the country round about. [This verse is omitted by Volkmar, but retained by Hahn, Hilgenfeld and others. See Sup. Rel. vol. 2, p. 128. Note. Baring-Gould, who reproduces this chapter, follows Volkmar. The two following verses are omitted by Ritschl and Bauer, but retained by others.]

8. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.

9. And he stood over her and rebuked the fever; and it left her; and immediately she arose and ministered unto them. [Following this, Volkmar has the last part of Luke 4. 14, and 15; but he is not supported by other critics.]

10. And he came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and began to preach to them. [See Luke 4. 16.]

11. And he sat down, and the eyes of all who were in the synagogue, were fastened on him. [Luke 4. 20.]

12. And he began to speak to them. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. [Luke 4. 21, 22.]

13. And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb: Physician, heal thyself; whatsoever ye have done in Capernaum, do also here. [Luke 4. 23.] [The next verse, 24th of Luke, was not in Marcion. Neither were verses 25 and 26, according to Hahn, Ritschl and DeWette. We accordingly omit them, though they were retained by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld.

Verse 27 is also omitted by most critics. Baring-Gould, who follows Volkmar, retains these three verses.]

14. And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath. [Luke 4. 28.]

15. And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. [Luke 4. 29.]

16. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way. [Volkmar says "to Capernaum."] [See Luke 4. 30.]

17. Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them. [Luke 4. 40.]

18. And devils also came out of many, crying out and saying: Thou art Christ, the Son of God. And he, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ. [For parallel to verses 18 to 21, inclusive, see Luke 4. 41 to 44.]

19. And when it was day, he departed, and went into a desert place. And the people sought him, and came unto him, and staid him, that he should not depart from them.

20. And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore am I sent.

21. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

Chapter II. [See Luke, ch. 5.]

Verses 1 to 13, same as in the Gospel of Luke.

14. And he charged him to tell no man, But go and show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto you.

Verses 15 to 39 inclusive, same as in Luke.

Chapter III. [Luke, ch. 6.]

Verses 1 to 16, same as in Luke.

17. And he came down among them, [ἐν αυτοῖς], and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people, out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases.

18. Same as in Luke.

19. And the whole multitude sought to touch him;

20, 21 and 22, Same as in Luke.

23. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for behold your reward is great in heaven; for in the like manner did your fathers unto the prophets.

24 to 49 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER IV. [Luke, ch. 7.]

Verses 1 to 28, same as in Luke, except some unimportant verbal differences.

[Verses 29 to 35 inclusive, of Luke, not in Marcion.]

29. [36 of Luke.] And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.

30. [37 and 38 of Luke.] But a sinful woman standing near, before his feet, washed his feet with her tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.

31 to 35 inclusive, same as 39 to 43 of Luke.

36. [44, 45 and 46 of Luke.] And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thy house; thou gavest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.

37 to 40 inclusive, same as 47 to 50 of Luke.

CHAPTER V. [Luke, ch. 8.]

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verse 19 of Luke not in Marcion.]

19, 20 and 21 inclusive, same as 20, 21 and 22 of Luke. But Volkmar has, in verse 20 of Marcion, [21 of Luke], "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? My mother and my brethren are," &c.

22. [23 and 24 of Luke.] He was sleeping with the sailors. And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.

23 to 40 inclusive, same as 25 to 42 of Luke.

41. [43, 44 and 45 of Luke.] And a woman, touching him, was healed of an issue of blood; and the Lord said, Who has touched me?

42 to 52 inclusive, same as 46 to 56 of Luke.

CHAPTER VI. [Luke, ch. 9.]

Verses 1 to 15 inclusive, same as in Luke.

16. Same as in Luke, except, "he asked blessing upon them." [ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.]

17 to 21 inclusive, same as in Luke.

22. Saying, The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be put to death, and after three days, rise again.

23 to 29 inclusive, same as in Luke.

30. [30 and 31 of Luke.] And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses; in glory.

31 to 33 inclusive, same as 32 to 34 of Luke.

34. [35 of Luke.] From the cloud a voice, saying: This is my beloved Son.

35 to 38 inclusive, same as 36 to 39 of Luke.

39. [40 of Luke.] And I besought thy disciples, and they were not able to cast him out. [οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβάλλειν αὐτό.]

40. [41 of Luke.] And he said to them, O faithless generation; how long shall I suffer you?

41 to 61 inclusive, same as 42 to 62 of Luke.

CHAPTER VII. [Luke, ch. 10.]

Verses 1 to 20 inclusive, same as in Luke.

21. In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that those things which are hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes. Even so Father, for it seemed good in thy sight.

22. All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man hath known the Father save the Son, nor the Son save the Father, and he to whom the Son hath revealed.

23 and 24, same as in Luke.

25. And behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying: Master, doing what shall I obtain life? [αἰώνιον omitted.]

26. He said unto him, What is written in the law?

27 and 28, same as in Luke, except that instead of ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης, Marcion had ὀρθῶς εἶπες.

29 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke.

CHAPTER VIII. [Luke, ch. 11.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, may thy Holy Spirit come to us. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

3 and 4, same as in Luke.

5. And he said: Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves? [αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους;]

[Verses 6, 7 and 8 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

6. [9 of Luke.] Ask, and it shall be given. [Verse 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

7. [11 and 12 of Luke.] Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or, instead of an egg, a scorpion?

8. [13 of Luke.] If therefore, you, being evil, know how to give good things unto your children, how much more your Father, who is in heaven?

9 to 23 inclusive, same as 14 to 28 of Luke.

24. [29 of Luke.] And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say: This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given them.

[Verses 30, 31 and 32 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 25 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 41 of Luke.

34. [42 of Luke.] Wo unto you, Pharisees! For ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over the calling [κλῆσιν], and the love of God. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

35 to 40 inclusive, same as 43 to 48 of Luke. [Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 41, 42 and 43, same as 52, 53 and 54 of Luke.

CHAPTER IX. [Luke, ch. 12.]

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. [4 and 5 of Luke.] I say unto you, be not afraid of them who kill the body; fear him who has power, after killing, to cast into hell.

[Verses 6 and 7 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

5. [8 of Luke.] Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before God.

6. [9 of Luke.] But he that denieth me before men, shall be denied before God.

7 to 24 inclusive, same as 10 to 27 of Luke. [Verse 28 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

25, same as 29 of Luke.

26. [30 of Luke.] For all these things do the nations of the world seek after. And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh.

27. [31 of Luke.] πλὴν before ζητεῖτε, omitted.

28. [32 of Luke.] Instead of ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, Marcion had ὁ πατὴρ; "the Father."

29 to 33 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

34. [38 of Luke.] And if he shall come in the evening watch, [ἑσπέρινὴν φυλακῆν], and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.

35 to 41 inclusive, same as 39 to 45 of Luke.

42. [46 of Luke.] The Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.

43 to 53 inclusive, same as 47 to 57 of Luke.

54. [58 of Luke.] Instead of σε παραδῷ, Marcion has παραδώσει σε.

55, same as 59 of Luke.

CHAPTER X. [Luke, ch. 13.]

[Verses 1 to 10 of Luke, not in Marcion.] Verses 1 to 5 inclusive, same as 11 to 15 of Luke.

6. [16 of Luke.] Ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond, on the sabbath day?

7 to 17 inclusive, same as 17 to 27 of Luke.

18. [28 of Luke.] There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see all the righteous in the Kingdom of God, and yourselves cast out, and held back.

[Verses 29 to 35 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

Chapter XI. [Luke, ch. 14.]

Verses 1 to 6 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 7 to 11 inclusive of Luke, not in Marcion.]

7 to 30 inclusive, same as 12 to 35 of Luke.

Chapter XII. [Luke, ch. 15.]

This chapter consisted of the first 10 verses only, of 15th Luke.

Chapter XIII. [Luke, ch. 16.]

Verses 1 to 11 inclusive, same as in Luke.

12. And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who will give you that which is mine?

13 to 16 inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

17. Heaven and earth may pass, but one tittle of my words shall not fall.

18 to 28 inclusive, substantially the same as in Luke.

29. [In place of the last three verses of 16th Luke.] Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen. [*ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ του ἐγειρομένου απο νεκρῶν ἀκούουσιν.*]

Chapter XIV. [Luke, ch. 17.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. [According to Volkmar.] It would be better for him, if he had not been born; or if a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.

3 to 9 inclusive, same as in Luke.

10. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.

11, 12 and 13, substantially as in Luke.

14. And he sent them away, saying: Go, show yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that as they went, they were cleansed.

15, 16 and 17, same as in Luke.

18. These are not found returning, to give glory unto God. And there were many lepers, in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of these were cleansed, except Naaman the Syrian.

19 to 37, substantially the same as in Luke.

CHAPTER XV. [Luke, ch. 18.]

Verses 1 to 18 inclusive, same as in Luke.

19. Jesus said to him, Do not call me good; one is good; the Father.

20 to 30 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 31 to 34 inclusive of Luke, not in Marcion.]

31. [In place of 35 to 43 inclusive, in Luke, were this verse and the following.] And it came to pass, as he came near Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

32. And when he had healed him, he said, Thy faith hath saved thee.

CHAPTER XVI. [Luke, ch. 19.]

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke.

9. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.

10 to 28 inclusive, same as in Luke.

[Verses 29 to 48 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

CHAPTER XVII. [Luke, ch. 20.]

Verses 1 to 8 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verses 9 to 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

9. [19 of Luke.] And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him, and they feared the people.

10 to 24 inclusive, same as 20 to 34 of Luke.

25. [35 of Luke.] But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage.

26, same as 36 of Luke. [Verses 37 and 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

27 to 35 inclusive, same as 39 to 47 of Luke.

CHAPTER XVIII. [Luke ch. 21.]

Verses 1 to 17 inclusive, same as in Luke. [Verse 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

18 and 19, same as 19 and 20 of Luke. [Verses 21 and 22 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

20 to 35 inclusive, same as 23 to 38 of Luke.

[Dr. Lardner thought, the first 18 verses of 21st Luke were not in Marcion. But later authorities include vv. 1 to 17.

CHAPTER XIX. [Luke, ch. 22.]

Verses 1, 2 and 3, same as in Luke.

4. And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.

5, 6 and 7, same as in Luke.

8. And he said to Peter and the rest, Go and prepare, that we may eat of the passover.

[*Καὶ εἶπε, τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ἀπελθοντες ἑτοιμάσατε, ἵνα φάγωμεν το πάσχα.*]

9 to 13 inclusive, same as in Luke.

14. And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

15. Same as in Luke, except. *πρὸς αὐτοὺς* omitted.

[Verses 16, 17 and 18 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

16 to 24 inclusive, same as 19 to 27 of Luke. [Verses 28, 29 and 30 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

25 to 28 inclusive, same as 31 to 34 of Luke. [Verses 35 to 38 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

29 to 38 inclusive, substantially the same, as 39 to 48 of Luke.

[Verses 49, 50 and 51 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

39 to 49 inclusive, same as 52 to 62 of Luke.

50, substantially the same as 63 of Luke.

51. [64 of Luke.] And striking him, they said: Prophesy; Who is it that smote thee?

52 to 58 inclusive, same as 65 to 71 of Luke.

CHAPTER XX. [Luke, ch. 23.]

Verse 1, same as in Luke.

2. And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets; forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and turning away the women and children.

3 to 32 inclusive, same as in Luke.

33. And coming to the place called the place of Calvary, [place of a skull, *κρανίου τόπος*,] they crucified him, and divided his garments; and the sun was darkened.

34 to 42 inclusive, same as in Luke, excepting from Luke the portions concontained in verse 33 of Marcion.

[Verse 43 of Luke, not in Marcion.] 43, same as 44 of Luke.

44. [45 of Luke.] And the vail of the temple was rent in the midst.

45. [46 of Luke.] And crying out, with a loud voice, he expired.

46, 47 and 48, same as 47, 48 and 49 of Luke.

49. [50 to 53 of Luke.] And behold, a man named Joseph, taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.

50 and 51, same as 54 and 55 of Luke.

52. [56 of Luke.] And returning, they rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.

CHAPTER 21. [Luke, ch. 24.]

Verses 1 to 4 inclusive, same as in Luke.

5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?

6. He has risen; remember what he said, while yet living. [ἔτι ὢν.]

7. That it was necessary that the Son of Man should suffer, and be delivered up.

8 to 24, same as in Luke.

25. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow to believe all that he said to you!

26, same as in Luke. [Verse 27 of Luke not in Marcion.]

27 to 30 inclusive, same as 28 to 31 of Luke.

31. [32 of Luke.] And they said one to another, Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way?

32 to 36 inclusive, same as 33 to 37 of Luke.

37. [38 and 39 of Luke.] And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? Behold my hands and my feet; a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.

38 to 41 inclusive, same as 40 to 43 of Luke.

42. [44 of Luke.] These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you.

[Verse 45 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

43. [46 of Luke.] That thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, the third day.

44 to 48 inclusive, same as 47 to 51 of Luke.

[Verses 52 and 53 of Luke, not in Marcion.]

From the foregoing synopsis, the reader can write out the Gospel of Marcion, and will have the text of that gospel, very nearly as it stood, in the fourth century. The English reader may pass over, as unimportant, the Greek readings not translated, and may adopt the corresponding text of Luke.

Marcion and Luke.

The question of priority, as between these gospels, is one of the most interesting, connected with the history of early Christian literature.

From the commencement of the third, down to the beginning of the present century, it has been fashionable to accuse Marcion of corrupting the Gospel of Luke; the emphatic and oft-repeated assertions of Tertullian and Epiphanius to that effect, having been deemed sufficient authority.

Bishop Marsh was one of the first to do Marcion justice. He said there was no proof that Marcion used Luke's Gospel at all.[1]

Since then, many of the most intelligent German critics have come to the same conclusion.

Baring-Gould also says: "Marcion was too conscientious and earnest a man, wilfully to corrupt a gospel.[2]

This author thinks that the Church of Sinope, where Marcion formerly resided, had been furnished by Paul, with a collection of the records of the life and teaching of Christ; that Marcion thus obtained his gospel, and brought it to Rome.[3]

Again: "Marcion's Gospel contained a different arrangement of the narrative, from the canonical Luke, and was without many passages which it is not possible to believe, he wilfully excluded."—*Ibid. p.* 242.

He afterward speaks of differences of arrangement, which are unaccountable on the theory that Marcion corrupted Luke, and says that Marcion's Gospel was without several passages which apparently favor his views.[4]

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 160.
(2.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 241. (3.) Ibid.
(4.) Ibid. p. 243; referring to Luke 11. 51; 13. 30, 34, and 20. 9 to 16.

Canon Westcott is equally explicit in acquitting Marcion from the accusation made against him by the early fathers of the church.

He says: "Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in affirming that Marcion altered the text of the books which he received, to suit his own views; and they quote many various readings in support of the assertion. Those which they cite from the epistles, are certainly insufficient to prove the point; and on the contrary, they go to show that Marcion preserved without alteration, the text which he found in his manuscript. Of the seven readings noticed by Epiphanius, [in the epistles], only two are unsupported by other authority; and it is altogether unlikely that Marcion changed other passages, when, as Epiphanius himself shows, he left untouched those which are most directly opposed to his system."—*History of the Canon*, *p.* 284.

It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, that men, even in religious matters, can vindicate the character of an adversary, after it has been aspersed for fifteen hundred years.

Some writers still persist in repeating the old slander. But the more candid and intelligent opinion of Westcott and Baring-Gould, is supported by Semler, Griesbach, Lœffler, Schmidt, Schleiermacher, Hahn, and many others.

These writers, perceiving how little reliance is to be placed upon the statements of the fathers, in matters of critical exegesis, or of authorship, or upon their assertions concerning the heretics, have examined carefully the text of Marcion, and finding the statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius unsupported by internal evidence, have rejected them altogether.

The question of priority, in this case, is closely connected with that of brevity.

The first three chapters of Luke were entirely wanting in Marcion, except the opening clause in the third chapter, which was the commencement of the Gospel of Marcion: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar." The balance of the first chapter of Marcion is contained with some variations, in the fourth of Luke. About half that chapter is wanting entirely, in Marcion.

After passing this, the different chapters of the two gospels correspond, the 2d of Marcion with 5th of Luke, 3d of Marcion with 6th of Luke, and so on.

The Gospel of Luke is the most copious throughout. The number of verses in Luke, in excess of those in Marcion, is as follows: In chapter 7, seven verses; in ch. 8, one; in ch. 11, ten; in ch. 12, three; in ch. 13, seventeen; in ch. 14, five; in ch. 15, twenty-two; in ch. 18, four; in ch. 19, twenty; in ch. 20, twelve; in ch. 21, three; in ch. 22, thirteen; in ch. 23, one, and in ch. 24, four. Total 122 verses. To this add the excess of 23 verses in the 4th chapter of Luke, and we have altogether 145 verses, or more than three average chapters. Add the first three chapters of Luke, which are entirely wanting in Marcion, and the result is, more than six chapters, or more than one-fourth of the entire Gospel of Luke, wanting in Marcion.

But this is not all. In a number of places, the verses of Marcion are shorter. Then again, two or more verses of Luke are contained, in substance, in one of Marcion, and in one place, nine verses of Luke in two of Marcion.

The Law of Accretion.

LUKE AND MARCION COMPARED.

Leaving out of view, for the present, the wholesale accumulation of matter, aggregating 315 verses, the law of accretion will be well illustrated by those cases where one or more verses in Marcion are found swollen into several in Luke, or where a single passage has additions. They are as follows:

I.

Marcion, ch. 1, v. 4.	Luke, ch. 4, v. 34.
Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus?	Saying: Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth?

The difference is important. According to Matthew, the parents of Jesus, when they returned from Egypt, being warned of God in a dream, turned aside, (they were going to Bethlehem or Jerusalem), into the parts of Galilee, that a certain prophecy might be fulfilled. The language does not imply that Nazareth was their residence.

The theory of the author of Luke was, that Nazareth was their residence. Accordingly, in this passage, which, though followed in Mark, has no parallel in Matthew, Jesus is addressed as "of Nazareth;" a phrase not in Marcion.

II.

A corresponding variation will be found in

Marcion, 1. 10.	Luke, 4. 16.
And he came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, &c.	And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and as his custom was, &c.

These are probably interpolations, made for the purpose of establishing Nazareth as the birth-place of Jesus.

III.

MARCION, 3. 19.	LUKE, 6. 19.
And the whole multitude sought to touch him.	And the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.

There is no reason why Marcion, who had not rejected the miracles of Christ, should omit the closing sentence. It is more probable that it was added in Luke, to give expression to a very natural inference on the part of the writer, as to the object of the multitude in pressing forward toward Jesus, and seeking to touch him.

There is no parallel in the other gospels.

IV.

MARCION, 4. 29.	LUKE, 7. 36.
And going into the house of a Pharisee, he ate with him.	And one of the Pharisees desired him, that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

V.

JESUS AND THE SINFUL WOMAN.

MARCION, 4. 30.	LUKE, 7. 37 and 38.
But a sinful woman, standing near, before his feet, washed them with tears, and anointed them, and kissed them.	37. And behold, a woman in the city, who was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, 38. And stood at his feet, behind him, weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.
Ἐδὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσο ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τους πόδας, ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι, καὶ ἤλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει.	37. *Καὶ ἰδοὺ, γυνὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἥτις ἦν ἁμαρτωλὸς, ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι ἀνάκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου,* 38. *καὶ στᾶσα παρὰ τους πόδας αὐτοῦ ὀπίσο κλαίουσα, ἤρξατο βρέχειν τους πόδας αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσι, καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ τῆς κέφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσε, καὶ κατεφίλει τους πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤλειφε τῷ μύρῳ.*

This touching incident, simply and beautifully told in the sixteen Greek words of Marcion, is spun out, by the author of Luke, into more than three times the number, with no improvement in the story. The washing of the feet of Jesus, which in Marcion, is left as a figurative expression, denoting the great grief of the woman, is stated in Luke, as an actual fact. While weeping, "she began to wash his feet with tears." Then, having washed them, she must needs "wipe them with the hair of her head."

There can be but little doubt, that Marcion was first written, and that the author of Luke, drew upon his imagination, in filling up the text.

Again, there is a similar variation, in the following reference to the same transaction:

VI.

MARCION, 4. 36.	LUKE, 7. 44 to 46.
And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thy house; thou gavest me no water for my feet. She has washed my feet with her tears, and has anointed them, and kissed them.	44. And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, See'st thou this woman? I entered into thine house; Thou gavest me no water for my feet. But she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. 45. Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. 46. My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

The use here, by Jesus himself, of the figurative expression, "she has washed my feet with her tears," misled the author of Luke, into conceiving and hence expressing, a literal and complete washing of feet, followed by wiping them in the manner described.

This account is not in the other canonical gospels. It is simply a question between Marcion and Luke.

VII.

JESUS REBUKING THE STORM.

MARCION, 5. 22.	LUKE, 8. 23, 24.
He was sleeping with the sailors, and	23. But as they sailed, he fell asleep: and there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled (with water), and were in jeopardy.
he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the sea.	24. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying: Master, Master, we perish! Then he arose, and rebuked the wind, and the raging of the water: and they ceased, and there was a calm.

The language of Marcion, as given by Epiphanius, is highly elliptical. It was probably preceded by some sentence, having reference to the storm. The text of the synoptics is more copious; especially Mark, in which a pillow is provided, for the head of Jesus.

VIII.

HEALING OF THE WOMAN.

MARCION, 5. 41.	LUKE, 8. 43 to 45.
And a woman, touching him, was	43. And a woman, having an issue of blood twelve years, who had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed by any,
	44. Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment; and immediately her issue of blood stanched.
healed of an issue of the blood. And the Lord said, Who has touched me?	45. And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they who were with him, said, Master, the multitude throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?

If these accounts came from a common manuscript, it had passed through many hands, before reaching the author of Luke.

IX.

MARCION, 6. 22.	LUKE, 9. 22.
Saying; The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be put to death, and after three days, rise again.	Saying: The son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third day.

X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

MARCION, 6. 30.	LUKE, 9. 30, 31.
And behold two men talked with him; Elias and Moses in glory.	30. And behold, there talked with him two men, who were Moses and Elias. 31. Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.
MARCION, 6. 34.	LUKE 9. 35.
From the cloud a voice, saying: This is my beloved son.	And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying: This is my beloved son. Hear him.
MARCION, 6. 40.	LUKE, 9. 41.
And he said to them, O, faithless generation; how long shall I suffer you?	And Jesus, answering, said: O faithless and perverse generation! How long shall I be with you, and suffer you?
MARCION, 7. 21.	LUKE, 10. 21.
In that hour, he rejoiced in the spirit, and said: I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that, &c. [balance of the verse substantially as in Luke.]	In that hour, Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that, &c.
MARCION, 7. 25.	LUKE, 10. 25.
Master, doing what shall I obtain life?	Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

The word *αἰώνιον*, (eternal), was inserted by the author of Luke, to make more clear the meaning of Marcion.

The argument of Tertullian, [adv. Mar. 4. 25], that Marcion struck out *αἰώνιον*, so that the question might be confined to this life, is weak and untenable.

XV, XVI.

MARCION, 7. 26.	LUKE, 10. 26.
And he said unto him, what is written in the law?	He said unto him, what is written in the law? How readest thou?
MARCION, 8. 5.	LUKE, 11. 5.
And shall go unto him at midnight, asking for three loaves?	And shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves.

XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX.

MARCION, 8. 6.	LUKE, 11. 9.
Ask, and it shall be given. [*Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται.*]	Ask, and it shall be given you. [*Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν.*]
MARCION 8. 7, 8.	**LUKE, 11. 11 to 13.**
7. Who of you, being a father, if his son ask a fish, instead of a fish, will give to him a serpent? Or instead of an egg, a scorpion?	11. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish, give him a serpent?
	12. Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?
8. If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts, unto your children, how much more your Father who is in heaven?	13. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?
MARCION, 8. 24.	**LUKE, 11. 29.**
This is an evil generation; they seek a sign; no sign shall be given it.	This is an evil generation; they seek a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of Jonas the prophet.
MARCION, 9. 4.	**LUKE, 12. 4, 5.**
I say unto you, be not afraid of them	4. But I say unto you my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do.
that kill the body; fear him who has power after killing, to cast into hell. [*εἰς γέενναν.*]	5. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear him who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell. [*ἐις τὴν γέενναν.*] Yea, I say unto you, fear him.

The last passage illustrates, throughout, the prevailing practice of verbal accumulation. The language of Jesus, "I say unto you," becomes, when it reaches the author of Luke, "I say unto you my friends;" "Be not afraid of them who kill the body," becomes, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do;" &c.

XXI, XXII, XXIII,	XXIV, XXV, XXVI.
MARCION, 9. 5.	LUKE, 12. 8.
Him shall also the Son of Man confess before God.	Him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God. [Similar difference in the next verse.]
MARCION, 9. 34.	LUKE, 12. 38.
And if he shall come in the evening watch, and shall find them so, blessed are those servants.	And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.
MARCION, 9. 42.	LUKE, 12. 46.
And the Lord of that servant will come, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint his portion with the unbelievers.	The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.
MARCION, 13. 29.	LUKE, 16. 29 to 31.
Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Not after one has risen from the dead, will they listen.	29. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 30. And he said, Nay, father Abraham; but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. 31. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.
MARCION, 14. 10.	LUKE, 17. 10.
So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.	So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.
MARCION, 15. 31, 32.	LUKE, 18. 35 to 43.
31. And it came to pass, as he came near to Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me. 32. And when he had healed him, he said, Thy faith hath saved thee.	35. And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side, begging: 36. And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant. 37. And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by. 38. And he cried, saying: Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me! 39. And they who went before, rebuked him, that he should hold his

peace; but he cried so much the more, Son of David, have mercy on me.

40. And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and when he was come near, he asked him,

41. Saying: What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.

42. And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight. Thy faith hath saved thee.

43. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, &c.

XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.

MARCION, 16. 9.

And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.

LUKE, 19. 9.

And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a Son of Abraham.

MARCION, 19. 4.

And he communicated with the captains, how he might betray him unto them.

LUKE, 22. 4.

And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might betray him unto them.

MARCION, 19. 14.

And he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

LUKE, 22. 14.

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

MARCION, 19. 51.

And striking him, they said, Prophesy; who is it that smote thee?

LUKE, 22. 64.

And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying: Prophesy; who is it that smote thee?

The account in Marcion, besides being shorter, is the more natural. Being struck from behind, or by a stranger, Jesus was called upon to tell who struck him. It was an impulsive action.

But the author of Luke has the Jews deliberately blindfold Jesus, before striking him.

XXXI.

MARCION, 20. 45.

And crying out with a loud voice, he expired.

LUKE, 23. 46.

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

These dying words of Jesus are not in either of the other three canonical gospels. They may have been taken by the author of Luke from the Acts of Pilate, or from a later version of the manuscript used by Marcion.

XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI.

MARCION, 20. 49.	LUKE, 23. 50 to 53.
And behold, a man named Joseph, taking down the body, wrapped it up, and placed it in a hewn tomb.	50. And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counselor; and he was a good man, and a just; 51. (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them; he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews; who also himself waited for the kingdom of God.) 52. This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. 53. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulcher, that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.
MARCION, 20. 52.	LUKE, 23. 56.
And returning, they rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.	And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment.
MARCION, 21. 6.	LUKE, 24. 6.
He has risen; remember what he said, while yet living.	He is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee.
MARCION, 21. 7.	LUKE, 24. 7.
That it was necessary that the Son of Man should suffer, and be delivered up.	Saying: The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day, rise again.
MARCION, 21, 37.	LUKE, 24. 38, 39.
And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? Behold my hands and my feet; a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have.	38. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? 39. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I, myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

THE OTHER SIDE.

We will now give the cases, where the text of Marcion is the more copious:

I.

MARCION, 5. 20. LUKE, 8. 21.

According to Volkmar, (though not in the schedule or scholion of Epiphanius), in this verse, after the words, "And he answered and said unto them," is the question, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" Balance of the verse, same as in Luke.

Volkmar may have taken some of his variations from the "Dialogues," &c. attributed to Origen; to which he appears to have given too much attention.

II, III, IV, V, VI.

MARCION, 9. 26.

And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things of the flesh; [τῶν σαρκικῶν.]

LUKE, 12. 30.

And your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

MARCION, 14. 2.

[On the authority of Volkmar.]

It would be better for him, if he had not been born; or if a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, &c.

[This may have been the reading of Luke at that time. See Tertullian adv. Marcion, 4. 35.]

LUKE, 17. 2.

It were better for him, that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, &c.

MARCION, 17. 25.

But they who shall be accounted worthy of God, to obtain that world, &c.

LUKE, 20. 35.

But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, &c.

MARCION, 20. 2.

And they began to accuse him, saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and turning away the women and children.

LUKE, 23. 2.

And they began to accuse him saying: We found tnis fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a King.

MARCION, 21. 5.

And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, those in white clothing said to them, &c.

LUKE, 24. 5.

And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them &c.

Here are six cases in Marcion, against thirty-six in Luke; or 35 new words in Marcion, to 660 in Luke. If to these we add 315 verses of Luke which are not in Marcion in any form, we have a ratio of 1 to 230.

The strength of the argument, then, based upon the principle of accretion, would be as 230 to 1, that the Gospel of Marcion was first written.

But there is other evidence of priority. The Gospel of Marcion is more simple and natural, not only in the mode of expression, but in the order of arrangement.

In the fourth chapter of Luke, Jesus is represented as being tempted in the wilderness, immediately after his baptism; thence he returned into Galilee, and came to Nazareth; [Luke, 4. 16]; where his public ministry commenced. But though commencing at Nazareth, he is made to refer [v. 23], to works which he had done at Capernaum; a place to which he goes, afterward. [v. 31.]

In Marcion, on the contrary, his public ministry commenced at Capernaum; [Marcion, 1. 1]; whence, [v. 10], he came to Nazareth, and preached; and here, in the natural order, [v. 13], he refers to the works done at Capernaum.

This accords with the Gospel of Matthew, which represents that Jesus did not commence preaching, until after he had taken up his residence in Capernaum. [Matt. 4. 13 to 17.] Mark follows Luke. Matthew and Marcion were probably from a common manuscript.

In the Gospel of John, Jesus is represented as performing his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, after which he went down to Capernaum. [John 2. 11, 12.] This therefore, is confirmatory of Marcion.

It is probable that in Luke, the manuscripts were put together out of their natural order, and that this disorder was followed in Mark. It was the opinion of

Griesbach that the author of Mark had before him the whole of the present Gospel of Luke. Schleiermacher thinks he had some of the manuscripts which comprise the Gospel of Luke.[1]

All the arguments of Schleiermacher, showing that Luke consisted of a compilation of older manuscripts, will apply with equal force to Marcion, so far as it contains the same material. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that either of these gospels was formed directly from the other. It may well be, that common manuscripts were used.

At the same time, the fact that nearly every word of Marcion is in Luke, besides much additional matter, is strongly suggestive of the theory, that the author of Luke had before him, besides other material, the Gospel of Marcion entire. On the supposition that Marcion was last written, it is difficult to conceive why he should have excluded so large a portion of the Gospel of Luke, especially as it is now conceded that it was not done for dogmatic purposes. On the other hand, if Luke was written last, the accumulations were in accordance with the spirit of the age, and the practice of the times. Besides, it was necessary to have a gospel different from that of Marcion, who was a heretic. There is no satisfactory evidence that Marcion had seen either of the canonical gospels, or had even heard of them.

The first two chapters of Luke were wanting in the gospels of the first century. They were also wanting in the Gospel of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes, about A. D. 125, as well as in the Gospel of Marcion, A. D. 145. They first appeared in the Protevangelion, about A. D. 125, and were probably not deemed by Marcion, authentic.

(1.) Schlei. on Luke, p. 91.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—A. D. 150 to 160.

There has been much diversity of opinion as to the time when Justin Martyr lived, and wrote his far-famed Apologies.

His first Apology was supposed by Page, Neander, Otto, Semisch and others, to have been written, A. D. 139. But the reason given for the opinion was, that Verissimus became Cæsar in 139, and it was thought, if the First Apology had been written after that date, he would have been styled Cæsar by Justin. He calls him "the philosopher;" a title in which Justin himself took great pride. He says:

"Do you, then, since ye are called pious and philosophers; guardians of justice and lovers of learning, give good heed, and hearken to my address.—1*st Apology, ch.* 2.

And again: "This judgment of yours, O Urbicus, does not become the Emperor Pius, nor the philosopher, the son of Cæsar, nor the sacred senate."—2d *Apology, ch.* 2.

Here Verissimus is called the philosopher, in the Second Apology, also, which is admitted by all, to have been written after 139. The title "philosopher" was at that time, esteemed a very honorable one. The embassy or apology of Athenagoras, A. D. 177, was addressed as follows:

"The Embassy of Athenagoras, the Athenian, a philosopher and a Christian, concerning Christians, to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, Armeniaci, Sarmatici, and above all, philosophers."

There are other considerations, which go strongly against so early a date.

Justin was born, A. D. 114, and therefore would be but 25 years of age, in 139.

Again: Marcion did not come to Rome, until about 140. The date is generally fixed at 142. But Justin, in the First Apology, speaks of him in terms which imply that he had been a long time, disseminating his docrines.

"And there is Marcion, a man of Pontus," says he, "who is even at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 26.

Still further: Justin himself says impliedly, that he was writing 150 years after Christ:

"But lest some should, without reason," says he, "and for the perversion of what we teach, maintain that we say that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago, under Cyrenius, and subsequently, in the time of Pontius Pilate, taught what we say he taught," &c.—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 46.

Those who contend for an early date, claim that Justin is here speaking in round numbers, merely. But if, when writing in 139, he wished to speak in round numbers, would he not have said 140? Some writers, seeing that for this reason, the date should be nearer 150 than 140, have placed it at 146 to 148. Burton has 148.[1]

We think it consists better with the age of Justin, and with what he says of Marcion, as well as with a true construction of this passage, to take the 150 years as the true time, certainly the minimum time after the

(1.) Ecc. Hist. Vol. 2, p. 111.

birth of Christ, when the First Apology was written. This is the opinion of Tillemont, Fleury, Ceillier, Dr. Grabe and others, and is sanctioned by the authority of Norton. Dr. Davidson speaks of Justin as flourishing about 150, though he is inclined to date the Apology two or three years earlier.

We have thought it necessary to review the evidence on this question, because of its importance, and because, though the evidence of a later date than 139, appears almost overwhelming, we find, in the very valuable encyclopedia of McClintock and Strong, it is still stated, that the First Apology was written, A. D. 139.[1]

What Gospels were used by Justin?

This is a question of the highest importance. We have now come to the middle of the second century, and to one of the ablest and most celebrated of the fathers; one whose works are famous for the zeal and piety which they display.

Canon Westcott, through some seventy-five pages, labors with great earnestness, and with much ability, to show that Justin Martyr was acquainted with the canonical gospels.

At the very threshold of the subject, we are met by the fact, that nowhere in all the writings of Justin, does he once so much as mention any of those Gospels. Nor does he mention either of their supposed authors, except John. Once his name occurs. Not however, as the author of a gospel, but in such a connection as raises a very strong presumption, that Justin knew of no gospel of John the Apostle:

"And further," says he, "there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was

(1.) Article, "Marcion." The article is accredited to Prof. Worman, of Drew Theological Seminary.

made to him, that those who believed in our Christ, would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter, the general, and in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men, would likewise take place."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 81.

This language is quite inconsistent with the theory, that John was the author of a gospel then well known and generally received, and which was a part of the "Memoirs of the Apostles," used and referred to by Justin.

The failure of Justin Martyr to refer to either of the supposed authors of the four gospels, as a writer of such a book, becomes still more significant, when it is considered how often he refers to the Old Testament writers by name, (nearly 200 times in all), and that besides "The Memoirs of the Apostles," the title of which is somewhat indefinite, he specifically mentions two gospels, one of which, the Acts of Pilate, is still extant. The other, the Gospel of Peter, is lost.

The argument of Westcott and others is, that inasmuch as there are found in the canonical gospels, passages closely resembling those quoted by Justin, and in two or three instances, passages exactly the same, that by the Memoirs of the Apostles, which Justin frequently refers to, he must mean the canonical gospels.

On the contrary, it has been shown, by Hilgenfeld, Credner, Mayerhoff and others, and more lately, by the author of "Supernatural Religion," who has reviewed the whole subject with great ability, that the argument based upon the similarity of these passages, is entirely inconclusive, That except in two or three instances, it becomes necessary, in order to obtain parallels, to put together, not only passages from different portions of the same gospel, but in some cases, passages from different gospels. Also that by this process the con-

nection is broken up, while the quotations in Justin have, for the most part, a consecutive order, and, as is shown by the context, had such an order in the gospel from which they were taken.

There are also a number of sayings of Christ, given by Justin as quotations, which are not in the canonical gospels at all.

Again, the references of Justin to the various incidents in the life of Jesus, show a divergence from the canonical gospels, not only in the mode of stating facts, but in the facts themselves. In some instances, they point unmistakably to a known source, whence they were taken.

While in Luke and Matthew, the genealogy of Jesus is traced through Joseph, Justin traces it through Mary. In the Protevangelion, of the use of which by Justin there is much evidence, Mary is said to be of the lineage of David.[1]

Justin, in relating the announcement to Mary, has the angel say, "Behold, thou shalt conceive of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a Son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."[2]

In the Protevangelion, the angel says to Mary,

"The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also the holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest, [in one version, the 'Son of the living God,'] and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins."—[Chapter 11.]

In Luke, the closing of the salutation is,

"Therefore also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God."—[Luke, 1. 35.]

The closing phrase, "for he shall save his people from their sins," which is exactly the same in the Apology

(1.) Protevangelion, ch. 10.
(2.) Apology, 1. 33.

and in the Protevangelion, is not in this passage of Luke; neither is it in the 31st verse, which reads, "And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus."

Again, in one version of the Protevangelion, the angel says to Mary, "Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favor before the Lord, and thou shalt conceive of his Word."[1]

Justin, after quoting what the angel said to Mary, but without giving his authority, says:

"It is wrong therefore, to understand the spirit and the power of God, as any thing else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as the aforesaid prophet Moses declared; and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive; not by intercourse, but by power."

Nothing of this in Luke. Justin then adds:

"And the name Jesus, in the Hebrew language, means Savior, in the Greek tongue;" and continuing, he repeats the closing words in the announcement to Mary, thus:

"Wherefore, too, the angel said to the virgin, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."—*Apology, ch.* 33.

This deliberate repetition of the sentence, in the same words, indicates, quite conclusively, that he was quoting the words of the Protevangelion, from that gospel, or from some other now lost.

Tischendorff himself thinks this passage was a recollection from the Protevangelion, and that it was "unconsciously added, by Justin, to the account in Luke."[2]

Justin, when speaking of the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, says:

"On the occasion of the first census, which was taken in Judæa, under Cyrenius, he (Joseph) went up from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem,

(1.) Ch. 11, as given by Tischendorff, Evang. Apoc. p. 21.
(2.) Wann wurden, &c. p. 77.

to which he belonged, to be enrolled; for his family was of the tribe of Judah, which then inhabited that region."—*Dialogue with Trypho, ch.* 78.

The differences between the account of Justin, and that in Luke, are manifest.

In the one, the census was taken in Judæa. [In the Protevangelion, all the Jews were to be taxed, who were of Bethlehem, in Judæa.] In the other, the census was to extend to all the world, or in other words, to the whole Roman Empire. In the one, [not in this passage, but in 1st Apology, ch. 34], Cyrenius is styled "your first procurator in Judæa," and in this passage it is stated, that the going to Bethlehem, was on the occasion of the first census, which was taken under him. In the other, the census is spoken of as being made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. In the one, the descent of Joseph is said to be from the tribe of Judah. In the other, it is asserted that he was of the house and lineage of David, and that is given as the reason for going to Bethlehem, it being the city of David.

Justin represents Jesus as having been born in a cave.[1] So do the Protevangelion, and the Gospel of the Infancy. In the 70th and 78th chapters of the Dialogue, Justin quotes from Isaiah 33. 16, to prove that it was necessary, for the fulfillment of prophecy, that Christ should be born in a cave. That the birth of Christ took place in a cave, was quite generally believed by the fathers. Origen and Eusebius state that the cave was shown in their day.[2]

"Later Fathers," says Westcott, "speak of the cave, without any misgivings that they contradict St. Luke."[3]

(1.) Dialogue, ch. 78.

(2.) Origen, cont. Cels. 1. 51, and Euseb. Vita Const. 3. 40. See also Socrates, Ecc. Hist. 1. 17; Sozomen, Ecc. Hist. 2. 2; Epiph. Hær. 20. 1; Jerome, Ep. 58, ad Paul. The reference to the cave by Gregory Nyssen, has already been given. [Ch. 10.] Origen refers to the Gospel of the Infancy.

(3.) Canon, p. 92, note; referring to Origen and Epiphanius.

Justin when referring to the Magi, nearly every time speaks of their coming from Arabia; making the assertion no less than nine times. This must have been taken from some gospel now lost.

Justin says, speaking of Christ,

"He was deemed a carpenter, (for he was in the habit of working as a carpenter, when among men, making plows and yokes; by which he taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life.)"—*Dial. ch.* 88.

In the copy of the Gospel of the Infancy published by Tischendorff,[1] it is said of Jesus,

"Now his father was a carpenter, and made at that time, plows and yokes."

Justin speaks of a fire in the River Jordan, when Jesus was baptized. So did the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2] It is also mentioned in "The Preaching of Paul."[3]

Justin has the Holy Spirit say to Jesus, at his baptism, "This is my beloved Son; to-day have I begotten thee." The same form of expression was in the Gospel of the Hebrews, and was quoted by others of the fathers.

These are some of the indications, and it must be admitted they are plain ones, showing that Justin made extensive use of other gospels.

Some of those used by him, are expressly named.—Not only does he allude to the Gospel or Memoirs of Peter,[4] but he twice cites by name, the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus.

In the 35th chapter of the First Apology, he says of Christ,

"And after he was crucified, they cast lots upon his vesture, and they that crucified him, parted it among them. And that these things did happen, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate."

(1.) Ev. Apoc. p. 144.
(2.) See chapter 4 of this work, fragment from Epiphanius.
(3.) Treatise on Re-Baptism, appended to Cyprian's works.
(4.) See chapter 1 of this work.

Some writers have thought that the reference here is to the official report, said to have been made by Pilate to Tiberius. At the same time it is conceded, that even if such a report was made, Justin had never seen it. These writers do not explain, how he could so confidently refer to a report which he had never seen, or how such a report could contain an account so manifestly founded upon Jewish prophecies.

In the text of the gospel called "The Acts of Pilate," as published in the Orthodoxographa of Grynæus, is the following:

"And they divided his garments, and upon his vesture they cast lots."—*Acts of Pilate, ch.* 10.

Justin says,

"They cast lots upon his vesture, and they that crucified him, parted it among them."

And refers to the Acts of Pilate, as authority for the statement. There is but little doubt, that the gospel by that name now extant, was the work referred to by Justin.[1] It will be seen that the phraseology is different from that in the canonical gospels. Davidson also thinks Justin had this gospel.[2]

Again: In the 48th chapter of the First Apology, Justin says:

"And that it was predicted that our Christ should heal all diseases, and raise the dead, hear what was said: There are these words: 'At his coming, the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear speaking: the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed; and the dead shall rise, and walk about.' And that he did those things, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate."

A number of these miracles are reported in the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate, including the raising from

(1.) This is the opinion of Tischendorff.—Evang. Apoc. Proleg. p. 64;—Wann Wurden, &c. p. 82.

(2.) Canon, p. 100.

the dead. It is undoubtedly the authority referred to in this passage of Justin Martyr. If any official report was ever made by Pilate to Tiberius, it would scarcely contain admissions that a person whom he had put to death, had performed such miracles.

If then, as there is every reason to believe, the Gospel of the Acts of Pilate was the work alluded to, we have, on the supposition that the canonical gospels then existed, the extraordinary spectacle presented, of a writer of the middle of the second century, one of the most prominent fathers of the church, passing over gospels in general circulation, and which were considered authoritative, and as evidence of the miracles of Jesus, citing an apocryphal and discredited gospel.

Various other considerations might be mentioned, affecting, with more or less force, the question, as to what gospels were used by Justin. But let these suffice.

When it is considered, That no one of the canonical gospels is expressly mentioned, nor either of the supposed writers, except John, and he under such circumstances as negative the presumption that Justin knew of him as the author of a gospel—that Justin refers by name to the writers of the Old Testament Scriptures nearly 200 times—that from a large number of quotations from written accounts of the sayings of Christ, only two or three agree literally with the canonical gospels—that in nearly all cases, parallel passages can only be obtained, by patching together different passages, and sometimes from different gospels—that Justin quotes sayings of Christ not in the canonical gospels —that he refers to incidents in the life of Jesus, not found at all in those gospels, but which are in other known gospels—and finally that he cites two or three such by name, and one of them as authority for the miracles of Jesus; it cannot be denied, that the evidence

that the canonical gospels were unknown to Justin Martyr, is very strong, and indeed, well nigh conclusive.

There are two circumstances which should be mentioned, which are sometimes relied upon, to break the force of this accumulated evidence.

One is, the fact that Justin quotes from the Old Testament loosely, the difference between his quotations and the passages themselves, being, in several instances, as great, as between the quotations which have been referred to, and the corresponding passages in the New Testament. The proportion of exact quotations is, however, much greater, in the one case, than the other, there being over sixty from the Old Testament, or nearly one-half of the whole number; while in a large number of other instances, the variation is very slight.

In the citations, on the other hand, relating to the sayings and doings of Christ, the number of exact quotations will not exceed three, out of nearly a hundred. Those which are the same, consist of the sayings of Christ, which were preserved in other gospels, and by oral tradition. Thus, where the quotations are the most important, and should therefore more exactly correspond, they are found, on the contrary, the more divergent.

The other circumstance is, that Justin does not expressly mention Paul, or his writings. Hence, it is argued, his omission to mention other New Testament writers, should not be looked upon with surprise. There is some force in the suggestion. At the same time, it is claimed on the other side, that there were special reasons for this omission. The silence concerning Paul, has been referred to the well-known schism between him and Peter. Justin's works have been considered as standing upon the Petrine side, or at least, as anti-Pauline. It is possible that some further ex-

planation of the silence of Justin, may be found in the fact, that the only collection of Paul's epistles then in circulation, had been made by Marcion, a heretic, who was peculiarly obnoxious to Justin.

In regard to the "Memoirs of the Apostles," which are referred to some fifteen or twenty times by Justin, as the source of many of his quotations, those who contend that he meant the Gospel of the Hebrews,[1] in support of their theory, point to the significant fact that the Gospel of the Hebrews was also known as "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles." This, they think, was "The Memoirs of the Apostles," referred to by Justin Martyr.

Justin was of Greek descent, but was born at Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria. He studied in the various schools of philosophy, and afterward became an earnest and devoted Christian. He lived for awhile at Ephesus, and then settled in Rome. Here he suffered martyrdom, about the year 165.

Doctrines.—Dr. Priestly thought that Justin was the first who advanced the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ.[2]

From the time of Justin Martyr, the doctrine of the Logos, or Word, which had prevailed, in various forms, from ancient times, and which had been so extensively treated by Philo, became associated with the person of Jesus Christ.

The "Word" of Philo, was "The first begotten Son of God,"[3] "the first begotten Word,"[4] "the Image of God," "the Divine Word,"[5] his most ancient Word,[6] "the Image

(1.) Davidson, Ewald, Credner, Tischendorff, De Wette, and many others.
(2.) History of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. 1, p. 46.
(3.) De Agricult. sec. 12. (4.) De Confus. Ling. sec. 28
(5.) De Somniis, 1. sec. 12. (6.) Ibid. 1. 39.

of God, by which the whole world was created." But Philo was a Jew, and knew nothing of Christ, as the Word.

In the writings of Justin Martyr, this phraseology was applied to Jesus.[1] A similar application of the term was afterward adopted in the Gospel of John.

Some allusion to the Logos is found in the Revelation, [19. 13], which appears to have been written before this time, as Justin refers to it.[2] It is possible he might have taken some hint from this passage, or from the Gospel of the Infancy, but it is probable that for his doctrine of the Logos, he is more indebted to the works of Philo.

Paul had applied to Jesus, the language of the Psalmist, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee;" but he had not identified the Son and the Word as the same. The "Word" of Paul, was the written word of Scripture.

Philo had said the Word was the first begotten Son; Justin Martyr, applying these terms to Christ, asserted that he was the Word, the first and only begotten Son of God. In the writings of Justin, however, he is still subordinated to the Father. It remained for the author of the Gospel of John to boldly and unqualifiedly announce, that "the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

(1.) Dialogue, chs. 87 to 100, 105, and other places.
(2.) Dialogue, ch. 81.

CHAPTER XXII.

SECOND HALF OF FOURTH PERIOD.—Continued.

APELLES—PEREGRINUS—MARCELLINA—PHILIP—SOTER—MONTANUS—TATIAN.

APELLES.—A. D. 160.

Apelles is said to have been excommunicated by Marcion. He afterward had a sect and a gospel of his own. He was a Gnostic. There were various Gnostic sects. One of their cardinal doctrines was, that Jesus was a man, begotten by man. Some of them held, that he became Christ, the Son of God, at the time of his anointing and baptism.

"When" says Baring-Gould, "Gnosticism fixed on the anointing as the communication to Christ of his divine mission and Messiahship, their mention of it was cut out of the gospels in possession of the church, and consequently the canonical gospels are without it to this day."—*Lost and Hostile Gospels, p.* 202.

Others believed that Jesus and Christ were different. That Jesus suffered, but Christ only in appearance. These were called Docetæ. Christ, as distinct from the man Jesus, had a pre-existence.

According to the fathers, Apelles denied the resurrection of the dead. He published a collection of revelations which he had received from a noted courtesan, by the name of Philumene.[1]

(1.) See Tertullian, de Præs. adv. Hær. c. 30; Epiph. Hær. 44; Austin, de Hær. ad Q. 23 in Ap.

Not much reliance is placed upon these assertions. They are considered slanders by Dr. Lardner and other candid historians. Especially are such statements against prominent women, who held heretical opinions, entitled to but little credit.

Neander defends the character of Apelles, and considers his intimacy with Philumene, altogether blameless.[1]

The Gospel of Apelles.

But little is known of this gospel. Jerome, in the preface to his Commentary on Matthew, and Venerable Bede, in his Commentary on Luke, refer to the Gospel of Apelles, as one of those alluded to in Luke; "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth," &c. [Luke, 1. 1.] According to these writers, then, the Gospel of Luke was written in the latter part of the second century.

Peregrinus.—A. D. 150 to 169.

Lucian, author of the Dialogues, A. D. 165, gives a history of Peregrinus. He says he learned a wonderful doctrine of the Christians, by conversing with their priests and scribes, near Palestine. "And in a short time, he showed they were but children to him; for he was prophet, high priest, ruler of a synagogue; uniting all offices in himself alone. Some books he interpreted and explained; others he wrote. They spoke of him as a god, and took him for a law-giver, and honored him with the title of master. They still, therefore, worship that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced into the world, this new religion."[2]

Lucian was contemporary with Peregrinus, having

(1.) Church History, vol. 2, p. 151.
(2.) De Morte Peregrin. t. 1. p. 565.

been born A. D. 124,[1] and living until after 180.[2] The same writer says further, that Peregrinus was a person who rambled from place to place, and from one sect of philosophy to another. "Having been guilty of parricide and other crimes, he was obliged for awhile, to leave his native country, and travel abroad." He was afterward imprisoned. While in prison, he was visited by Christians, who administered to his necessities. The Governor of Syria set him at liberty. He then returned to Parium, his native place, and afterward, about the year 169, he ascended a funeral pile, which he had voluntarily prepared, and perished in the flames, in the sight of all Greece.

Peregrinus was also called Proteus. His death is mentioned by some of the fathers.[3]

Athenagoras refers to it thus:

"Of the statues of Alexander and Proteus, (the latter, you are aware, threw himself into the fire near Olympia), that of Proteus is likewise said to utter oracles."—*Plea for the Christians, ch.* 26.

There is reason to believe that the picture drawn by Lucian, was, like his portraiture of Alexander Abonotichus, and his casual mention of Apollonius of Tyana, colored by the pen of prejudice.

From other writers, there are more favorable accounts:

Ammianus Marcellinus, [3d century], mentions his death, and calls him an illustrious philosopher.[4]

Philostratus [210], refers to his death, and speaks of him as a cynic philosopher.[5]

Aulus Gellius, [2d century], speaks of him as follows:

"I saw, when I was at Athens, a philosopher named Peregrinus, and surnamed afterward Proteus; a man of dignity and fortitude, who resided in a

(1.) Moyle's Works, vol. 2, p. 363.
(2.) Lardner, vol. 4, p. 149.
(3.) Tertullian, ad Mart. cap. 4, p. 157; Athenagoras, see above.
(4.) Amm. l. 29, cap. 1.
(5.) De Vit. Soph. l. 2, n. 1, sec. 13.

little cottage, without the city. As I used to go to him frequently, I heard from him many useful and excellent remarks, among which this is what I chiefly remember:

"He said, 'A wise man should not be guilty of sin, although gods and men were alike ignorant of it.' For he thought a wise man should avoid sin, not from the fear of punishment or disgrace, but from his sense of duty and love of virtue."—*Noctes Atticæ, bk.* 12, *ch.* 11.

He then represents Peregrinus as quoting these lines of Sophocles:

"Nor vainly think your skill can aught conceal;
Time, that knows all things, shall all truths reveal."

It is as difficult to reconcile this sprightly picture by the author of the Attic Nights, with what is said by Lucian, as it is, the extant Epistles of Apollonius, with the notice which Lucian chose to take, of that philosopher.

Marcellina.—A. D. 160.

Marcellina was the founder of a sect, called Marcellians. She was a Gnostic—a disciple of Carpocrates.

The fathers are almost entirely silent concerning her. If we are left in ignorance of desirable information, her name has at least been handed down, free from detraction and calumny.

Soter.—A. D. 164.

Soter was Bishop of Rome, about A. D. 175. Dr. Lardner puts him down as one of the writers of the second century, whose works are lost, and dates his writings, A. D. 164. He may have flourished as a writer, before he was made bishop.

Philip.—A. D. 170.

This writer is in the same category with the preceding. He is mentioned with Soter and others, as writers of the second century, whose works are lost.[1]

(1.) Lardner, vol. 1, p. 436.

Montanus.—A. D. 170.

Dr. Priestly thinks many of the Montanists were Unitarians.

Epiphanius gives extracts from the writings of Montanus, and shows him to have been a millenarian.

Apollonius, the Christian writer of the third century, became an active opponent of Montanism, and endeavored to counteract the impulse which had been given to it by Tertullian. This great father had left the catholic church, and had gone over to Montanism, about the end of the second century.

Tischendorff says, the opponents of Montanism rejected the Gospel of John.[1]

Epiphanius mentions the Pepuzians, a sect of Montanists, who permitted women to baptize.[2]

Tatian.—A. D. 170.

Tatian was by birth an Assyrian. He was converted by Justin Martyr, but afterward became a Gnostic, a follower of Marcion. He joined the Encratites, and has been considered by some, as the founder of that sect.

His Oration against the Greeks, is still extant. It contains no mention of any of the canonical gospels. Some writers claim that there are passages parallel with those gospels. They consist of the sayings of Christ, and the better opinion appears to be, that they were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The Gospel or Harmony of Tatian.

There is a Harmony of the Gospels attributed to Tatian. It is sometimes called, "The Gospel of Tatian."

The work is first heard of in Eusebius; who says,

"Tatian, however, their former chief, having put together a certain amalgamation and collection, I know not how, of the Gospels, named this the Diatessaron; which even now is current with some."—*Ecc. Hist.* 4. 29.

(1.) Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 123. (2.) Hær. 49. 2.

The next reference to the Gospel of Tatian, is by Epiphanius. He says:

"It is said that he (Tatian) composed the Gospel by Four, which is called by some, the Gospel of the Hebrews."—*Hær.* 46. 1.

It does not appear that either of these writers had seen any such gospel. They wrote from hearsay; and the statement of Epiphanius as to the name of the gospel, is no doubt based upon the passage in Eusebius.

The third writer is Theodoret. He says:

"He [Tatian] also composed the gospel which is called The Diatessaron, excising the genealogies, and all the other parts which declare that the Lord was born of the seed of David, according to the flesh. This was used, not only by those of his own sect, but also by those who held the apostolic doctrines, who did not perceive the evil of the composition, but made use of the book in simplicity, on account of its conciseness. I found, myself, upwards of two hundred such books held in honor among your churches, and collecting them altogether, I had them put aside, and instead, introduced the Gospels of the Four Evangelists."—*Haeret. Fab.* 1. 20.

The next century, Victor of Capua, referring to Tatian's Gospel, called it "Diapente;" "The Gospel by Five." [1]

Such is the evidence concerning the Gospel or Harmony of Tatian. Let us attempt to analyze it:

Epiphanius only states, that it was then said that he (Tatian) composed the Gospel by Four; and immediately adds, that it was called by some, the Gospel of the Hebrews. This was about A. D. 385. Half a century later, Theodoret asserts that it was then called the Diatessaron, and states something about its composition.

Independently of Eusebius, then, it only appears, that in the fourth and fifth centuries it was called the Diatessaron, and in the sixth, the Diapente.

But Eusebius says that Tatian himself called it the Diatessaron. This is not the first statement of Eusebius, tending to give an early date to the canonical gos-

(1.) Fabricius. Cod. N. T. 1. p. 378.

pels, in which he is unsupported by earlier authorities.

The importance of the question renders it necessary to examine into the credibility of this witness, and to endeavor to ascertain whether his unsupported statement may be relied upon. This subject will be treated in the next chapter.

In the mean time, there is a circumstance disclosed, which in itself goes strongly to rebut the presumption that Tatian made use of the four gospels.

It appears from the testimony of Theodoret himself, that he felt under the necessity of suppressing this gospel, though it was held in high respect, and two hundred were in use in the churches which he visited.

If it was a harmony of the four gospels, what was the necessity for suppressing it? Why was it necessary to substitute those gospels for a harmony of them?

The fact that Theodoret felt obliged to suppress it, is inconsistent with the theory that it was a harmony of the four gospels, and throws suspicion upon a statement made manifestly for the purpose of supporting such an inference.

The pretext for the change was, that Tatian had omitted certain portions. But it is much more probable, that those were not in the gospels of which a digest had been made by Tatian.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY OF EUSEBIUS.

The Estimate of Friendly Writers.

Those who are disposed to take the most favorable view of this historian, hold him in low repute, as a chronicler of facts.

"The great fault of Eusebius," says canon Westcott, "is a want of independent judgment. He writes under the influence of the last informant, and consequently his narrative is often confused and inconsistent. This is the case, in some degree, with his statements on the canon."—*Canon, p.* 383. He believes it possible, however, to ascertain his real judgment on the question.

Jones charges him with being too credulous, and thinks he was imposed upon, in the correspondence between Christ and Abgarus, or else that the correspondence had been interpolated into the history of Eusebius.[1] The historian affirms, that he found the letters written in the Syriac language, in the public records of the City of Edessa, and that he himself translated them into Greek. The letters are very generally discredited, as well as the statement of Eusebius concerning them.

"No one" says Scaliger, speaking of Eusebius, "has

(1.) Jones. Vol. 2, p. 18.

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contributed more to Christian history, and no one is guilty of more mistakes."[1]

His Falsehoods and Forgeries.

The statements of this historian are made, not only carelessly and blunderingly, but in many instances, in falsification of the facts of history.

Not only the most unblushing falsehoods, but literary forgeries of the vilest character, darken the pages of his apologetic and historical writings.

His misstatements made for the purpose of bringing into disrepute the Gospel of Peter and other writings of the first century, have already been noticed.

As the greater includes the less, we will not stop to consider the countless number of other merely false statements to be found in his works, but will proceed at once, to some of the forgeries of which he has been convicted.

Forgeries on Josephus.

One of the most notorious of these, is in the account of the death of Herod Agrippa.

In the 12th chapter of Acts, it is stated that Herod, while sitting upon his throne, arrayed in royal apparel, and as the people were shouting and calling him a god, was smitten by the angel of the Lord, and was eaten by worms, and gave up the ghost.[2]

Josephus says, "Agrippa, casting his eyes upward, saw an owl, sitting upon a rope, over his head."[3]

Eusebius, in order to make Josephus agree with the Acts of the Apostles, struck out of the text of the Jew-

(1.) Elench. Trihær. c. 29. See also, Father Maimberg's Hist. of Arianism, in French, Tom. 1, l. 1, p. 32; and Valesius' Life of Eusebius, prefixed to his Ecclesiastical History.

(2.) Acts, 12. 21 to 23.

(3.) Antiquities, bk. 19. c. 8. 2.

ish historian, a whole Greek phrase, meaning an owl sitting upon a rope or cord, and substituted the word meaning angel; so as to make Josephus state that Herod, looking up, saw an angel over his head.[1]

This forgery has been known for centuries, and is not denied by any. Some endeavor to excuse or palliate it, while others pass it over in silence, or as a matter of small importance.

Again: It was the opinion of the learned Dr. Lardner, that Eusebius was the one who was guilty of the forgery of the passage in Josephus, concerning Christ.

In the third volume of his works, Dr. Lardner did not openly charge this forgery upon Eusebius, though he more than hinted that he believed him to be the author of it; saying,

"Probably some learned Christian, who had read the works of Josephus, thinking it strange that this Jewish historian should say nothing of Jesus Christ, wrote this paragraph, in the margin of his copy, and thence it came to be afterward inserted into many copies of Josephus."

"Who was the first author of this interpolation," said he, "cannot be said. Tanaquil Faber (ap. Havercamp, p. 272), suspected Eusebius. I do not charge it upon him, but I think it was first made about his time."—*Works, vol.* 3, *p.* 542.

Afterward, however, in the preface to the fourth volume, he speaks more plainly, and says:

"Indeed, it is not Josephus, but Eusebius, or some other Christian about this time, who composed this paragraph. Every one must be inclined to think so, who observes the connection in the Evangelical Demonstration, where is the first quotation of it. In the third book of that work, Eusebius has a chapter or section, against those who do not give credit to the history of our Savior's wonderful works. ('*Πρὸς τοὺς ἀπενθοῦντας τῃ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν παραδόξων πραξεων διήγησεῖ.*'—Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. 7, p. 109.) Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical history, the success of the gospel

(1.) Ecc. Hist. bk. 2, ch. 10. Eusebius omitted the words "*βουβῶνα—ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινὸς,*" "an owl on a certain rope," and substituted "*ἄγγελον,*" "angel."

among the Greeks and Romans, and barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity and sufferings of Christ's apostles and the first Christians. Then he says:

"'Though the testimony of such men concerning our Savior, must be esteemed fully sufficient, it cannot be amiss for me to add, over and above, the testimony of Josephus, a Hebrew; who, in the eighteenth book of the Jewish Antiquities, writing the history of affairs in the time of Pilate, speaks of our Savior in these words:' where follows the paragraph which we are considering: where" continues Dr. Lardner, "our Lord is said to be 'a worker of wonderful works, ('*Ην γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής:*') which way of speaking is so agreeable to Eusebius, and has such a similitude with his style, that I am disposed to put down below, some instances from him; which must be of use to satisfy us, that the style of this paragraph is very Christian, if it be not the composition of Eusebius himself; as Tanaquil Faber suspected."

[Here follow several quotations from the 'Evangelical Demonstration' in the original Greek, showing the frequent use by Eusebius, of the phrase, *ποιητής ἔργων παραδόξων*, 'worker of wonderful works.']—*Lardner's Works, vol.* 4, *p.* 6.

Thus it appears that Dr. Lardner, who, in the third volume, only intimated a strong suspicion against Eusebius, as the author of this forgery, now, in the commencement of the fourth volume, after considering the matter more fully, draws an indictment, charging him openly with the crime; and calling up the case, introduces the evidence. The words "or some other Christian about this time," contained in the indictment, are to be considered as surplusage; since the evidence and the argument are directed against Eusebius himself.

There are other gross liberties, taken by Eusebius, with the writings of Josephus.

He transcribes Josephus' account of Theudas, and applies it as confirmatory of Acts, 5. 36; while in fact, it disagrees with the account in Acts so much, as to have made commentators great trouble. He quotes the passage from the fifth chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, and asserts that the Theudas there mentioned, is the same referred to in the Acts; skillfully suppressing the fact, that the Theudas mentioned by Josephus, led that rebellion in the year 45 or 46,

at least 38 years after the time mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

Again, in regard to the question of the taxing:

Eusebius, in his Chronicles, p. 76, asserts that Cyrenius "made a census of goods and persons" in the time of Herod. In the Ecclesiastical History, bk. 1, ch. 5, he says that Christ was born "the same year when the first census was taken, and Quirinus was Governor of Syria." He adds, "This census is mentioned by Flavius Josephus, the distinguished historian among the Hebrews." If a census was taken in the time of Herod, it is not mentioned by Josephus, who states distinctly, that after the death of Herod, Archelaus reigned nine years and was banished, and then Cyrenius had the assessment and taxing.[1]

Dr. Lardner, referring to this disingenuous passage, says, he ascribes it, not to ignorance, but "to somewhat a great deal worse."

"It is impossible," says he, "that a man of Eusebius' acuteness, who had the New Testament and Josephus before him, should think a census made after Archelaus' banishment, was the same with that before Herod died; but Eusebius was resolved to have St. Luke's History confirmed by the express testimony of the Jewish historian, right or wrong.—*Lardner's Works, Vol.* 1, *p.* 179.

The Forgery on Phlegon.

Origen, in his work against Celsus, says:

"But of the eclipse, which happened in the time of Tiberius, in whose reign Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which were at that time, Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or as I think, the fourteenth book of the Chronicle."—*Cont. Celsum, lib.* 2, *c.* 33.

Phlegon was a heathen historian, who wrote about the middle of the second century, and whose works are lost.

The statement of Origen, which was open to suspicion from the first, was severely handled by contempo-

(1.) Antiquities, bk. 17, ch. 13; also bk. 18, ch. 1.

rary writers, who urged, that an eclipse of the sun could not then have taken place, as the crucifixion occurred at the time of the Jewish passover, which was at the full of the moon; when an eclipse of the sun is impossible.

Whether it was further shown that the passage was misquoted, we know not. At all events, Origen, afterward, in his Commentary on Matthew, 27. 45, in reply to the objections which had been made, said, that Phlegon did not assert that the eclipse mentioned by him, happened at the time of the full moon, and finally concludes that we must not too positively maintain, against heathen people, that Phlegon spoke of the darkness which happened at the death of Jesus Christ.

Now comes Eusebius; who, writing a hundred years later, not only repeats the original statement, which had been substantially retracted by Origen, but undertakes to quote the very words of Phlegon. The passage in Eusebius is as follows:

"Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies concerning him, came to his passion on the 19th year of the reign of Tiberius; about which time, we find these things related, in other, even Gentile memoirs, in these very words: 'The sun was eclipsed; there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice.' All which things he relates with what happened at our Savior's passion. So writes and says the author of the Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in these words: 'In the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest of any known before. And it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the heavens. And there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many houses in Nice.' So writes this aforementioned author."—*Eusebius' Chronicle, p.* 77.

This is one of the most manifest of the forgeries of Eusebius. If there had been any such passage in Phlegon, stating that there was an eclipse of the sun, at the very hour when Christ was crucified, it would have been found out by Origen, who would have availed himself of it, when hard pressed by his adversaries.

Besides, the passage bears internal evidence of being a fabrication.

Eusebius had already quoted the passage from Phlegon, giving the very words. In the first quotation, Phlegon says: 'The sun was eclipsed; there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice.' This is given as the language of Phlegon. Afterward, Phlegon is made to say, "In the fourth year," &c. "there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest," &c. "And it was night the sixth hour of the day," &c. and "there was a great earthquake in Bithynia which overturned many houses in Nice." All this new matter, prefixed to the quotation, and the quotation itself different. What was only "an earthquake," (giving the very words, as he said, of Phlegon), becomes, in the second quotation, "a great earthquake," and the statement that "the sun was eclipsed," becomes swollen into a long sentence, full of additional circumstances. Then a heathen historian, for the purpose of sustaining the Christian religion, narrates an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun, taking place, at the very hour when Christ was crucified, although the moon was at the full!

This was only equaled, by making a Jewish historian declare, that Jesus "was the Christ."

The Forgery on Thallus.

Eusebius makes Thallus, another heathen historian, who wrote about 220, testify to the eclipse of the sun. The following is the language of our historian:

"There was a dreadful darkness over the whole world, and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many buildings were overturned in Judæa, and in other parts of the earth. This darkness Thallus calls an eclipse of the sun, in the third book of his histories; but as seems to me very improperly; for the Jews keep the passover in the fourteenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible."—*Eusebius, Canon. Chron. Graece, by Scaliger, p.* 77.

Since quoting from Phlegon, Eusebius appears to have become enlightened in regard to the possibility of an eclipse of the sun when the moon is at its full. Nevertheless, he persists in perpetrating these forgeries on the heathen writers. He has no compunction in making Thallus, a heathen, in his anxiety to support the gospel historians, declare that there was an eclipse of the sun, at the crucifixion of Christ.

This forgery Eusebius undertakes to father upon Africanus, quoting as from that writer, the words which are attributed to Thallus. As the works of Africanus are lost, there is no way of determining the question with complete certainty. There is no reasonable doubt, however, that the passage emanated in the first instance, from the author of the church history.

Thallus was a Syrian, and wrote in Greek. He is cited by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Lactantius and Theophilus, no one of whom ever claimed that his works contained any such passage, nor was the passage known, so far as we have any evidence, to any other ancient writer.

The Forgery on Porphyry.

Eusebius quotes, as evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, from a pretended work of Porphyry, entitled "The Philosophy of Oracles," a work never heard of before the time of Eusebius, and never since, but from those who accept as authority the author of the ecclesiastical history. The majority of scholars are pretty well satisfied, that such a work never existed.

Porphyry flourished in the latter part of the third century. He was an active opponent of the Christian religion. He wrote so strongly and powerfully against it, that his writings were, by an edict of Constantine,

condemned to the flames. Porphyry is made to speak of Christianity, as the "prevailing religion;" which it was not, until fifty years after Porphyry.

It was probably not until after the destruction of the writings of Porphyry, in accordance with the decree of Constantine, that this bold attempt was made to bring him in as a witness in favor of the very religion which he so powerfully opposed.

The "Philosophy of Oracles" has been branded as spurious, by Vandale,[1] by Fontenelle,[2] and other able writers.

Other portions of the works of the church historian, have been suspected.

Dr. Dodwell, Thirlby, and Dr. Jortin thought the letter of rescript of Antoninus Pius, as given by Eusebius, was a forgery. It is generally suspected that the correspondence between Christ and Abgarus is a literary work of the same character.

Such was the first chronicler of church history, whose works have come down to us. Such is the witness, the only witness to any thing which would indicate, with any definiteness, the existence of any of the canonical gospels earlier than about A. D. 170.

"Reject Eusebius," says Prof. Stowe, "and what have we for a history of the Christian churches of the first three centuries, or of the books used as scripture in those churches?"—*History of the Bible*, *p*. 47.

And yet, the truth requires that he should not at all be relied upon, except where he is supported by earlier, or at least contemporary writers, or by strong circumstantial evidence.

(1.) De Orac. Ethnic. p. 14.
(2.) Hist. of Oracles, Diss. 1, ch. 4.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIEW OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH PERIODS.

A. D. 120 to 170.

Since leaving the apostolic fathers, we have traversed, by the uncertain light of patristic literature, through half a century;—the last half of a period well characterized by Dr. Westcott, as the dark age of church history. [A. D. 70 to 170.]

We have met with twenty-six Christian writers, some of them, persons of much celebrity, and all of them writers of considerable repute, besides others of less note, and with various anonymous works, including the three most famous so called apocryphal gospels.

In all this mass of Christian literature, there is not to be found a single mention of any of the canonical gospels. Not one of all these writers, in any work which has been preserved, has mentioned Luke, Mark, John or Matthew, as the author of a gospel.

The Gospel of Marcion, written about A. D. 145, bears internal evidence of having preceded Luke, and in like manner the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Infancy were manifestly written before Luke and Matthew, and the Acts of Pilate before any of the canonical gospels.

Coming to Justin Martyr, who wrote fully as late as the middle of the second century, there is no satisfactory evidence that he used or knew of the existence of any such gospels as those which afterward became canonical. On the contrary, not only does he quote many sayings of Christ different from those recorded in the four gospels, but he has some which have no parallel in any of them. He relates incidents in the life of Jesus, not in the canonical, but which are in other extant gospels. Finally, he mentions two of those other gospels by name, and cites one of them as authority for the miracles of Jesus. His "Memoirs of the Apostles," was probably the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which was but another name for the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Continuing through the remainder of the period, we meet with several writers, nearly all of whose works are lost. These end with Tatian. There is no sufficient evidence, that the so called Diatessaron of this writer, was a Harmony of the Four Gospels.

The character of Eusebius has been examined, and he has been found to be, as an unsupported witness, entirely unreliable. The facts to which this witness testifies, are not by any means, of a conclusive character. But they are skillfully thrown together in such a manner as to create the impression, that the canonical gospels were in existence, during the time of which he was writing.

In every instance, the assertion is by implication. But the intent to deceive is manifest. The silence, even of Eusebius, as to any evidence earlier than A. D. 126, is significant.

The evidence of heathen writers, during this period, is invoked by some authors, but such evidence does not tend to establish the existence of the four gospels.

FIFTH PERIOD.—A. D. 170 TO 185.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.

More than fourteen hundred years ago, Faustus, a Manichæan bishop, a Christian, in his discussion with Augustine, after calling attention to the fact, that his opponent himself rejected many portions of the Old Testament, said:

"If there are parts of the Testament of the Father which we are not bound to observe, (for you attribute the Jewish law to the Father, and it is well known that many things in it shock you, &c.) the testimony of the Son must be equally liable to corruption, and may equally well contain objectionable things; especially as it is allowed not to have been written by the son himself, *nor by his apostles; but long after, by some unknown men*, who, lest they should be suspected of writing things they knew nothing of, gave to their books the names of the apostles, declaring the contents to be *according* to these originals. In this, I think they do grievous wrong to the disciples of Christ, by quoting their authority for the discordant and contradictory statements, in these writings, saying that it was according to them that they wrote the gospels, which are so full of errors and discrepancies, both in facts and opinions, that they can be harmonized neither with themselves, nor with one another. This is nothing else than to slander good men, and to bring the charge of dissension on the brotherhood of the disciples. In reading the gospels, the clear intention of our heart perceives the errors, and to avoid all injustice, we accept

whatever is useful in the way of building up our faith, and promoting the glory of the Lord Christ, and of the Almighty God, his Father, while we reject the rest, as unbecoming the majesty of God and Christ, and inconsistent with our belief."—*Works of Augustine.—On the Manichœan Heresy. bk.* 32, 1. 2.

Again, in a subsequent passage, continuing his argument, he says:

"I do not suppose you will even consent or listen to such things, as that a father-in-law should lie with his daughter-in-law, as Judah did; or a father with his daughters, as Lot; or with harlots, like Hosea; or that a husband should sell his wife for a night, to her lover, like Abraham; or that a man should marry two sisters, like Jacob; or that the rulers of the people, and the men you consider most inspired, should keep their mistresses by hundreds and thousands; or according to the provision made in Deuteronomy about wives, that the wife of one brother, if he die without children, should marry the surviving brother, and that he should raise up seed for her instead of his brother, and if the man refuses to do this, the fair plaintiff should bring her case before the elders, that the brother may be called, and admonished to perform this religious duty, and that if he persists in his refusal, he must not go unpunished, but the woman must loose his shoe from his right foot, and strike him in the face, and send him away, spat upon and accursed, to perpetuate the reproach in his family.

"These and such as these, are the examples and precepts of the Old Testament. If they are good, why do you not practice them? If they are bad, why do you not condemn the Old Testament, in which they are found? But if you think that these are spurious interpolations, that is precisely what we think of the New Testament. You have no right to claim from us an acknowledgment for the New Testament, which you do not make for the old."—*Ibid. bk.* 32, 4.

Again, he says:

"So then, with the help of the paraclete, we may take the same liberties with the New Testament, as Jesus enables you to take with the Old, unless you suppose that the Testament of the Son is of greater value than that of the Father, if it is really the Father; so that while many parts of the one are to be condemned, the other must be exempted from all disapproval. That too, *when we know, as I said before, that it was not written by Christ or his apostles.*"—*Ibid.*

To this charge, thus repeated, Augustine, after treating other points at length, replies as follows:

"We can now answer the question, how we know that these books were written by the apostles. In a word, we know this in the same way that you know that the books whose authority you are so deluded as to prefer, were written by Manichæus. For suppose some one should raise a question on this point, and should contend, in arguing with you, that the books which you attribute to Manichæus, are not of his authorship. Your only reply would be, to ridicule the absurdity of thus gratuitously calling in question a matter confirmed by successive testimonies, of such wide extent. As, then, it is certain that these books are the production of Manichæus, and as it is ridiculous in one born so many years after, to start objections of his own, and to raise a discussion on the point; with equal confidence may we pronounce it absurd, or rather pitiable, in Manichæus or his followers, to bring such objections against writings originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down from the times of the apostles, to our own day, through a constant succession of custodiers."—*Ibid.*

Faustus in Reply.—"It is not without reason that we bring a critical judgment to the study of the scriptures, where there are such discrepancies and contradictions. By thus examining every thing, and comparing one passage with another, we determine which contains Christ's actual words, and what may or may not be genuine. For your predecessors have made many interpolations in the words of our Lord, which thus appear, under his name, while they disagree with his doctrine. *Besides as we have proved, again and again*, the writings are not the production of Christ or of his apostles, but a compilation of rumors and beliefs, *made long after their departure*, by some obscure semi-Jews, not in harmony even with one another, and published by them under the name of the apostles, or of those considered the followers of the apostles, so as to give the appearance of apostolic authority, to all these blunders and falsehoods."—*Ibid. bk.* 33.

Augustine, in response, repeats the argument already given, and illustrates it by reference to certain books which had appeared under the name of Hippocrates, and had been rejected by physicians, because, when

compared with the genuine writings of Hippocrates, they were seen to be inferior. As to the genuine writings of that author, he says:

"There is a succession of testimonies of books from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, which makes it unreasonable now or hereafter to have any doubt on the subject. How do we know the authorship of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and other similar writers, but by the unbroken chain of evidence?"—*Ibid.*

He afterward speaks of "the ability of the church of of the apostles—a community of brethren as numerous as they were faithful, to transmit their writings unaltered to posterity, as the original seats of the apostles have been occupied, by a continuous succession of bishops, to the present day."

This closed the argument.

Such was the state of the controversy early in the fifth century; a controversy within the church itself.

On the one side, Faustus had stated, first, that it was "allowed" that the New Testament was not written by Christ or his apostles, but long after, by some unknown men. Then, that they "knew" it was not written by Christ or his apostles, and finally that they "had proven it, again and again."

To this Augustine, not expressly denying the assertions of Faustus, or challenging him to the proof, replies, with the argument founded on tradition. This he illustrates by a comparison with books ascribed to Hippocrates, Aristotle and other writers.

As to the proof that may have been offered by Faustus on former occasions, we are entirely ignorant. But

that such proof of some kind, had been adduced, may be safely inferred, since the statement was not expressly denied by Augustine.

The argument of Augustine was the same as has been relied upon, since his day.

The bold challenge of Faustus, would seem to have required something more at the hands of his adversary; at least, an enumeration or mention of some of those by whom the tradition had been preserved and handed down.

The argument of Augustine was not good, because the statement upon which it rested, was not true. It was not true that the books had been "confirmed by successive testimonies from the times of the apostles; that they were originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down," &c. unless, indeed, we are to suppose, that every successive link in this chain of evidence has been lost, and that of all the writings of the Christian fathers to the latter part of the second century, only those which made no mention of the books were preserved, while those which mentioned them, were in every instance lost. Such a supposition, if not actually preposterous, is in the highest degree incredible; and we are forced to the conclusion, that such a chain of evidence existed only in the imagination of Augustine.

The tradition cannot be traced further back than Irenæus; A. D. 190. No one of the four gospels was mentioned earlier, except the Gospel of John, A. D. 180, by Theophilus of Antioch.

He does not say it was written by the apostle, but "by an inspired man".

For one hundred and fifty years after the events related in the canonical gospels, there is no evidence of any such tradition as was necessary, to sustain the argument of Augustine. The controversy cannot, therefore, be looked upon as having been settled, in his discussion with Faustus; and as no new light has since been thrown upon the question, it is still an open one.

As such, we propose to consider it. It is the duty of the historian to do what he can toward settling truthfully, important facts; and surely no fact can be of more importance in religious history, than the time when the four gospels were written.

The external evidence has been considered, as our history progressed. It was necessarily of a negative character, but has pointed strongly toward the non-existence of the books, previous to the year 170. We are now to examine the internal evidence. This naturally comes last, and is not ordinarily to be resorted to, except when the historical evidence fails to bring us to a satisfactory conclusion. "History," says Westcott, "must deliver its full testimony, before internal criticism can find its proper use."

That the external evidence is unsatisfactory, and justifies the resort to internal evidence, is distinctly asserted by Rev. Dr. Davidson, who says:

"The evidence in favor of the authors traditionally assigned to the gospels, and some of the epistles, is still uncertain. A wide gap intervenes between eye witnesses of the apostles or apostolic men that wrote the sacred books,

and the earliest fathers who assert their authorship. The additional bridge between them is a precarious one. As the chasm cannot be filled by adequate external evidence, we are thrown back on the internal character of the works themselves."—*Davidson on the Canon*, *p.* 126.

Before proceeding to the internal evidence, there are certain considerations, a notice of which is necessary to a complete view of the subject.

1. No one of the four gospels is mentioned, in any other part of the New Testament.

2. No work of art of any kind has ever been discovered, no painting, or engraving, no sculpture or other relic of antiquity, which may be looked upon as furnishing additional evidence of the existence of those gospels, and which was executed earlier than the latter part of the second century. Even the exploration of the Christian catacombs failed to bring to light any evidence of that character.

3. The four gospels were written in Greek, and there was no translation of them into other languages, earlier than the third century.

It has been supposed by some, that Matthew was a translation from a Hebrew gospel. But the tendency of modern thought and criticism, is strongly toward the conclusion, that Matthew, as well as the others, was an original Greek production.

The oldest known translations are the Peshito, in the Syriac, and in the Latin, an old translation, the original of the Vulgate.

Efforts have been made to show that there were Latin translations in the second century. They have re-

sulted in nothing tangible, and may be looked upon as mere speculations.

In Germany, Semler made an elaborate attempt to prove that Tertullian had a Latin translation, which had been used before his time; but the effort cannot be pronounced successful. The view taken by the author of the article in the Encyclopedia of McClintock and Strong, is doubtless the correct one; that Tertullian did not make use of a translation, but translated for himself. The article was written originally for Kitto, by Dr. Alexander, and is entitled "ANTE-HIERONYMIAN VERSIONS." The writer says:

"The early and extensive diffusion of Christianity among the Latin-speaking people, renders it probable that means would be used to supply the Christians who used that language, with versions of the scriptures in their own tongue, especially those resident in countries where the Greek language was less generally known. That from an early period, such means were used, cannot be doubted; but the information which has reached us is so scanty, that we are not in circumstances to arrive at certainty on many points of interest connected with the subject. It is even matter of debate, whether there were several translations, or one translation, variously corrupted or emended.

"The first writer by whom reference is supposed to be made to a Latin version, is Tertullian; in the words, 'sciamus plane non sic esse in Græce authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam, aut simplicem eversionem,' &c.—(De Monogamia, c. 11.) 'We may certainly know, that in the Greek original, it does not stand in the form in which, (through the either crafty or simple alteration of two syllables), it has gone out into common use,' &c. [Ante-Nicene, 'in the form which (through &c.) has gone out,' &c.]

"It is possible Tertullian has in view here, a version in use among the African Christians; but it is by no means certain that such is his meaning, for he may refer merely to the manner in which the passage in question had come to be usually cited, but without intending to intimate that it was so written in any formal version. The probability that such is really his meaning, is greatly

heightened, when we compare his language with similar expressions in other parts of his writings. Thus speaking of the Logos, he says:

"'Hanc Græci *Λόγον* dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam *Sermonem* appellamus. Ideoque in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis, Sermonem, dicere, in primordio apud deum esse,' &c.—[Adv. Prax. c. 5.] 'This the Greeks call 'Logos,' by which term we also designate Word; (or Discourse;) and therefore, it is now usual, owing to the simple interpretation of our people, to say that the Word was in the beginning, with God,' &c.

"Where he seems to have in view, simply, the colloquial usage of the Christian compatriots."

From this it appears, there is no sufficient evidence of a Latin translation of the gospels, up to the time of Tertullian, at the opening of the third century.

The fact that Tertullian did not use a Latin translation, is made more manifest by a passage in the 9th chapter of the 2nd book against Marcion. Speaking of the nature of the soul, he says:

"We must at the outset, hold fast the meaning of the Greek scripture, which has *afflatus*, not spirit. (*Πνοήν*, not *πνεῦμα*.) Some interpreters of the Greek, without reflecting on the difference of the words, and careless about their exact meaning, put spirit for efflatus;" &c.

Here Tertullian would very naturally have referred to the translation, had there been one in use, and would have commented upon the meaning given to the Greek words by the translator. On the contrary, he speaks of the meaning attached to the words by different "interpreters of the Greek." Tertullian was a Greek scholar, and doubtless, did his own translating.

In the passage referred to by Tertullian, the word is SPIRACULUM, in the Vulgate, not EFFLATUS. If a Latin translation was then in use, it is not probable the Vulgate would afterward have differed from it, in the

use of this word.

Again, in his citations from Marcion, Tertullian quoted in Latin, as he did from the four gospels. There is still less reason to suppose he had before him a translation of the Greek of Marcion. The reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that he gave his own rendering to the text of all these gospels.

Tertullian aside, there is absolutely no evidence of any Latin translation of the gospels, earlier than the third century.

There is in fact, nothing very definite until the fourth century. But as the language of Augustine, Jerome and Hilary, would seem to imply the existence of at least one translation before their time, it may be assumed that there was a Latin translation in the third century.

The Vulgate.—This may be said to date properly from the revision of Jerome, A. D. 383. It is not certain whether it extended beyond the gospels, though he was requested by Damasus to revise the New Testament, and his work is sometimes spoken of as a revision of the whole.

If any revision of the balance was made, it was less carefully and thoroughly done; so that the vulgate was a composite work, consisting of a complete translation of the gospels, and some corrections and emendations of the then current Latin version of the balance of the New Testament.

The Peshito.—Efforts have been made, also, to date the Syriac version in the second, or even in the first

century; but with no better success. The whole subject was carefully examined by Bishop Marsh, who came to the conclusion that we had no reliable evidence concerning the Peshito, earlier than Ephraim, who lived in the fourth century. How much earlier than that the version existed, was a matter of speculation.[1]

Dr. Davidson goes somewhat farther, but stops at the third century. He says:

"In Syria, a version of the New Testament, for the use of the church, was made early in the third century." This was the Peshito.—*Canon, p.* 114.

The Latin and the Syriac were the languages spoken by the great body of Christians, who did not understand the Hebraistic Greek, in which the scriptures were written. There being, then, no translations into these languages, before the third century, why, if the gospels were written in the times of the apostles, were all the churches where those languages prevailed, deprived of the use of the books for more than a hundred and fifty years?

4. No manuscripts of the gospels are in existence, dating farther back than the fourth century. Of that century or the next, there are three or four, and some twenty or thirty, more than a thousand years old.

Not only are there no older manuscripts now in existence, but there is no evidence, so far as we are aware, that older copies have existed, at any time, for hundreds of years past. They are said to have been destroyed in the persecution of Diocletian, about A. D. 303;

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 2, p. 554.

but how could every hidden manuscript be thus reached and destroyed?

5. No autograph manuscript of any of the gospels has ever been known, so far as there is any authentic record: nor has any credible witness ever claimed to have seen such a manuscript. Jerome did claim that the gospel concerning the birth of Mary, and the infancy of the Savior, which he translated for the bishops, was in the hand-writing of Matthew. But we are not aware that he or any one else ever claimed to have seen a manuscript of either of the four gospels, in the hand-writing of Luke, Mark, Matthew or John. If the autograph manuscripts had ever existed, they would have been preserved, among the most sacred relics of the church.

If they once existed, and were destroyed, where is the record of their existence, and when and where were they destroyed, by whom and under what circumstances? Who made the first copies and when, and what evidence have we that they were correctly transcribed?

6. During the first two centuries, tradition was esteemed of more value, and better evidence of the gospel history, than any written books or manuscripts.

Of this, the reader has had repeated evidence in these pages. Papias, in the middle of the second century, considered that the information which he could derive from books, was not so profitable as that which was preserved in a living tradition.

The great outlines of the life of Christ, says Irenæus, "were received by barbarous nations, without written documents, by ancient tradition." [1]

The extent to which tradition was relied upon, is well illustrated by the letter of Ptolemæus to Flora, about A. D. 190. He says he will explain to her the particulars of that doctrine which he had just been mentioning, "by the help of tradition received from the apostles, and handed down to us." He adds, "All must be tried by, and made to square with the doctrine of the Savior himself, which was to be the rule." [2]

This extensive use of tradition, and the preferring it to any written books, is inconsistent with the general use of gospels which were deemed authoritative and inspired records.

7. The dialect in which the New Testament books were written, a sort of Hebraistic Greek, has been considered evidence of their antiquity. But this dialect prevailed for three centuries after Christ, and was in full use during the second century. The same or similar Hebraisms abound in the apocryphal gospels of that age.

8. The canonical gospels were selected by the bishops from a large number then in circulation. This is asserted by Origen; who says:

And that not four gospels, but very many were written, *out of which those we have were chosen, and delivered to the churches*, we may perceive," &c.—*In Prœm. Lucæ, Hom.* 1, *t.* 2, *p.* 210.

(1.) Adv. Hær. 3. 4. 2.
(2.) In App. ad Iren. Grabe, Spi. Pat. vol. 2, p. 77.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.—Continued.

The Gospels as a Group.

Considered together, as a history, the gospels are fragmentary and incoherent, and far from harmonious.

In the first place, there is a radical difference between the Gospel of John on the one side, and the three synoptics on the other.

In the synoptics, Jesus speaks in parables and proverbs. Short, pithy sayings are ever on his lips. In John, he indulges in theological discourses. In the Synoptics, his ministry lasted one year. Scene, Galilee, except the last few days of his life. In John his ministry lasted some three years, and the time was spent mostly in Jerusalem, and other parts of Judæa.

There are a few places where the four gospels run parallel. There are parallel passages, more or less similar, concerning the feeding of the multitude on five loaves and two fishes—Jesus riding into Jerusalem—the reference to his betrayal, when in conversation with his disciples—the prediction of his denial to Peter

—the smiting by Peter of the servant of the high priest—the denial of Christ by Peter—the question of Pilate to Jesus, asking him if he was the king of the Jews—the scene concerning the release of Barabbas—the crucifixion of Jesus, with some few of the circumstances attending it—the parting of his garments—the crucifixion of the thieves—the title on the cross—the begging of the body of Jesus, his burial, and the visit to the sepulcher. In these, however, there is considerable diversity, and even contrariety of statement.

Then again, John is parallel with Mark and Matthew, in the account of Jesus walking on the sea; and of the woman who poured ointment upon him.

John is also parallel with Mark, in the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, after the resurrection, though the account is much amplified in John, and is parallel with Luke, in the report of Pilate to the Jews, that he found no fault in Jesus, and with the visit of Peter to the sepulcher; with, as in the case of Mary, much amplification.

With the exception of these, and perhaps two or three other passages, every thing in John is different from the other gospels, or very differently related.

Any consideration of the gospels as a group, must therefore, be confined to the other three.

The Synoptic Gospels.

No question connected with gospel history, has attracted more attention, or elicited more discussion, than that of the origin and formation of the synoptic

gospels, Luke, Mark and Matthew. Volumes have been written upon it, but with very unsatisfactory results. That they are not merely copied, one from the other, with changes, is the almost unanimous verdict of biblical scholars. At the same time the resemblance, not in incident merely, but in language also, is so close, as to indicate some common source, which was drawn upon, in their construction. As to the nature of this source, some have supposed an original gospel, others, several original fragmentary gospels; others again, have believed them written mainly from oral traditions.

Eichhorn thought but one document was used by the three evangelists; that various additions had been made to different copies of it; and that some of the evangelists had some of these copies; others, others; that every thing found in common in the three synoptics, was in the common document.

In one respect, the theory of Eichhorn deserves especial attention; recognizing, as it does, the natural working of the law of accretion. He considered the portions which were common to Matthew and Mark, and not in Luke, additions made in the copies of a common document, which were used by Matthew and Mark; and in like manner, that those portions found in common in Mark and Luke, and not in Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by Mark and Luke.[1]

Bishop Marsh made a thorough examination of the subject, and his views may be condensed as follows:

(1.) Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 192.

1. The three evangelists used copies of a common Hebrew document.

2. Matthew used this with some additions, in writing his original gospel, which Marsh supposes to have been in Hebrew.

3. Mark and Luke translated the common document into Greek, and used, besides, another Greek translation of it.

4. Afterward, Matthew was translated into Greek, by some one who made use of Mark and Luke.

5. In addition to the common document, there was another, containing only precepts, parables and discourses of Christ, which was used only by Matthew and Luke, who had different copies.[1]

This theory, though quite complicated, comes nearer, probably, than any other, to explaining all the facts, on the hypothesis that Matthew is a mere translation.

That hypothesis, is, however, pretty nearly abandoned.

Schleiermacher, not looking upon the theory of Marsh as satisfactory, discarded the hypothesis of a common, original gospel, and undertook to show that Luke, which he considered the principal, and the most reliable gospel, consisted merely of a collection of a large number of manuscripts, compiled and arranged by some one, who wrote nothing more than was necessary to adapt the phraseology to a continuous narrative. This theory deserves the most careful attention.

(1.) Notes to Michaelis, vol. 3, pt. 2.

It may prove to be the key to the whole subject; especially if it shall become established, as we believe it will be, that Luke was the first of these gospels, and was written after Marcion.

Ewald supposes an original gospel, containing the record of the baptism, the temptation and the passion. This was the substructure, used by Paul, and composed, perhaps, by the evangelist Philip. It was in Greek. Then followed the Hebrew Oracles, by Matthew, which with some narratives, contained nearly all the discourses of Christ. Then came Mark, and after that Matthew and Luke.[1]

In all these theories, too little attention appears to have been given to the evidence indicating a late date to these gospels; too little account taken of their close relation to the apocryphal gospels; and the law of accretion, in its application to the question, has not been sufficiently considered.

Other things being equal, the shortest document is the oldest. Not until this fact is recognized, can the complicated questions connected with the synoptic gospels, ever be solved.

The character of the synoptics is well delineated by Mr. Sunderland, as follows:

"At least three of the four gospels can have had no real authors, as we usually understand that word. They are the work of editors; they are compilations; 'mosaics'; the material which enters in to make them up, being real utterances of Jesus, real events of his life, together with more or less of legendary elements, and deviations from historic facts, occasioned by the

(1.) Yahrbucher, 1848, 1849.

lapse of years, and the necessary imperfection of the human memory."—*What is the Bible, &c. p.* 65.

THE LAW OF ACCRETION,

APPLIED TO THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

The result of a careful comparison of the four gospels, noting all the parallels which consist, not of short passages merely, but of continuous narratives, may be stated as follows:

1. LUKE COMPARED WITH MATTHEW.

In 92 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 44, and the longest in 32. The others about equal.

2. LUKE COMPARED WITH MARK.

In 95 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 57, and the longest in 21. The others equal.

3. LUKE COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 19 parallels, Luke is the shortest in 13, the longest in 4.

The preponderance of shorter passages in Luke,

As compared with Matthew, is as 11 to 8.

As compared with Mark, as 19 to 7.

As compared with John, more than 3 to 1.

Of all the parallels, 206 in number, Luke is the shortest in 114, the longest in 57. Proportion, 2 to 1.

This points to Luke as the older gospel, unless some other reason can be assigned for its greater brevity.

4. MATTHEW COMPARED WITH MARK.

In 105 parallels, Matthew is the shortest in 44 and the longest in 35.

5. MATTHEW COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 22 parallels, Matthew is the shortest in 13, and the longest in 7.

6. MARK COMPARED WITH JOHN.

In 23 parallels, Mark is the shortest in 12, and the longest in 10.

According to the law of accumulation, or accretion, the order of date of these gospels would be Luke, Matthew, Mark, John.

We think, for reasons which will be given in a subse-

quent chapter, that the Gospel of Matthew constitutes an exception to the rule, and the true order is, Luke, Mark, John, Matthew.

This order for the synoptics, agrees with the conclusions of the Rev. Mr. Sanday, as to the relative correctness of the three gospels.

"The very same investigation," says he, "which shows that our present St. Mark was not an original (gospel), tells with increased force against St. Matthew. When a document exists dealing with the same subject matter as two other documents, and those two other documents agree together, and differ from it, on as many as 944 separate points, there can be little doubt, that in a great majority of those points, it has deviated from the original, and that it is, therefore, secondary in character. It is both secondary, and secondary on a lower stage than St. Mark; it has preserved the features of the original, with a less amount of accuracy.

"The points of the triple synopsis, on which Matthew fails to receive verification, are in all, 944; those on which Mark fails to receive verification, 334; or in other words, the inaccuracies of Matthew are to those of Mark, nearly as three to one."—*Gospels of the Second Century, p.* 152.

The inaccuracies of Matthew as compared with Luke, he estimates at five to one.

The time when the four gospels were written, cannot be definitely determined, but may be approximately stated, thus:

Luke, A. D. 170, Mark, 175, John, 178, Matthew, 180.

The theory of a common document for the synoptic gospels, so ably advocated by Eichhorn, cannot be considered as overthrown. The fragmentary character of Luke, has, it is true, been quite conclusively shown by Schleiermacher. But suppose the common document was of a like fragmentary character, and was itself a compilation. Suppose one copy of this came to the hands of Marcion, and was afterward used by the author of Luke, each of whom made additions from other

manuscripts. Suppose other copies of the same document, in later stages of accretion, came afterward to the hands of the other gospel historians, successively, and were used by them, with additions of their own, or from other manuscripts. This would account for the complicated phenomena which are presented by the gospels, and which have proved so perplexing to commentators.

Eichhorn did not believe, from a comparison of the four gospels with each other and with older documents, that they came into use before the end of the second century.

Thus his theory, based upon internal criticism, harmonizes with the historical evidence; a fact which entitles it to greater consideration.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS.—Continued.

History of Jesus, as given in the Gospels.

The genealogy, birth and childhood of Jesus, are narrated in two only of the canonical gospels, Luke and Matthew.

1. The Genealogy of Jesus.

If immaculately conceived, Christ had no human genealogy, except upon the mother's side; a fact which was recognized in some of the earlier gospels, and by the earlier fathers, who deemed it sufficient, that Mary was of the race of David.[1]

But the compilers of Luke and Matthew, not satisfied that the genealogy of Jesus should be traced through a woman, undertook, strangely enough, to show that Joseph was descended from David. That this was an afterthought, is sufficiently manifest from the result of the undertaking. Both historians give a long line of ancestry; but Matthew has Christ descended from

(1.) Protevangelion, ch. 10; Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, chs. 23, 43, 45, 100; Clement of Alex. Strom. 1. 21.

Solomon, son of David, while, according to Luke, he descended from Nathan, brother of Solomon.

From that point on, the chain would necessarily be different. Where the names given are alike, if not entirely fictitious, and thrown in merely to fill up, they were, of course, different persons having the same name; and the genealogy ends, as might be expected; the chroniclers assigning to Joseph different fathers.

Many attempts have been made to explain this palpable contradiction, but there is no substantial agreement concerning it, among commentators. The theory that Luke intended the genealogy of Mary, though flatly opposed to the grammatical construction of the Greek, finds probably, at the present time, the most supporters.

Perhaps the reader will be satisfied with the following explanation of Augustine:

"St. Matthew descends through Solomon, by whose mother David sinned; St. Luke ascends through Nathan, another son of the same David, through whom he was purged from his sin. For we read that Nathan was sent to reprove him, and that he might, through repentance, be healed. Both evangelists meet together in David, the one in descending, the other in ascending."—*Sermon* 51.

Again: "Now in the generations which Matthew enumerates, the predominant number is forty. For it is the custom of the holy scriptures, not to reckon what is over and above certain round numbers."—*Ibid.*

2. The Birth and Infancy of Jesus.

Here, again, the only canonical historians are the authors of Luke and Matthew, and they agree no better in this, than in the genealogy of Joseph.

According to Luke, Jesus having been born in Bethlehem, his parents remained there until the end of the

forty days required for the purification of Mary, when they brought him to Jerusalem, where he was publicly presented in the temple. Joseph and Mary then returned to Nazareth, which, according to the historian, had been their former residence. It has been seen in a former chapter, that the author of Luke made several changes in Marcion's Gospel, to accommodate it to his theory that the parents of Jesus had formerly resided in Nazareth.[1]

The author of Matthew, on the other hand, did not recognize Nazareth as having been the former residence of Joseph and Mary. Instead of returning to that place from Bethlehem, through Jerusalem, they are warned to flee into Egypt, since Herod would seek to destroy the child. And when, after the death of Herod, they returned from Egypt, being warned in a dream, they "turned aside" into the parts of Galilee.

In Luke, nothing is said of the magi, the slaughter of the infants, or the flight to Egypt. In Matthew, nothing is said of the announcement to Mary, the appearance to the shepherds, or the presentation in the temple.

The public presentation of Jesus at that time, in the temple, at Jerusalem, is utterly inconsistent with the seeking of his life by Herod, and the warning to his parents at Bethlehem.

"All attempts," says Schleiermacher, "to reconcile these two contradictory statements, seem only elaborate efforts of art."—*Essay on Luke, p.* 48.

(1.) This theory was supported by the Gospel of the Infancy.

But this is not all. There is a difference between Luke and Matthew, of about eleven years, in the time of the birth of Christ.

According to Matthew, Jesus was born during the reign of Herod, and some time, say two years, before his death. Herod was succeeded by Archelaus, who reigned nine years, and was then banished. The country of Archelaus was then added to the province of Syria, and Cyrenius was sent out as governor, with instructions to take an account of the people's effects, for the purposes of taxation.[1]

This, which was more than nine years after the death of Herod, was, according to Luke, the time when Jesus was born.—[Luke, 2. 1 to 7.]

Numberless attempts have been made to solve the difficulty. Dr. Lardner has handled the subject at great length, and with much skill and ingenuity.[2]

It may be safely said, however, that the difficulty has never been removed. In the language of Schleiermacher, the "most indispensable conditions" to a solution of these chronological difficulties, "are wanting." For which reason, he asserts that in the attempt to solve them, "no one has yet met with the slightest degree of success."[3]

Perhaps the most plausible theory is that of Zumpt, who supposes Cyrenius was twice Governor of Syria.[4]

(1.) Josephus, Antiq. bk. 17, ch. 13; bk. 18, ch. 1.
(2.) Lardner's Works, vol. 1, pp. 136 to 179.
(3.) Essay on Luke, p. 38.
(4.) See Smith's Bible Dictionary, Article, "Cyrenius."

The argument of Zumpt, though ingenious, is far from satisfactory. It is rather a speculation as to what might possibly have been. The two governorships are inconsistent with the language of Josephus, who speaks of Cyrenius as one who had been consul, and who had passed through various magistracies before becoming consul. His governorship is then spoken of, in such a way as indicates it to be a new magistracy.

Besides, even if Cyrenius had before been Governor of Syria, the difficulty would not be removed, except by supposing an assessment and taxing, under his first administration. But the taxing referred to by Josephus, was a new thing. It was manifestly the first attempt of the kind, as it resulted in a revolt, of a very serious character.

In regard to the place of residence of the parents of Jesus, and the journey to Bethlehem, some light may be thrown upon the subject by Jerome's translation, from memory, of one of the gospels of the Infancy, a translation which has usually been known as the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.[1]

It is there stated, [ch. 1.], that the family of Mary's father was of Nazareth, and the family of her mother of Bethlehem. According to the Gospel of the Infancy also, Joseph and Mary were residing at Nazareth.

It would be very natural that as the time of her delivery drew near, Mary should desire to be with her mother, who probably, was not able to visit her. This

(1.) See ch. 17, of this work.

furnishes a much more plausible reason for the journey to Bethlehem, than that of the enrollment for taxation, as given in Luke; since the personal presence of Mary, for that purpose, would not, under such circumstances, have been required.

3. The Childhood of Jesus.

Here Luke is the only historian, and relates but a single incident; the dispute of Jesus with the doctors in the temple, when he was but twelve years of age. This narrative, which Schleiermacher supposes to have been contained in a separate manuscript, was no doubt the same which, with accumulations, constituted the 50th chapter of the Gospel of the Infancy.

With this exception, the whole life of the great teacher, except one year or perhaps three years at its close, is buried in oblivion.

In the Gospel of the Infancy, there are further accounts of the childhood of Jesus. But as some of them are not to his credit, while all are of an extravagant nature, they are prudently omitted from the canonical history.

4. The Ministry of Jesus.

The plain inference from the synoptic gospels is, that the ministry of Christ lasted but one year. Every thing related appears to have taken place in or near Galilee, and within the year. He goes up to Jerusalem to but one passover.

But according to John, the ministry must have last-

ed much longer, as he goes up to three or four passovers, at least. A large part of the time was passed in Judæa and Jerusalem.

To add to the confusion, Irenæus, the first writer who mentions the four gospels, asserts that the ministry of Jesus lasted about twenty years, and that he was more than fifty years old when he was crucified. He discusses the question at considerable length. The following is his statement, with the argument by which he supports it:

IRENÆUS AGAINST HERESIES, BOOK II, CHAPTER XXII.

CHRIST DID NOT SUFFER IN THE TWELFTH MONTH AFTER HIS BAPTISM; BUT WAS MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS OLD WHEN HE DIED.

"I have shown that the number thirty fails them (the heretics) in every respect; too few æons, as they represent them, being at one time found within the Pleroma, and then again too many.

"There are not, therefore, thirty æons, nor did the Savior come to be baptized when he was thirty years old for this reason, that he might show forth the thirty silent æons of their system; otherwise they must first of all separate and eject (the Savior) himself from the Pleroma of all.

"Moreover, they affirm that he suffered in the twelfth month, so that he continued to preach for one year after his baptism. They endeavor to establish this point out of the prophet; (for it is written, 'To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of retribution;') being truly blind, inasmuch as they affirm they have found out the mysteries of Bythus; yet not understanding that which is called by Isaiah, the acceptable year of the Lord, nor the day of retribution. For the prophet neither speaks concerning a day which includes a space of twelve hours, nor of a year the length of which is twelve months.

"For even they themselves acknowledge, that the prophets have very often expressed themselves in parables and allegories, and not according to the mere sound of the words."

"2. [In this section, Irenæus comments further, upon the meaning of the phrases, 'acceptable year of the Lord,' and 'day of retribution.' He claims

that the day of retribution has not come, and therefore the acceptable year has not passed, and hence it must be more than a year of twelve months.]

"3. [The argument in this section is based upon the Gospel of John; Irenæus claiming, that according to the record of "John, the disciple of the Lord," Christ went up to Jerusalem to three passovers. Beside the three mentioned by Irenæus, there would appear to be another; four in all, as follows: (1), John, 2. 23; (2), John, 5. 1; (3), John, 6. 4; (4), John, 13. 1. The first, second and fourth are mentioned by Irenæus. He closes the section thus:]

"Their explanation, therefore, both of the year and the twelfth month, has been proved false, and they ought to reject, either their explanation, or the gospel; otherwise, how is it possible, that the Lord preached for one year only?

"4. Being thirty years old when he came to be baptized, and then possessing the full age of a master, [or teacher], he came to Jerusalem, so that he might be properly acknowledged by all as a master. For he did not seem one thing while he was another, as those affirm, who describe him as being man only in appearance; but what he was, that he also appeared to be. Being a master, therefore, he also possessed the age of a master, not despising or evading any condition of humanity, nor setting aside in himself that law which he had appointed for the human race, but sanctifying every age, by that period corresponding to it, which belonged to himself. For he came to save all through means of himself—all I say, who through him are born again to God—infants and children, and boys, and youths, and old men.

"He therefore passed through every age; becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, thus sanctifying those who are of this age, being at the same time made to them an example of piety, righteousness and submission; a youth for youths, becoming an example to youths, and thus sanctifying them for the Lord.

"So likewise, he was an old man for old men, that he might be a perfect master for all; not merely as respects the setting forth of the truth, but also as regards age; sanctifying at the same time, the aged also, and becoming an example to them likewise. Then, at last, he came on to death itself, that he might be 'the first born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence;' the Prince of Life, existing before all, and going before all.

"5. They, however, that they may establish their false opinion regarding that which is written, 'To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord,' main-

tain that he preached for one year only, and then suffered in the twelfth month. They are forgetful to their own disadvantage, destroying his whole work, and robbing him of that age which is both more necessary and more honorable than any other; that more advanced age, I mean, during which also, as a teacher, he excelled all others. For how could he have had disciples if he did not teach? And how could he have taught, unless he had reached the age of a master? For when he came to be baptized, he had not yet completed his thirtieth year, but was beginning to be about thirty years of age. (For thus Luke, who has mentioned his years, has expressed it: 'Now Jesus was, as it were, beginning to be thirty years old,' when he came to receive baptism.) And, (according to these men), he preached only one year, reckoning from his baptism; and on completing his thirtieth year, he suffered, being in fact, still a young man, who had by no means attained to advanced age.

"Now, that the first stage of early life embraces thirty years, and that this extends onward to the fortieth year, every one will admit; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year, a man begins to decline toward old age; which our Lord possessed, while he still fulfilled the office of a teacher, even as the gospel and all the elders testify; those who were conversant in Asia, with John, the disciple of the Lord, that John conveyed to them that information. And he (John) remained among them, up to the times of Trajan. Some of them, moreover, saw not only John, but the other apostles also, and heard the same account from them, and bear testimony to the statement.

"Whom, then, should we believe? Such men as these, or Ptolemæus, who never saw the apostles, and who never, even in his dreams, attained to the slightest trace of an apostle?

"6. But besides this, those very Jews who then disputed with the Lord Jesus Christ, have most clearly indicated the same thing. For when the Lord said to them 'Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad;' they answered him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old; and hast thou seen Abraham? Now, such language is fittingly applied to one who has already passed the age of forty, without having yet reached his fiftieth year, yet is not far from this latter period. But to one who is only thirty years old, it would unquestionably be said, 'Thou art not yet forty years old.' For those who wished to convict him of falsehood, would certainly not extend the number of his years far beyond the age which they saw he had attained. But they

mentioned a period near his real age, whether they had truly ascertained this out of the entry in the public register, or simply made a conjecture from what they observed, that he was above forty years old, and that he certainly was not one of only thirty years of age.

"It is altogether unreasonable to suppose that they were mistaken by twenty years, when they wished to prove him younger than the times of Abraham. For what they saw, that they also expressed; and he whom they beheld, was not a mere phantom, but an actual being of flesh and blood. He did not then want much of being fifty years old; and in accordance with that fact, they said to him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?'

"He did not therefore, preach for only one year, nor did he suffer in the twelfth month of the year. For the period included between the thirtieth and fiftieth year, can never be regarded as one year, unless, indeed, among their æons, there be so long years assigned to those who sit in their ranks, with Bythus, in the Pleroma. Of which beings, Homer, the poet, too, has spoken; doubtless being inspired by the mother of their error:

"'The gods sat round, while Jove presided o'er,
And converse held upon the golden floor.'"

This extraordinary passage from Irenæus, we have given almost entire. It is a very important chapter, in the history of the times; one which has hitherto been kept in the back ground. It is time an attempt was made to estimate its historical value.

As to the reasoning of Irenæus, much of it is of an a priori character, and as applied to such a subject, entitled to but little consideration. But the argument founded upon the passage, John, 8. 56, 57, is a good one. If Jesus was then but about thirty years of age, the Jews might have said, "Thou art not yet forty years old;" but they would scarcely have said, for any purpose, "Thou art not yet fifty years old." Much less, when their object was to remind him of the few years which he had spent upon the earth,

would they have added eighteen or twenty years, in specifying the limit which he had not reached.

Our author was fully aware of the force of the argument, and accordingly he elaborates it with the confidence of one conscious of writing from a strong position. His conclusion cannot well be avoided. We may therefore, put down the author of the Gospel according to John, as the second witness of the second century, to the fact, that Jesus was nearly fifty years old at his crucifixion.

Besides these two, there is also, unless Irenæus tells an absolute falsehood, the testimony of all the elders in Asia, who were conversant with John, and some of them with the other apostles also. It must be remembered that Irenæus had been a companion of Polycarp and others who had seen John, and that he was speaking of what had come to his personal knowledge from the elders in Asia. If, then, Irenæus tells the truth, the evidence in favor of the fact, is almost overwhelming. If, on the other hand, he would deliberately falsify in a matter of this importance, what is his testimony worth, as to the origin of the four gospels?

Against this evidence, we have only the silence of the gospels. But if the silence of the synoptics is consistent with a ministry of three or four years, why is not the further silence of all the gospels, consistent with a ministry of twenty years?

How would such a theory affect the received chronology concerning Christ? The date of the crucifixion

at not later than A. D. 36, or when Christ was, by the received chronology forty years old, is settled by the fact, that in that year, Pontius Pilate was removed from his government. That the death of Jesus occurred while Pilate was procurator is attested, not only by five extant gospels, but by the historian, Tacitus, who, in speaking of the Christians, says:

"They had their denomination from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the procurator, Pontius Pilate.—*Annals, lib.* 15, *ch.* 44. (Tiberius reigned till A. D. 37.)

If, then, it be accepted as a historical fact that Christ was about fifty years old at his crucifixion, the date of his birth would have to be set back, at least ten years.

It having already been found necessary to date his birth four years before the time first settled upon for the commencement of the Christian era, there can be no objection to extending the four to fourteen, if the facts require it.

It is well known that the date of the Christian era was fixed, in the year 525, by the Roman Abbot, Dionysius Exiguus. It was based upon the account of the birth of Christ as given in Matthew, which is a legend of but little historic value. It is now agreed that Dionysius was mistaken in his date, by at least four years. It is agreed that Jesus was born at least four years before the commencement of the Christian era, and it may have been fourteen or even twenty.

5. The Crucifixion of Jesus.

In a former chapter, we have given the reasons for believing that the extant gospel, called the Acts of Pilate, contains the most reliable historical account of the crucifixion.

The accounts in the canonical gospels, are by no means consistent or harmonious. The four historians agree that Jesus was apprehended and brought before the high priest, and taken thence before Pilate, where he was examined. Luke has him then sent by Pilate to Herod, who mocked him, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him back to Pilate; an episode of some importance in the trial, not mentioned in the other gospels. Passing over some minor discrepancies, such as that Barabbas was a murderer in Mark and Luke, while in John, he was only known as a robber, and the difference in the color of the robe placed upon Jesus, we come to the statement of John, that Jesus bore his own cross, (which was customary in such cases), to the place of crucifixion. The synoptics, on the other hand, unite in saying that the cross was borne by Simon the Cyrenian. This discrepancy, on the face of it a somewhat serious one, is explained in one of the apocryphal gospels, which states that Jesus himself bore the cross a portion of the way, and Simon the remainder.

Proceeding with the narrative, we find that in Luke only, is related an address of Jesus to the women, on the way to his execution. When arrived there, he is given to drink, according to Mark, wine mingled with

myrrh; according to Matthew, he was given vinegar, mingled with gall, in fulfillment of a prophecy; Luke has the vinegar without the gall.

Mark says, Jesus was crucified at the third hour. (Ch. 15, v 25.) According to John, (19. 14,) it was about the sixth hour, when he was brought forth to the Jews by Pilate, after which, he had to be led to execution. According to Matthew and Mark, there was darkness over all the land, from the sixth to the ninth hour; to which Luke adds, that the sun was darkened. The dying words of Jesus do not agree; Matthew and Mark giving the same as those in the Acts of Pilate, while the words in Luke are different, and those in John different from all the others.

Jesus was upon the cross from three to six hours. Even the latter period was much less than usual. Persons crucified generally lingered at least twelve hours, and sometimes two or three days. The remarkably short time that he remained upon the cross, before being taken down by his disciples, has led some writers to adopt the theory of suspended animation, to account for the supposed resurrection of his body.

The inscription on the cross is given in four different ways, and Luke and John state that it was written in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. According to Mark, it consisted of four Greek words; according to Luke, it consisted of six; according to Matthew, seven; according to John, seven also; but with a very important difference in two of the words.

In Mark and Matthew, both of the thieves on the cross, are represented as reviling Jesus, while, according to Luke, which follows the Acts of Pilate, but one of them did so; he being rebuked by the other.

The synoptics state that the vail of the temple was rent; to which Matthew adds an earthquake, the rending of the rocks, the opening of the graves, and the coming forth of the dead, though this last is deferred until after the resurrection. The graves are opened at the crucifixion, and remain open two days, the inhabitants waiting till Jesus should first arise, in order that certain prophecies might be fulfilled.

In the Gospel of John, it is stated that in fulfillment of certain prophecies, the side of Jesus was pierced with a spear, and the soldiers refused to break his legs, according to the custom in such cases, though it is to be inferred that they had been commanded to do so.

These narratives throughout, bear the impress of having been constructed, with reference to the fulfillment of divers Jewish prophecies. It is not probable that the details of the crucifixion had been preserved in any authentic record, made contemporaneously with the event. If such record existed, it was disregarded in the prevailing anxiety to sustain the Messianic character of Jesus, in accordance with the prophecies. The Acts of Pilate, which, in its account of the crucifixion, was probably the most authentic of any existing record, was followed, in the canonical gospels, in some particulars; in others, it was entirely disregarded.

The Resurrection of Jesus.

The resurrection of the crucified body of Christ, is a doctrine which cannot be traced back, beyond the second century.

Paul, who believed in visions, thought he had seen Jesus, and enumerates various other occasions when Christ had been seen by his disciples. First, he was seen by Cephas, then by the twelve, then by more than five hundred brethren at once, then by James, then by all the apostles, and last of all by Paul himself.

It is a fair inference, that these were all apparitions. Paul had seen, or thought he had seen, the spirit, or spiritual body of Jesus, and he had heard that the others mentioned had seen the same. That such was the nature of his own vision of Christ, is evident, not only from his explanation of the nature of the resurrection, but from the fact that the appearance to him, was after the time when, according to the canonical gospels, Jesus had ascended to heaven. If, then, Jesus appeared on earth, in the same body in which he was crucified, it was not to Paul.

The appearance to the others, to which Paul alludes, was, no doubt, of the same character as that to himself. The disciples believed they had seen the spirit or spiritual body of Jesus.

But the Christians of the second century demanded a doctrine concerning the resurrection, of a more material and tangible character.

Accordingly, in the canonical gospels, the very body

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in which Jesus was crucified, and which was buried by Joseph of Arimathea, is raised from the dead, appears to the disciples, is not only seen but felt, and Jesus himself, in the flesh, as he was before he was crucified, calls for fish to eat, to satisfy his disciples that he was not a spirit; that his body was not spiritual, but material and human like theirs. Such a body fails to fulfill the conditions of the resurrection believed in and described by Paul.

As might have been expected, the accounts framed for the purpose of establishing this doctrine, are far from being harmonious or consistent.

In Matthew, two women first come to the sepulcher; in Mark, three; in Luke, a larger number, in John, one. As to the time of day, in Matthew, it had begun to dawn; in John it was early, while it was yet dark, in Mark, it was at sunrise.

According to Matthew, after the women had arrived at the sepulcher, there was another earthquake, and an angel descended from heaven, rolled back the stone, and then addressed the women. According to the other historians, the women, upon arriving at the sepulcher, found the stone rolled away.

According to Mark, entering into the sepulcher, they saw a young man, clothed in a long white garment. According to Luke, there were two men, in shining garments. According to John, there being but one woman, when she saw the stone rolled away, she ran and told Peter, who, with another, came to the sepulcher. The other disciple, outrunning Peter, came and

looked in. Then Peter came, and going in, saw the linen clothes, and the napkin only. The other disciple went in, and saw the same. They returned home, after which, Mary, who remained, saw two angels. Turning round, she saw Jesus, whom she did not know, even after he had spoken to her, she supposing him to be the gardener.

It is obvious, that these accounts, confused and irreconcilable as they are, cannot be looked upon as historic. They were manifestly written to supply a need of the church in the second century.

Paul had known no rolling away of the stone from the door of the sepulcher. The spiritual body in which he believed, would require no such assistance. But the Petrine and material element in the church prevailed; the spiritual resurrection was set aside, and Christ was made to rise in the very body in which he had been crucified and buried.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Gospel according to Luke.

There is good reason to believe, that Luke was the first of the canonical gospels. This is rendered probable, partly by internal evidence, (it is compiled from the oldest manuscripts), and partly by the necessity which would exist, of having the first church gospel one which would counteract the influence of Marcion. This could best be done through a gospel which, while differing from his, would not vary from it so much as to be repulsive to his followers.

Besides, Marcion, who was a man of learning, had with much care, compiled the most ancient gospel manuscripts which he could obtain, and the church authorities were under the necessity of using, to a considerable extent, the same materials.

According to Schleiermacher, Luke consists of a compilation of at least 33 different manuscripts; as follows:

MANUSCRIPTS IN LUKE.

1. Introduction.
2. Chapter I.
3. Ch. II, vv. 1 to 20 inclusive.
4. " " v. 21.
5. " " 22 to 40.
6. " " 41 to 52.
7. Ch. III v. 1, to ch. IV v. 15.
8. " IV, vv. 16 to 30.
9. " " " 31 to 44.
10. " V, vv. 1 to 11.
11. " " " 12 to 16.
12. " " 17 to 26.
13. " " 27 to 39.
14. " VI, 1 to 11.
15. " " v. 12, to ch. VII v. 10.
16. " VII, vv. 11 to 50.
17. " VIII, vv. 1 to 21.
18. " " 22 to 56.
19. " IX, vv. 1 to 45.
20. Chapter IX, vv. 46 to 50.
21. " " 51 to ch. X, v. 24.
22. " X, vv. 25 to 37.
23. " " 38 to 42.
24. " XI, vv. 1 to 13.
25. " " 14, to ch. XIII v. 9.
26. " XIII, vv. 10 to 22.
27. " " 23, to ch. XIV v. 24.
28. " XIV, vv. 25 to 35.
29. " XV 1, to ch. XVII 19.
30. " XVII 20, to XIX 48, Consisting of three others; XVII 20 to XVIII 14, XVIII 15 to XIX 28, and XIX 29 to XIX 48.
31. Chapters XX and XXI.
32. Ch. XXII v. 1, to XXIII 49.
33. " XXIII v. 50, to the end of the gospel.

No. 32 consisting, also, of two or more, blended.

Some of these divisions may be too artificial, and may have been established to maintain some supposed unity of purpose in the gospel historian; but the analysis itself appears to be founded in fact, and is, in the main, pursued in a scientific manner.

If now, the same process be applied to the Gospel of Marcion, it will be found to consist of a compilation of 26 manuscripts.

An analysis of the two gospels, developes the fact, that every manuscript, after the first eight of Luke, appears in both gospels.

This circumstance favors the theory, that one of these gospels was used in the construction of the other. Which was probably the model?

Not only is Marcion much the shorter, but its narratives are simpler and more natural than those of Luke.

The subject may be illustrated by reference to some of the more important and extensive differences between the two gospels.

The first three chapters of Luke were not in Marcion. The first part of the fourth chapter of Luke which appears in Marcion, is that commencing at verse 16. 'And he came to Nazareth.' This, in Marcion, comes in its regular order, after the ministry at Capernaum; while in Luke, Jesus here refers to his doings at Capernaum, though his visit there is not stated until afterward. Though not in the same order, the whole of the fourth chapter of Luke is in Marcion, substantially, except the first 15 verses. But these 15 verses, together with the preceding chapter, none of which was in Marcion, constitute altogether, according to Schleiermacher, a single manuscript. The German critic was writing without any reference to Marcion. This coincidence may therefore be considered confirmatory at the same time, of the theory of Schleiermacher, and the priority of Marcion.

In closing the fourth chapter, the author of Luke having arranged sufficient preliminary matter, we may suppose that he now took up the Gospel of Marcion, which he found to be a compilation of manuscripts carefully collected, and made it, from this point onward, the basis of the Gospel according to Luke.

Let us see how, upon this supposition, he proceeded with his work.

The style is pretty much the same in the additional matter, as in that which is common to both gospels. Changes and additions are found here and there, some having been made for dogmatic reasons; others apparently for no other purpose, than to compose a new gospel.

The first addition of much importance, is Luke, ch.

7, vv. 29 to 35. This contains a saying of Christ, in which is a reference to John the Baptist. V. 34; "The Son of Man is come, eating and drinking," &c. This Hahn supposed was omitted by Marcion, because the representation of Jesus eating and drinking, &c., was opposed to Marcion's view of the spiritual and ethereal nature of Christ's person.[1] But in the very next verse of Marcion's Gospel, Jesus is represented as going into a Pharisee's house, and sitting down to meat. Whatever reason existed for adding these verses in Luke, we can see no reason for omitting them in Marcion.

2. The next place, where there is a difference of several verses entire, is Luke, 11, vv. 6, 7 and 8. This is a mere amplification of verse 5, which, in a condensed form, is in Marcion.

3. Luke, 11. 30, 31 and 32.—These verses relate to Jonas, whose name had been inserted in the 29th verse. In Marcion the reading is, "This is an evil generation; they seek a sign, no sign shall be given it." In Luke, "no sign shall be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet." The following three verses explain in what manner the preaching of Jonas might be regarded as a sign. It is a continuation of the idea, and the whole passage must stand or fall together.

4. Luke, 11. 49, 50, 51.—This consists of a quotation from an apocryphal book, called 'The Wisdom of God.' The quotation is of a suspicious character. It contains the statement concerning Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple; a statement which, as repeated in Matthew, (23. 35), with the addition of the words "Son of Barachias," has caused commentators so much trouble.[2]

(1.) Das Evangel. Mar. p. 147.
(2.) See Chapter on The Gospel according to Matthew.

Marcion has no allusion to Zacharias, and contains no doubt, the more ancient form of this passage. Much of the trouble comes from interpolations.

The interpolation in Luke, led to the worse interpolation in Matthew.

5. Luke, 13. 1 to 10, contains the legend concerning Pilate, mingling the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices; also reference to those slain by the falling of the town of Siloam; also the parable of the unfruitful fig tree. None of it in Marcion.

6. Luke, 13. 29 to 35. This passage is doubtless an interpolation. The portions of it are much disconnected, and the words "Go ye and tell that fox," referring to Herod, can scarcely be accepted as the language of Jesus.

7. One of the most extensive differences, is in the parable of the prodigal son, Luke 15, 11 to 32; no part of which is in Marcion. It is essentially Pauline in spirit, as has been well remarked.[1]

There is no reason why so beautiful an illustration of his own views, should have been omitted by Marcion.

8. Luke, 18. 31 to 34.—Jesus predicts to the twelve, his suffering, his death and resurrection. The prediction had already been recorded, (Marcion 6. 22; Luke, 9. 22), and there is no reason why it should be repeated. This entire passage in the 18th chapter, is probably an interpolation.

9. The last twenty verses of the 19th Luke, are entirely wanting in Marcion. The riding upon an ass' colt, is an awkward episode, and was probably inserted to set forth the fulfillment of the prophecy in Zech. 9. 9. Then follows the prediction concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. The other reference, in less explic-

(1.) Hahn, Das Evang. Mar. p. 182; Olshausen, Can. Ev. p. 208.

it language, to the same event, (Luke 13. 34, 35), is also wanting in Marcion. There is no certainty that the prediction was ever uttered by Christ himself. Justin Martyr, who would have found this prophecy so pertinent to enforce his argument, made no allusion to it. The remainder of this passage appears to have been written to illustrate the fulfillment of the prophecy in Jeremiah 7. 11.

10. Luke, 20. 9 to 18. The parable of the vineyard. This is essentially Pauline in spirit, and has a manifest application to the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, after it had been rejected by the Jews. There is no reason why Marcion should have omitted it.

11. Luke, 22. 16 to 18. The Paschal supper, has been the cause of much controversy in all ages of the church, and was the occasion of the first exercise of a general jurisdiction by the church of Rome. Without entering into the controversy, suffice it to say, if, as there is reason to believe, this passage in 22d Luke is an interpolation upon Marcion, the question becomes much simplified. The supper described in that chapter, appears to have been an ordinary meal, having been eaten the evening before the crucifixion; and yet, in verses 16 to 18, it is referred to, as the passover.

12. Luke, 22. 28 to 30. This is a literal application of certain prophecies to Jesus; an application such as the Jews were constantly making, but such as he himself would scarcely have made, in the form here presented.

13. Luke, 22. 35 to 38. Here, for the third time, Jesus is made to allude to his coming end. And when his disciples told him there were two swords, he said, "It is enough." This is not the language of Jesus, who would have rebuked them for making any allusion to swords.

14. Luke, 22. 49 to 51. Every thing relating to the swords, and the use made of them, must be looked upon as an interpolation.

These are all of the more extended passages in Luke, which are not in Marcion's Gospel. This analysis, equally with the one in a former chapter, affords strong evidence that Marcion was first written.

There are other considerations, indicating a late origin to this gospel.

1. It is expressly stated, in the introduction, that many gospels had been written before this one:

"Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order, a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they who from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered unto us; it seemed good to me, also," &c.

It is the universal conclusion, that the author of Luke does not here refer to any of the canonical gospels.[1]

The fact that the other three of those gospels are impliedly excluded by the language used in Luke, raises a strong implication, that they were not then written. Why would the author refer to many unauthorized gospels, and make no allusion to three which were received as authority? It is an opinion quite generally entertained, that several gospels are referred to in Luke, which are known to have been written in the second century.

Origen considered that the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, (of the Hebrews) were among the number.[2]

(1.) Origen, Homil. in Luc. 1. 1; Ambrose, Com. on Luke, 1; Augustine, de Cons. Ev. l. 4, c. 8; Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 3. 24; Erasmus, in Luc. 1. 1; Bellarm. de Mat. Sacr. l. 1, c. 16; Grotius, in Luc. 1. 1; Father Simon, Crit. Hist. of N. T. par. 1, ch. 3; Jones, vol. 1, p. 25; Stowe's Hist. of the Bible, p. 142.

(2.) Homily in Luc. 1. 1.

Jerome extends the list as follows:

"The evangelist Luke declares that there were many who wrote gospels, when he says, 'forasmuch as many,' &c. (c. 1, v. 1), which being published by various authors, gave rise to several heresies. They were such as that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, that of the Twelve Apostles, and Basilides, and Apelles, and others which it would be tedious to enumerate."—*Hieron. Præf. in Comm. in Matth.*

The Gospel of Basilides was written about A. D. 125, and that of Apelles, about 160. Of course, then, according to Jerome, Luke was after 160.

Epiphanius says, in expounding Luke, 1. 1,

"Saying: 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand,' by which he would intimate that there have been many undertakers of the like work. Among them, I suppose, were Cerinthus, Merinthus, and others." [See also Epi. Hær. 51. 7.]

Cerinthus flourished and wrote about A. D. 145, which Epiphanius thinks was before Luke.

Venerable Bede, [A. D. 734], agrees with Jerome, that the Gospels of Basilides and Apelles were among those referred to in Luke.[1]

Erasmus thought the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus, was among the number.[2]

Jones includes the Gospel of Marcion.[3]

All these writers, in thus dating the Gospel of Luke subsequent to those here named, impliedly renounce the theory of its apostolic origin.

2. The discrepancies between this gospel and that according to Matthew, have already been pointed out. These differences indicate a late origin for one or both of these gospels, and involve in confusion, every thing connected with the early history of Christ.

It is impossible, in the present state of the enquiry, to name the author of this gospel.

(1.) Bede's Works, London, 1844, vol. 10, p. 273.
(2.) Annot. in Luc. 1. 1.
(3.) Jones, vol. 3, Vindication, p. 26.

Westcott thinks it circulated mostly about Alexandria and Antioch,[1] when first published.

It may have been written at or near Antioch. In that case, the person to whom it was addressed, was probably none other than Theophilus, the writer, who afterward, about A. D. 180, became Bishop of Antioch.

Basnage thinks Luke was the first of the canonical gospels,[2] and there are many reasons for believing he was correct in that opinion.

Michaelis did not consider it inspired;[3] nor does the author of this, or of either of the canonical gospels, lay any claim to inspiration.

(1.) Canon, p. 68. Note.
(2.) Ann. 60, num. 31.
(3.) Vol. 1, p. 95.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Gospel according to Mark.

Mark is the shortest of the four gospels. Its brevity is due partly to the omission of the biography of Christ, which is contained in Luke and Matthew.

It was probably constructed from the Gospel of Peter, as a basis, with many changes, and the incorporation of new material.

If the analysis of Luke be applied to Mark, the following will be the result:

The first seven manuscripts are wanting.

MS. No. 8, Luke, 41. 16 to 30, is omitted in Mark entirely, in place of which is inserted, the calling of the apostles; Mark, 1. 16 to 20.

The previous account of the preaching of John, Mark, 1. 1 to 8, is so much different from that in Luke, that it is plain it was not from the same manuscript.

No. 9, Luke, 4. 31 to 44, is closely followed in Mark, (1. 21 to 39.) There is just sufficient expansion of language, to justify the presumption that the same manuscript was used; or possibly here, as well as in a few other places, the Gospel of Luke itself.

In point of correctness, it has been already noticed, that Sanday places this gospel below Luke. The same view is taken by Schleiermacher. Speaking of the synoptics, he says, that in comparing Luke with Matthew and Mark, he sees evidence that the corresponding nar-

ratives in the latter gospels, were originally more hastily taken down, or were obscured by passing through a great number of hands.[1]

Pursuing the analysis,

MS. No. 10, Luke, 5. 1 to 11, is not in Mark, though there is a shorter account of a similar transaction.

No. 11, Luke, 5. 12 to 16, is contained in Mark, (1. 40 to 45), but with such an important change at the close, as to draw from Schleiermacher the following remark:

"By this alteration, the history assumes almost an apocryphal character; and, if, on the one hand, we acknowledge the instruction we receive by this very circumstance of Mark's narrative, it is no less true, on the other hand, that the comparison is the more unfavorable to him, as his additions frequently tend to this sort of exaggeration."—*Essay on Luke, p.* 78.

No. 12, Luke, 5. 17 to 26, all but the first verse, is found substantially the same in Mark, 2. 2 to 12.

No. 13, also, Luke, 5. 27 to 39, is closely followed in Mark, 2. 14 to 22.

So also No. 14, Luke, 6, 1 to 11, in Mark, 2. 23 to 3. 5.

In No. 15, Luke, 6. 12 to 7. 10, we first find a break in a manuscript; hitherto, such as were used, having been inserted entire, though with alterations.

Mark contains the first and last portion of this, while the middle part, containing portions of the sermon on the mount, is omitted.

The circumstances connected with the choosing of the twelve, Schleiermacher thinks, were misunderstood by Mark. "He had hitherto," he says, "followed Luke. Not that I would assert with Griesbach, that he had before him the whole of the present Gospel of Luke, but this collection he most probably had."[2]

After showing that the matter was not properly understood by Mark, he says:

"Under these circumstances, I do not at all see why one should take pains, trying all possible explanations, some of them in the highest degree improbable, to show how Jude, the son of James, and Lebbeus who was named Thaddeus, may be one person.—*p.* 93.

No. 16, Luke, 7. 11 to 50, not in Mark.

(1.) Essay on Luke, p. 77.
(2.) Essay, p. 91.

Schleiermacher is perplexed at not finding the miracle of Nain, related by any evangelist but Luke; especially "considering the scanty number of instances of restoration to life." He thinks the event was recorded by some one who had heard of it at Capernaum, or Jerusalem, and who did not wish to trouble the apostles by applying to them for confirmation of the account.[1]

No. 17, Luke, 8. 1 to 21, is, again, broken up, being found neither entire, nor in the same order, in Mark. The most of it finds a parallel, with much amplification, in Mark, 4. 1 to 25, and 3. 31 to 35.

Commenting upon the contents of this manuscript Schleiermacher says:

"In Mark's strange addition, (3. 31), for strange it still appears to me, in whatever way it be understood and qualified—I would not seek any discovery of the relation then subsisting, between Jesus and his kinsfolk."—*p.* 127.

Again: "This addition belongs, undoubtedly, to the number of accumulations and exaggerations which are so very common with Mark, both in the introductions to the several incidents in his gospel, and in the general statements which he occasionally inserts, to fill up a chasm."—*Essay, p.* 128.

No. 18, Luke, 8. 22 to 56, finds a close parallel in Mark, 4. 36 to 5. 43. The manuscript was inserted entire; not, however, without the usual amplification in the different narratives. The differences are not greater than would result from a few copyings; though it is probable that something was added by the author himself.

No. 19. Luke, 9. 1 to 45. This manuscript, with many variations, and the insertion of much new matter, may be traced as follows: Mark, 6. 7 to 16; same ch. vv. 30 to 44; ch. 8, 27 to 31; same, 34 to 38; ch. 9, vv. 1 to 11; same, 17 to 29, and verses 31 and 32. If all this was taken from a common source, it is difficult to discover upon what principle the selections were made, or the new matter inserted.

No. 20. Luke, 9. 46 to 50. Paralleled in Mark, 9. 33 to 40, to which is subjoined much not in Luke, but parallels to which may be found in Matthew.

MSS. Nos. 21 to 25 inclusive, comprising Luke, 9. 51 to 13. 9, not in Mark, except a few verses, Mark 3. 22 to 27, parallel with part of No. 25.

Nos. 26 to 29 inclusive, Luke, 13. 10 to 17. 19, not in Mark.

No. 30. Luke, 17. 20 to 19. 48. First division, 17. 20 to 18. 14, not in Mark The first part of the second division, Luke, 18. 15 to 43, finds a parallel in

(1.) Essay, p. 169.

Mark 10, 13 to 34, and vv. 46 to 52. The balance of the 2d division, Luke, 19, 1 to 28, has no parallel in Mark; while, again, the third division, Luke, 19, 29 to 48, will be found followed, more or less closely, in Mark, 11. 1 to 18.

No. 31. Luke, chs. 20 and 21. Parallel, Mark, 11. 27 to 31, and chs. 12 and 13.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23. 49. Parallels, Mark, 14. 1, 2; same ch. vv. 10 to 17; vv. 22 to 24; v. 26; v. 32; vv. 35 to 38; vv. 43 to 49; vv. 53, 54, and 61 to 72. Also, ch. 15, vv. 1 to 15, 21 to 33, and 37 to 41.

In all this, we discover parallels, by no means complete, to only a portion of No. 32. It is impossible to believe that the authors of Luke and Mark here used a common manuscript. Such an entire breaking up and scattering of the several portions of it, is scarcely conceivable. The author of Mark, we may suppose, drew somewhat from manuscripts, something from tradition, and much from his imagination.

No. 33. Luke, 23 50, to the end. Whatever parallel to this there may be in Mark, is in the last part of the gospel. But Mark here diverges much from the others. The last twelve verses are considered spurious.

As the result of the foregoing analysis, it will be seen, that of the 33 manuscripts in Luke, the first 8 are wanting in Mark, being the same, except No. 8, which were wanting also in Marcion. Of the other 25, 10 are omitted entirely, and 8 are inserted entire, while the others are more or less broken and disjointed; some of them so much so, as to lose their identity completely.

This result, while it confirms the theory of Schleiermacher, recognizing, as it does, the identity and completeness of most of the manuscripts, at the same time would indicate that the German theologian had, in some instances, carried his division too far; and had specified, as distinct manuscripts, some portions of Luke, which were founded upon tradition, and composed by the author himself. These could not be expected to correspond, with much strictness, with the narratives of other writers, drawn from similar traditions.

Of the general incorrectness of Mark, there is much

evidence; many passages, being looked upon by critics, as interpolations.

The Gospel according to Mark is supposed to have been written at Rome.

It was not quoted by Tertullian, in Africa.

At Rome, where the gospel was probably composed, the stories in Luke, concerning the infancy of Jesus, so manifestly of Eastern original, had not yet obtained much credence. They were accordingly omitted. In this respect, the Gospel of Marcion was in that portion of Christendom, considered the most reliable, and was looked upon as evidence, that the early biography of Jesus was unknown.

The Gospel of Peter is supposed to have contained the substance of the Oracles of Matthew; and as the former was at the basis of Mark, and the latter, of Matthew, that would account for much of the similarity between Mark and Matthew, without assuming that any portion of either was copied directly from the other. Mark has almost a complete parallel in Luke and Matthew taken together. There are but 24 verses which have no parallel in either of the other synoptics.

As to the order in which these gospels were written, much has been said, but the subject is in the utmost confusion and uncertainty.

"That St. Mark wrote later than St. Luke," says Michaelis, I have no doubt."—*Vol.* 3, *p.* 96. *Note.*

Other writers have different opinions and theories, scarcely any two agreeing completely with each other. The absence of the history of the Infancy, Westcott says, brings Mark within the limits laid down by St. Peter, for the extent of the apostolic testimony.[1]

(1.) Introduction to the Gospels, p. 205, and Note.

Baronius, Bellarmine and some others, think this gospel was first written in Latin. This is not improbable, if it was composed at Rome, late in the second century.

That the gospel in its pesent form, was not the work of Mark, the companion of the apostles, is the opinion of Credner,[1] and several other evangelical writers, among whom Mr. Sanday may be included.

(1.) Einleit. Sec. 56.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Gospel according to John.

But little light can be thrown upon the Gospel of John, by any comparison with the manuscripts of Luke.

The first manuscript to which any similarity can be found, is No. 19; the account of the feeding of the multitude, by a miracle. But the differences in the narratives, are very great. According to all the synoptics, Jesus had retired to a desert place; in Luke it is stated that it belonged to the City of Bethsaida. According to John, he had gone up into a mountain. According to this historian, who distributes the ministry of Jesus through several years, it was on the eve of a Jewish passover. This the synoptics say nothing about; nor do they connect Jesus with any passover, except the one at which he suffered. According to Mark and Matthew, who continue the narrative, Jesus sent away the multitudes, and retired into a mountain to pray; according to John, he departed into a mountain, [though he was already in a mountain], to avoid the multitude who wished to take him by force, and make him a king. It will be remembered that this

manuscript could not be fully identified in Mark. These were probably different versions of a common tradition.

The essential features of the tradition were, that a multitude consisting of 5000 men, besides the women and children, had been fed by Christ, upon five loaves and two fishes. Beyond this, each historian considered himself at liberty to fill up the account in his own way.

The next parallel is to No. 30. Of the contents of this long manuscript, there is but the circumstance of Jesus riding on the colt of an ass, which is briefly noticed, as the fulfillment of a prophecy. This manuscript also, could not be recognized distinctly in Mark, and there is no reason to believe it was used in John.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23. 49. Portions of this MS. have partial parallels, in John, 13. 1 to 30; vv. 36 to 38; ch. 18, vv. 1 to 18; 24 to 28; 33 to 40; ch. 19, vv. 15 to 25; 28 to 30.

No. 33. Luke, 23. 50, to the end.

The first part of this manuscript, narrating the begging of the body of Jesus, and his burial, by Joseph of Arimathea, has a closer parallel in John than any of the previous ones; (John, 19. 38 to 42.) The balance of it however, after the coming of Mary Magdalene to the sepulcher, cannot be recognized.

Thus, it will be seen, that not a single manuscript in Luke, can be completely traced in John. In some instances, the writer may have used Luke or Mark.

The inference is, that Luke and John were not composed from common sources.

The same result will follow, upon comparing John with Mark and Matthew.

The Gospel of John stands alone. It has every mark of being an original gospel, while the synoptics are compilations.

The synoptics are compilations made, for the most part, with the laudable purpose of preserving the early traditions of the disciples, concerning the life and teachings, the sufferings, the death and the resurrection of Jesus.

The Gospel of John is a theological document, written for theological purposes.

The first express testimony to the existence of this gospel, is that of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 180, who speaks of it thus:

"And hence the holy writings teach us, and all the spirit-bearing (inspired) men, one of whom, John, says, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God,'" &c.—*Ad Autolycum*, 2. 22.

Here John is not spoken of as an apostle, but as a spirit-bearing, or inspired man. Such the writer may have considered John the Presbyter, of the second century, who is by many thought to be the author of the gospel.

The internal character of this gospel, is quite inconsistent with the theory of its having been written by the unlettered fisherman, the son of Zebedee. It is hardly possible that such a person could have become the educated and philosophical theologian, whose pen is to be traced in the Gospel of John.

It is written in purer, and less Hebraistic Greek, than the other gospels, and its style is elegant and graceful.

John the apostle, son of Zebedee, was a Jew. But the author of the Gospel of John, refers to the Jews in the third person. He speaks of the feasts "of the Jews," "the passover of the Jews," "the manner of the purifying of the Jews," &c. The law of Moses is spoken of as "your law," and "their law." Furthermore, the Jews are denounced as the children of the devil.

The fact that in this gospel, the full and absolute divinity of Christ, is first distinctly taught, is evidence,

also, that it was not written by a Jew. The divinity of Jesus was not a doctrine of the Jewish Christians. It originated with Gentiles, formerly idolators. To the Jew, it meant polytheism. The early Jewish Christians held Christ to be a man only.

There are also many errors in reference to the geography of the country. The author speaks of Ænon, near to Salim, in Judæa; also of Bethany, beyond Jordan, and of "a city of Samaria, called Sychar." If there were any such places, they were strangely unknown to other writers. The writer of this gospel, like the authors of some of the apocryphal gospels, affected a knowledge of the country which he did not possess. The learned Dr. Bretschneider points out such mistakes and errors of the geography, chronology, history and statistics of Judæa, as no person who had ever resided in that country, or had been by birth a Jew, could possibly have committed.

Even the birthplace of John himself, Bethsaida, or Julias, is assigned to Galilee, when it was situated in another country. This mistake alone, is fatal to the authority of the gospel. This is conceded by Hug,[1] provided it cannot be explained. An attempt has been made to explain it by showing that it was the custom of the people to speak of the Gaulonite country as Galilee. Josephus is cited, as calling Judas, the Galilean, a Gaulonite. Josephus four times refers to Judas as a Galilean.[2] The only place where he is spoken of otherwise,[3] is manifestly a mistake on the part of some transcriber, and arose from the fact, that there were two cities by the name of Gamala, one in Gaulonitis,

(1.) Introduction to N. T. p. 24.

(2.) Antiquities, bk. 18, 1. 6; bk. 20, 5. 2; Jewish War, bk. 2, 8. 1, and bk. 2, 17. 8.

(3.) Antiquities, bk. 18, 1. 1.

the other in Galilee. No doubt the passage in Josephus, "a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala," should read, "a Galilean, of a city whose name was Gamala." It would then correspond with the other passages in Josephus, and with the Acts of the Apostles, [5. 37]; in all of which he was called Judas of Galilee.

Galilee was a well known district of country, with well defined boundaries; and it is absurd to suppose that another country, entirely disconnected with it, was called Galilee, without further evidence than this passage of Josephus.

The conclusion is, that the author of the Gospel of John, was ignorant of the birthplace of John the apostle.

This gospel differs from all three of the synoptics, in relating several events, which occurred when John the apostle was not present; while strangely enough, other transactions in which, according to the synoptics, the apostle John was present, are not related in the Gospel of John at all; particularly the transfiguration, which, according to all the synoptics, took place in the presence of Peter, James and John.

That John had neglected to testify, where his testimony would naturally be expected, was noticed, very anciently, by Faustus, the Manichæan, in his controversy with Augustine. Speaking of the passage, "Think not that I am come," &c., (Matt. 5. 17), he says:

"Who testifies that Jesus said this? Matthew. Where did he say it? On the mountain. Who were present? Peter, Andrew, James and John. Others, but not Matthew himself. He had not as yet chosen Matthew. But one of these four, John, wrote a gospel. Well, then, he relates this somewhere? No, not at all. How is it, then, that John, who was on the mountain, does not testify? And that this is written by Matthew, who became a follower of Jesus some time after he descended from the mountain? It is therefore very doubtful whether Jesus said this; because a proper witness is silent, while an improper witness testifies."—*Augustinus contra Faustum, lib.* 17, *ch.* 1.

The writer of this gospel quotes the Old Testament prophecies, almost as loosely, and with as little regard to their applicability, as the author of Matthew. Psalms, 41. 9, quoted in John 13. 18, did not refer to Christ, nor to Judas. So of John, 17. 12.

So strong is the evidence of a late date to this gospel, that its apostolic origin is being abandoned by the ablest evangelical writers. Westcott says, "The earliest account of the origin of the gospel, is already legendary."[1]

Dr.Davidson, author of the article on the canon in the new edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, says, its Joannine authorship must be abandoned, and its existence prior to A. D. 140, cannot be maintained.[2] Both Irenæus and Jerome assert that John wrote against Cerinthus. Cerinthus flourished about A. D. 145.

Again, there is evidence that in the construction of this gospel, as in that of Matthew, the author had in view the building up of the Roman hierarchy, the foundations of which were then (About A. D. 177—8,) being laid. In the 21st chapter, is a detailed account of an appearance of Jesus, after his resurrection, to seven of his disciples, at the Sea of Tiberias, something not heard of in the synoptic gospels, and which bears the impress of an original narrative, suggested by scenes in Christ's ministry. After they had dined, Jesus is made to say to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" an injunction which was afterward repeated.

In Matthew only, is Peter made the rock on which the church was to be built, and in John only, is he enjoined to feed the sheep of Christ. There is reason to believe that both gospels were written in the interest of the supremacy of the church of Rome.

(1.) Introduction, p. 255.

(2.) Davidson on the Canon, p. 99. In his Int. to N. T., the limit is 150.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Gospel according to Matthew.

The Gospel of Matthew presents at once phenomena of the most varied and inexplicable character. While many of its narratives and of its records of the sayings of Christ, from their brevity and simplicity, are recognized as among the oldest traditions, and as having been taken from near the fountain head, the gospel itself bears, in other places, internal evidence of a comparatively late origin.

The persistent statements of Jerome, supported by Epiphanius, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was the Hebrew form of the Gospel of Matthew, statements not at all borne out by the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which they have given, still further complicate a question, in other respects sufficiently difficult.

Many writers, not willing to discard altogether the assertions of Jerome and Epiphanius, have supposed our Matthew to be a translation from a more correct version of the Hebrew gospel, than that quoted by those fathers; and that the differences between those quotations and the Greek Matthew, are to be account-

ed for, partly by the difference in the Hebrew versions, and partly by the freedom of translation. Among these, Bishop Marsh is one of the most eminent.

Others, giving but little credit to these fathers, whom, in other matters they have found so unreliable, and resting the case upon internal evidence, have pronounced the Gospel of Matthew an original Greek production. This view is strongly maintained by Jones and other modern critics.

Volumes have been written upon the subject, but it cannot be clearly seen, that any progress has been made toward a satisfactory solution.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LUKE COMPARED WITH MATTHEW.

There is a partial parallel in the third chapter of Matthew, to the first part of manuscript No. 7; [Luke, 3. 1 to 22.] Omitting the genealogies, which are entirely different, the parallel is resumed, and more closely followed, in the history of the temptation; [Luke, 4. 1 to 13; Matthew, 4. 1 to 11.]

MS. No. 8, Luke, 4. 16 to 30, has no parallel in Matthew.

No. 9, Luke, 4. 31 to 44, which had a complete parallel in Mark, finds only a partial parallel in Matthew, commencing with verse 38, of Luke, [Matt. 8. 14], and giving an account of the healing of Simon's wife's mother, and other sick people.

We early find evidence of that tendency to amplification and exaggeration which is characteristic of the author of this gospel. Although, in accordance with the accounts in the other synoptics, he states, in verse 16, that "when the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils, and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick;" adding, according to his custom, a reference to the fulfillment of prophecy; and though he had also stated, in ch. 4, v. 23, that Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching, &c., and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease, among the people; he there adds, after the narrative has been closed by the other historians, the following:

V. 24. "And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those who were possessed with devils, and those who were lunatic, and those who had the palsy; and he healed them."

MS. No. 10, Luke, 5. 1 to 11, cannot be traced in Matthew, though there is a shorter account of the calling of the four disciples, corresponding to that in Mark.

No. 11. Luke, 5. 12 to 16. The parallel account in Matthew, is shorter than in Luke or Mark. This is one of the places which indicate Matthew, as containing the earlier narrative. The account of this miracle, as related in the Acts of Pilate, is shorter than either of these.

No. 12. Luke, 5. 17 to 26. Parallel, Matthew, 9. 1 to 8.

" 13. Luke, 5. 27 to 39. See Matthew, 9. 9 to 17, which has a close resemblance.

So also No. 14, Luke, 6. 1 to 11; Matthew, 12. 1 to 13.

No. 15. Luke, 6. 12, to 7. 10. The last ten verses of this manuscript, describing the healing of the centurion's servant, are paralleled in Matthew, 8. 5 to 13. The other portion, which commences with the choosing of the twelve, and consists, principally, of sayings of Jesus, can hardly be considered paralleled by the sermon on the mount, which is much more extensive.

No. 16, Luke, 7. 11 to 50, which has no parallel in Mark, has a partial parallel in Matthew. See Luke, 7. 18 to 35, and Matthew, 11. 2 to 19.

No. 17. Luke, 8. 1 to 21. See Matthew, 13. 1 to 25, and 12. 46 to 50, where the parallel is nearly complete.

18. Luke, 8. 22 to 56. Parallel, Matt. 8. 18; vv. 23 to 34; ch. 9, 18 to 25.

19. Luke, 9. 1 to 45. Matt. 10. 1 to 15; 14. 1, 2; vv. 13 to 21; ch. 16, 13 to 16, 20; vv. 21 to 28, and ch. 17, 1 to 23. This manuscript, if used at all, is completely broken up.

20. Luke, 9. 46 to 50; Matthew, 18. 1 to 6.

21. Luke, 9. 51, to 10. 24. Partial parallel in Matt. 8. 19 to 22.

MSS. 22, 23 and 24, Luke, 10. 25, to 11. 13. No parallel in Matthew.

No. 25. Luke, 11. 14, to 13. 9. Partial parallel, Matthew, 12. 22 to 30, and vv. 38 to 45.

26 to 29. Luke, 13. 10 to 17. 19. No parallel.

No. 30. Luke, 17. 20, to 19. 48. The first division, 17. 20 to 18 14, has no parallel. First part of second division, 18. 15 to 30, has as parallel, Matt. 19. 13 to 30. Luke, 18. 31 to 43, has Matt. 20. 17 to 19, and 20. 29 to 34. Luke, 19. 29 to 38, has Matthew, 21. 1 to 9, and Luke, 19. 45, 46, has Matt. 21. 12, 13. These partial parallels do not, however, identify the manuscript.

No. 31. Luke, chs. 20 and 21. Partial parallels, Matt. 21. 23 to 27; 33 to

45; ch. 22, vv. 15, 32; vv. 41 to 46; ch. 23, vv. 5 to 7; v. 14; and ch. 24, vv. 1 to 44; following which, are lengthy sayings of Christ, found in Matthew alone.

No. 32. Luke, 22. 1 to 23, 49. Matt. 26. 3 to 5; 14 to 25. The parallel considerably broken. Matt. 27. 1, 2; 11 to 56.

No. 33. Luke, 23. 50, to the end. Some partial parallels, in Matt. 27. 57, to the end.

Recapitulation.—Five of the manuscripts are complete in Matthew, though with the customary changes and accumulations. Some dozen of the others have parallels more or less extensive. There is indicated a common use of manuscripts, though not to so great an extent as by the authors of Luke and Mark.

We will now proceed to consider some of the indications of a late date for the construction of the Gospel of Matthew.

1. That Matthew was written for theological purposes, and for the use of the church, after it had become pretty well established, is shown by the frequent reference to the prophecies, and the manifest anxiety to show that the events related, were in fulfillment of the predictions referred to. True, the author is quite uniformly unfortunate, in his selection of prophecies, scarcely one of which has any reference to the subject matter to which it is applied.[1] But the object of the writer is apparent, all the same.

2. The comparative late composition of this work may be inferred from the many additions of incidents of a striking and marvelous character, not contained in the other gospels. Notably among these, are the earthquakes at the crucifixion and the resurrection, both of which were known to this historian only. Also, the opening of the graves, and the rising of the saints.

(1.) For some instances, see the comparisons between Matthew and the Infancy gospels.

Schleiermacher, in comparing Luke with Mark and Matthew, sees evidence that the corresponding narratives in the latter gospels, were originally more hastily taken down, or were obscured by passing through a great number of hands.[1]

Speaking of the account of casting out the devils, [Matt. 8. 28 to 33], he says:

"The alteration made here, by introducing two demoniacs, in itself improbable, as it is not usual for madmen to contract a close friendship and intimacy with each other, might, indeed, admit of a different explanation, as other instances of a similar duplication, are found in Matthew."—*Essay, p.* 137.

In regard to the feeding of the multitudes, notwithstanding the statement in Matthew 16, Schleiermacher thinks there was but one feeding, and that Matthew was misled, by having two different accounts of the same transaction.[2]

Speaking of Matt. 16. 13 to 28, he says:

"No one will readily believe, that Christ, in the same breath, as it were, would deliver to Peter the key of the kingdom of heaven, and then call him a Satan, who did not favor the things which be of God."—*Page* 153.

He thinks the manner in which Matthew represents the transfiguration, shows that the account had passed through several hands.

"In this narrative," he says, "one perceives the exclusive direction of the reporter's imagination toward the marvelous. On this account, the assertion that the two figures were Moses and Elias, appears far more confident than in Luke, in whose narrative, every attentive reader easily sees that it is founded merely on the expression of Peter, in a state between sleeping and waking." —*Page* 156.

"In the same way, we may remark, likewise, in the healing of the epileptic in Matthew, a distortion into extravagance."—*Essay, p.* 157.

After commenting at length upon the circumstance, he says:

(1.) Essay on Luke, p. 77.
(2.) Ibid. p. 144.

"Matthew therefore, either has had a less authentic reporter here, or perhaps only obscured the state of the case, by his habit of annexing analogous matter."—*Ibid. p.* 159.

In the account in Matthew, corresponding to Luke 9. 46 to 50, Schleiermacher thinks much is annexed, which was not spoken on the occasion.[1]

He comments on the incoherence in the narratives of Matthew.[2]

Referring to the duplication of the blind men at Jericho, he says, Matthew "had before done something of the same sort, in the case of the demoniac at Gadara." How the mistake happened, he does not undertake to determine.[3]

Speaking of Matt. 21. 1 to 17, he says:

"As to what is said in Matthew, somewhat strangely indeed, of two animals, I can only explain it by the attempt to make the application of the fact to the passage in Zechariah, as close as possible. Every other explanation appears to be lost labor. For if Matthew is to be reconciled with the rest, it must have been properly the πῶλος which Christ bespoke for himself; but when the πῶλος is able to bear the weight of a man, though it has never yet been ridden, the she ass no longer runs by its side, but has long left it to itself." —*Essay on Luke*, p. 258.

He thinks the rending of the vail poetical. So also, the opening of the graves, and the rising of the saints from the dead, as related by Matthew.[4]

3. One circumstance indicating a late date for this gospel, is the passage, Matt. 23. 35:

"That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew, between the temple and the altar."

In Luke, this is quoted from an apocryphal book, called the "Wisdom of God;" and is applied to Zacha-

(1.) Essay, p. 162.
(2.) Ibid. pp. 190 to 199.
(3.) Ibid. p. 249.
(4.) Ibid. p. 305.

rias who perished between the altar and the temple." [Luke, 11. 49 to 51.]

The passage was not in Marcion. In Luke, though the place of the death of Zachariah is not described with entire correctness, it is generally considered that the reference is to Zachariah, the son of Jehoida. [See 2d Chron. 24. 20, 21.] But this was ending, a long way back, the list of prophets whose blood had been shed unjustly. The author of Matthew, wishing to bring it down to a later date, adds, "son of Barachias." This changes the personage at once, and brings the scene down to a date subsequent to the time of Christ. Zacharias, son of Barouchos, was massacred by the zealots, inside the temple, shortly before the siege of Jerusalem; about A. D. 69.[1] [See Apendix, II.]

It is evident that this portion of the Gospel of Matthew was written, not only after the destruction of Jerusalem, but a long time after. It will be noticed that these words are not here, as in Luke, quoted from the Wisdom of God. They are put into the mouth of Jesus himself, who is made to allude to an event as in the past, which took place more than thirty years afterward. No one, writing immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, could have made such a mistake. But a writer living more than a hundred years afterward, might do so. Suppose, a thousand years hence, a history should be under examination, which should represent Andrew Jackson as speaking of something as then past, which has occurred in our own times; say the death of Senator Chandler. Would not that be evidence that the history was written, not only after the death of Chandler, but a long time after?

4. In Matt. 27. 8, after stating that the chief priests

(1.) Josephus, Jewish War, bk. 4, ch. 5. 4.

took the silver pieces which Judas had thrown away, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in, it is added,

"Wherefore, that field was called the field of blood, until this day."

The phrase "until this day," implies a very long time between the transaction and the time of relating it.

So again, Matt. 28. 15. In relating the bribing of the soldiers by the chief priests, there is the following:

"So they took the money, and did as they were taught; and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

5. Evidence of the late construction of Matthew, is to be found in the attempt in the 16th chapter, to specially connect Peter with the foundation of the Christian church. The narrative of the conversation between Jesus and Peter, as given in Luke and Mark, contains nothing of the kind.

That this was a later interpolation in the gospel history, made in the interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, then being established, will become more manifest by comparing the accounts in the synoptic gospels, as follows:

LUKE, ch. 9.	MARK, ch. 8.	MATTHEW, ch. 16.
His disciples were with him; and he asked them, saying: Whom say the people that I am?	And by the way, he asked his disciples, saying unto them: Whom do men say that I am?	He asked his disciples, saying: Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?
They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others say that one of the old prophets is risen again.	And they answered, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others, one of the prophets.	And they said, Some (say) John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets.
He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answering, said, The Christ of God.	And he saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ.	He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.
		And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but

LUKE, ch. 9.	MARK, ch. 8.	MATTHEW, ch. 16.
		my Father who is in heaven.
		And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.
		And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.
And he straitly charged them, and commanded them, to tell no man that thing.	And he charged them, that they should tell no man of him.	Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man, that he was Jesus the Christ.

From the closeness of the parallel, it is obvious, that the account was taken from a common manuscript, or from a common tradition.

The saying of Christ to Peter "Blessed art thou," &c. if it had ever been uttered, was too important to be omitted by the other historians. Besides, the word translated church was not in use earlier than the latter part of the second century.

About this time, A. D. 180 to 190, a violent dispute had arisen, concerning the celebration of Easter. The church at Rome was endeavoring to control the question, and to make it the occasion for the establishment of a supreme power. The Asiatic churches had rebelled against its pretensions. It was very important to conciliate them. Let us suppose that at this juncture, this gospel had appeared at Alexandria, whose bishop supported the Pope. It would at once be adopted in the churches of Africa, Gaul and Italy, all of which were favorable to the papal claims. It would then be circulated in Asia Minor, among the churches embued with Jewish traditions, and among whom the

name of Peter was all powerful, and would have an immense influence in favor of consolidation.

The epistle of Clement of Rome to James, was, it is to be presumed, already in circulation. In that it was stated that Peter had, at Rome, given to Clement, in in the presence of the congregation, the keys of the Kingdom, and had used almost the very words here attributed to Jesus. Peter had said of Clement, to the church,

"Wherefore, I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to every thing which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. He shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed, as knowing the rule of the church."

It only needed a gospel, showing that Christ had conferred this power upon Peter, and the chain of title of the Roman pontiff was complete.

When, where and by whom written.—No writer of the first centuries ever assigned a date to the Gospel of Matthew, except Irenæus, whose testimony is generally discarded. He states that it was written for the Jews while Peter and Paul were founding the church at Rome.[1]

"If," says Bishop Marsh, "the arguments in favor of a late date for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, be compared with those in favor of an early date, it will be found that the former greatly outweigh the latter."—*Notes to Michaelis, vol.* 3, *pt.* 2, p. 98.

According to the law of accretion, Matthew would stand next to Luke, in point of antiquity.

On the other hand, it has been seen, that several considerations point forcibly to a late date for its composition.

It remains to be considered, whether there is any theory which will explain these seemingly contradictory phenomena. We venture to make a suggestion,

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. 3. 1.

which, if not entirely correct, may lead to such inquiries as will result in a correct solution.

About A. D. 180, Pantænus was sent from Alexandria, as a missionary to India. It is said that he there found a Gospel of Matthew, which had been left in India many years before, by Bartholomew, who had preached in that country. There has been much discussion, as to what this Gospel of Matthew, sometimes called the Gospel of Bartholomew, was. Let us suppose, it was a copy of the Oracles of Matthew, to which had been attached some brief narrative of the ministry of Christ. It would be, in that case, one of the oldest copies in existence.

Suppose this copy was brought back to Alexandria, accompanied with some old manuscripts of genealogies. That some zealous Christian in that city, wishing to aid in the consolidation of the church then going on, untertook, from these and other materials, to write a new gospel. That it was published in Alexandria.

Such a work would fulfill all the conditions, and would exhibit the complex character now found in the Gospel of Matthew. The Oracles and accompanying narrative would furnish, in some cases, the most authentic records, and in the shortest and simplest form of any yet published; and this would of itself justify an addition to the gospels then in circulation.

The author would have before him, the gospels of the Infancy and the Gospel of Mark.

That Pantænus was a Jew, we learn from Clement of Alexandria, who speaks of him as a Hebrew of Palestine, whom he found concealed in Egypt, and who "was the true Sicilian bee, gathering the spoil of the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow."—[Stromata, bk. 1, ch. 1.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

Acts of the Apostles.

The book entitled the "Acts of the Apostles," does not much differ in its general character, from other writings of the kind which were in circulation among the Christians of the second century. There were Acts of the Apostles supposed to have been written by Lucius; there were The Acts of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, The Acts of Peter and Andrew, The Acts of Philip, The Acts of Paul and Thecla, &c.

The same bold appeal to the love of the marvelous —the same disregard of historical facts, and geographical and chronological accuracy, which are to be seen in those writings, characterize also, the Acts of the Apostles.

Gaza is spoken of as a desert place, though at that time it was a flourishing city.

In Acts, 5. 34 to 36, Gamaliel is represented as referring, in a speech, to Theudas, and to acts of his, which were not performed until some forty years after the time referred to, and more than ten years after the time when Gamaliel was delivering his address. Again, the reference in the 21st chapter, to the Egyptian im-

postor, does not at all agree with the historical account of the same transaction, as given by Josephus.

There is the same loose reference to the prophecies, as in John and Matthew.

This work had but an indifferent standing among the fathers. As late as at the commencement of the fifth century, Chrysostom said,

"This book is not so much as known to many. They know neither the book, nor by whom it was written."—*Prolegomena to Acts. See also Mill, Præf. in Act. p.* 254.

The text has always been very uncertain.[1] The Cambridge M. S., (Codex Bezæ), has six hundred interpolations.[2]

The author is supposed to have been the same as the compiler of the Gospel of Luke; a theory based upon the preface to each, and which finds some confirmation in linguistic peculiarities, and similarity of style.

That it was written late in the second century, may be safely assumed.

The following passage is from the writings of Aristides, the sophist, who flourished about A. D. 176.

The similarity in style and incidents to the 27th chapter of Acts, will be at once apparent.

"We were going to Cephallenia, and again we had a high sea, and a contrary wind, and we were tossed up and down, to the great detriment of my health, and beyond what my constitution could bear. Afterward, the like happened in the straits of Achaia, when truly the good marines would put out from Patræ, at the very time of the equinox, against my will, and very much to my prejudice, under my indispositions. The like things happened again, in the Ægean Sea, through the obstinacy of the master of the ship, and of the mariners; when they would sail, though the winds were contrary; nor would they hearken to me. So we were carried about by the tempest, over that whole sea, for fourteen days and nights, and were oftentimes without food, and at length, with difficulty, got to Miletus."—*Sacrorum Sermon.* 2, *tom.* 1, *p.* 306.

(1.) Westcott, Canon, p. 215.
(2.) Mc Clintock & Strong, Article "Cambridge MS."

There is no reason to believe that Aristides had ever seen the Acts, or any other book of the New Testament.

That the Acts of the Apostles also, was written in the interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, must be obvious to any one who will give the matter careful consideration.

In the Acts, a prominence is given to Peter, not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, if we except the two passages already spoken of. It was Peter who made a speech, showing the necessity of selecting another apostle, in place of Judas, (the Catholic historians add, that he presided over the election of Matthias)—it was Peter who made the great speech on the day of pentecost—it was Peter who first preached to the Jews—it was Peter who first announced that the gospel was to go to the Gentiles—it was Peter whom Paul came to Jerusalem to see, and as Bossuet says, to "study"—it was Peter who was a prominent actor at, (and as the Catholic historians have it, who presided over), the council of Jerusalem. Peter is everywhere prominent; every where making speeches, and directing the affairs of the church. He is the "pillar apostle," of both Jews and Gentiles.

Several of these accounts, giving such prominence to Peter, are in direct conflict with the writings of Paul. It was the policy of the author of the Acts, writing in the interest of the Catholic Church, and aiming at unity of doctrine, to ignore the well-known differences that existed all through the early age of the church, between Peter and James, and their Judaistic followers, on the one hand, and Paul and the Gentile Christians on the other. Accordingly, in the Acts, Paul is represented as preaching to the Jews at Samaria and Jerusalem, immediately after his conversion; although he himself distinctly informs us, in the epistle to the

Galatians, that he preached to the Gentiles seventeen years, before preaching to the Jews at all. Three years after his conversion, he went up to Jerusalem, but saw only Peter and James. Fourteen years afterward, he went up by revelation, and communicated to the Jews, even then privately at first, the gospel which he had been preaching among the Gentiles. [Galatians, ch. 2.]

In the Acts, not only does Paul preach at once to the Jews, but Peter becomes an apostle to the Gentiles. He is made to say,

"Ye know how that a good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth, should hear the word of the gospel, and believe."—*Acts*, 15. 7.

Thus the distinction so much dwelt upon by Paul, between himself as the apostle of the Gentiles—of the uncircumcision, and Peter, as the apostle of the Jews—the circumcision, is entirely broken down. Peter preaches to Gentiles and Jews, and Paul to Jews and Gentiles. This is contrary to what is known of the history of the Christian church in the first century, and inconsistent with the declaration of Paul:

"The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, as the gospel of the circumcision was to Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles."—*Galatians*, 2. 7, 8.

Even after the conference at Jerusalem, Paul was obliged to withstand Peter face to face, at Antioch. [Galatians, 2. 11.]

It is plain that the Acts of the Apostles was written in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church, and in support of the tradition that the Church of Rome was founded by the joint labors of Peter and Paul.

This tradition has no foundation except in the writings of one or two fathers of the latter part of the second century; fathers who had in view the same general object, as the author of the Acts of the Apostles.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Origin and History of Christian Doctrines.

A complete history of Christian doctrines would require volumes. It is obvious, that within the limits of a single chapter, but a meager outline can be given. The completeness of our work requires at least a brief sketch of the doctrines prevailing in the first two centuries.

The Immaculate Conception.

The first allusion to the immaculate conception, is in the Epistles of Ignatius; A. D. 115.

The belief in the miracles of Jesus, a belief which became common early in the second century, was naturally connected with his deification, and his assignment to a supernatural origin. A being who can disregard and overthrow the laws of nature, must needs be a god, and a god must be begotten by a god. Thus the three doctrines may be said to postulate and prove each other.

The doctrine of the immaculate conception, when once announced, rapidly grew into favor, and was firmly established as a doctrine of the church, before the close of the second century.

It has always been a favorite doctrine of the Catholic Church. The Protestants have not placed so much

stress upon it, but have accepted it, as apparently the only consistent explanation of the divinity of Christ.

The Miracles of Jesus.

The first mention of these was in the Epistle of Barnabas, A. D. 130, and in the Acts of Pilate and other apocryphal gospels, which are supposed to have been written about the same time.

A hundred years of silence, by Christian writers, is at least wonderful, if such miracles were then believed. And equally wonderful is the fact, that no Jewish or heathen historian, during that period, has recorded that such events were reported of Jesus, and believed by his followers.

It is not probable that Christ ever claimed or pretended to work miracles. Such pretensions would have detracted from his exalted character, and would have placed him upon a level with Simon Magus, Apollonius, and other miracle-workers of that age.

Miracles in the Church.

Beyond what is contained in the epistles of Paul, it does not appear that any claim was made to the power of working miracles in the church, until about the middle of the second century.

The Material Resurrection.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the material body of Christ, must be placed in the same category.

Nothing is heard of it earlier than in the Gospel of the Hebrews, which is generally thought to have been written early in the second century. In the writings of the fathers, the doctrine first appeared in the middle of the second century.

According to the opinion of many in the first century, the soul or spirit of Jesus had gone below, to a

place understood as hades, under or beneath the earth, and the resurrection was the calling back of the soul to earth, and its ascension to heaven. To this doctrine Paul may have alluded, when he asked "Who shall descend into the deep? That is, to bring up Christ again from the dead?" [Romans, 10. 7.]

The prevailing view of the resurrection, however, as taught by the earlier fathers, is well explained by Neander, the celebrated church historian. He quotes from Origen, who distinguished "from the mutable phenomenal form, the proper essence lying at the foundation of the body, which remains the same through all the changes of the earthly life, and which, moreover, is not destroyed at death. This proper essence, lying at the foundation of the body, would by the operation of the divine power, be awakened to a nobler form, corresponding to the ennobled character of the soul; so that as the soul had communicated its own peculiar stamp to the earthly body, it would then communicate the same to the transfigured body." [1]

The spiritualism of the first century was destined to be obscured, after the death of its most illustrious advocates, Paul and Clement. The Christians of the second century required a grosser form of doctrine.

Justin Martyr argued for a resurrection of the flesh. [2]

So Athenagoras, in his Treatise on the Resurrection, maintained, that every particle of matter which constitutes the human body, would be brought back to its proper place, and thought it a reflection on the power of God, to object that the same particles of matter enter into the composition of different bodies.

Tertullian thought the dead would be raised with a

(1.) Neander's Christian Hist. vol. 2, p. 436.
(2.) Works of Justin, Ante-Nicene, vol. 2, p. 345.

material body, and afterward, the bodies would be changed. A real fleshly body was to be reproduced, and when Christ should appear, it was to be caught up into the air, and then the material body would be changed into a spiritual body.[1]

Irenæus maintains the identity of the future, with the present body.

In the midst of all this materialism, however, Clement of Alexandria and Origen maintained the spiritualistic views of Paul and Clement of Rome.

In the construction of the canonical gospels, the materialistic side prevailed. We there find the resurrection of a material body, which required the stone to be rolled away from before the sepulcher.

Divinity of Christ.

Paul, though drawing a broad distinction between God and Jesus Christ, through all his epistles, repeatedly designating the latter as a man, "of the seed of David," at the same time, in other passages, [Philippians, 2. 5, 6; 2d Cor. 5. 19, &c.], used language capable of another construction; and from which was drawn a doctrine, which, by successive steps, ended in the complete deification of Christ, as an essential part of a Triune God.

The Jewish Christians, and many of the Gentiles, steadily maintained that Jesus was a man only, born in the ordinary course of generation. To which the Gnostics added, that Christ, as an æon or divine spirit, entered into him at the time of his baptism; from which time he was divinely inspired.

Among the mass of Gentile Christians, however, the tendency to deify their great teacher and exemplar,

(1.) Tertul. adv. Marcion, bk. 5, ch. 20.

was early manifested, and rapidly gained in strength and power.

This tendency can be traced among all the orthodox fathers. Ignatius speaks of him as "Jesus Christ, our God;" and similar expressions are to be found in other early Christian writers.

The testimony of Pliny is, that the Christians were accustomed to meet before day-break, and sing a responsive hymn, ("carmen dicere secum invicem"), to Christ as to God. ("Christo quasi Deo.")[1]

Whether in so doing, they were not giving countenance to polytheism, the Christians of that day did not stop to inquire. They were too enthusiastic in the new religion, to formulate scientific creeds, or to take time to establish consistency of doctrine.

Justin Martyr was the first who undertook to give a definite shape to the doctrine. He maintained that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who appeared to Moses in the flaming bush, was the Word, or Christ, who he says, was also called angel and apostle. While he was God, he was entirely distinct from God the Father, in every respect, except that he was begotten, or produced from him, by emanation, as a ray of light proceeds from the sun.[2]

He is very emphatic in maintaining that Christ is really different from the Father.

"This rational power," he says, "is not, like the light of the sun, merely nominally different (from the Father), but really another, numerically." (*Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τὶ ἐστι.*)—*Dialogue with Trypho*, chs. 128, 129.

This he illustrates by fire kindled from a fire; "which," says he, "we see to be distinct from it."[3]

He repeatedly speaks of Christ as God, but so far

(1.) Ep. 10. 97.
(2.) 1st Apology, chs. 13, 63; Dialogue with Trypho, chs. 113, 128, 129, &c.
(3.) Dialogue, ch. 128.

from asserting his identity with the Father, either in person or essence, he says:

"They who affirm that the Son is the Father, are proved neither to have become acquainted with the Father, nor to know that the Father of the Universe has a son."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 63.

In the same passage, he asserts the divinity of Christ, and says he was the first-begotten Word of God.

Not only does Justin deny the identity of the Son with the Father, but he is equally explicit in excluding the idea of equality between them. Speaking of the Son, he says,

"We esteem him in the second place. (χώρα.)" "For they proclaim," says he, "our madness to consist in this; that we give to a crucified man, a place second to the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of all."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 13.

The tendency to polytheism, which naturally resulted from an attempt to deify Christ, had thus culminated in Justin Martyr. Here were two Gods, the one entirely distinct from, and subordinate to the other. A reaction followed, which resulted in the doctrine of the trinity. The divinity of Christ could not be abandoned. It had taken too firm a hold upon the hearts of the multitude of his disciples. It must now be reconciled with monotheism. This required that the Son should, in some way, be identified with the Father. The object was accomplished through the growth and development of the doctrine of the Logos. In the writings of Philo, in the first century, the doctrine of the Word, as the only begotten Son of the Father, existing with Him, as the creative power, was fully taught and elaborated. But Philo, a Jew, knew nothing of Jesus Christ, as the Word.

Justin Martyr applied this doctrine to Christ, who then became, to the Christians, the Logos so much dwelt upon by Philo. But Justin did not, as we have

seen, identify the Son, or the Word with the Father. It remained for the author of the Gospel of John, a quarter of a century later, boldly to announce, without qualification, that "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

This was the culmination of the doctrine of the Logos, and at the same time, the foundation of the doctrine of the trinity. The disposition to deify Christ, had been gaining ground for nearly a century, and had finally prevailed, without overthrowing monotheism, which was an essential part of the Christian system.

No wonder that a gospel which thus so distinctly struck for the first time, the key note of that grand anthem, which was already in the hearts of multitudes, waiting only for expression, should at once become popular—should be received as canonical—should take its place among the gospels which had already been selected—that it should be ascribed to an apostle, and should maintain its ground, without any examination of its authenticity, as an apostolic production.

The Trinity.

A solid foundation for the doctrine of the trinity, having thus been laid, the completion of the structure was the work of the next century and a half. The doctrine was scientifically formulated at the Council of Nice, A D. 325.

From what has been said, it will be seen that it was not a belief of the first two centuries. Those who would trace the doctrine to that age, refer to the formula of baptism, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Those who used this formula, however, did so, without any adequate conception of the doctrine of the trinity, so far as we have any evidence from the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers. Dr.

Shedd, speaking of the formulas employed in the so-called apostle's creed, says:

"This is as definite a statement of the doctrine of the trinity as was made in any public document, previous to those Sabellian and Arian controversies, which resulted in the more exhaustive and technical definitions of the Nicene symbols."—*History of Christian Doctrine, by William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit. in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.*, 1871, *vol* 1, *p.* 262.

Again,

"Those of the primitive fathers who speculated at all upon the trinity, confined their reflections mostly to the relations of the first and second persons." —*Ibid. vol.* 1, *p.* 268.

Origen speaks of the trinity, in de Principiis, bk. 4, 1. 30, according to the Latin of Rufinus, which is not very reliable.

Nature of the Soul.

Tertullian held that both body and soul are propagated.

"The soul of a man," he says, "like the root of a tree, is drawn out, (deducta), into a physical progeny, from Adam, the parent stock."—*De Anima, ch.* 19.

And again, "Both substances (body and soul), are conceived, finished and perfected together."—*De Anima, ch.* 27.

In the third century, Origen advocated pre-existence.[1]

Immortality of the Soul.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not appear to have been generally held at that time.

"The soul is not in itself immortal, O Greeks," says Tatian, "but mortal. If, indeed, it knows not the truth, it dies, and is dissolved with the body, but rises again at last, at the end of the world, with the body, receiving death by punishment in immortality."—*Address to the Greeks, bk.* 1, *ch.* 13.

Similar views were held by Theophilus of Antioch, who says:

"Neither immortal, nor yet mortal did he make him, but capable of both." —*Ad Autolycum, bk.* 2, *ch.* 27.

(1.) De Princip. 4. 1. 16; Ibid. 2. 9, 3. 5; Contra Celsum, 4. 39.

The nature of the soul, as explained by Tertullian, has been seen to be entirely inconsistent with its immortality.

Free Will and Predestination.

Justin Martyr argued in favor of the freedom of the will, and against predestination.[1]

The Alexandrian fathers, while they conceded the apostacy, held that the human will has a plenary power of good action, and is able to turn by its own inherent energy.[2]

Clement of Alexandria asserts that to believe or disbelieve, is as much at the command of the will, as to philosophize or not philosophize. That the first act in regeneration proceeds from man.

The Atonement.

Dr. Priestly, in his work on the corruptions of Christianity, claims that the atonement is not taught in the New Testament, The statement, as applied to the doctrine in its theological sense, may be correct. But we do not see how it can be denied, that Paul preached, in general terms, a doctrine of atonement.

The earlier fathers generally followed the language of Paul, without attempting any definite statement of the doctrine. They do not appear to connect it with original sin or total depravity.

"For our sins," says Polycarp, "he has even taken death upon himself."—*Epist. to the Philippians.*

Basilides maintained that penal suffering, or suffering for purposes of justice, of necessity implies personal criminality in the sufferer, and therefore cannot be endured by an innocent person like Christ.

(1.) 1st Apology, 43, 10.
(2.) αὐτεξούσιον.

According to Marcion, the suffering was not real; it was only apparent.

Clement of Rome speaks of the blood of Christ, shed for our salvation, and of being justified by faith.[1]

"There was" says Dr. Shedd, "no scientific construction of the doctrine of the atonement, in the writings of the apostolic fathers."—*History of Doct. vol.* 2, *p.* 208.

Clement of Alexandria and Origen held qualified views in regard to the atonement.

It was a favorite view with Ignatius, that the death of Christ brings the human soul into communion with him.

Original Sin.

Wiggers says,

"All, or at least the greater part, of the fathers of the Greek Church before Augustine, denied any real, original sin."—*Augustinism and Pelagianism, p.* 43. *Emerson's Translation.*

The doctrine had a gradual growth, and was fully developed by Augustine. A. D. 420.

The maxim of Tertullian was, "Tradux animæ, tradux peccati." "The propagation of the soul, is the propagation of sin."

Dr. Shedd says, no controversy arose, respecting original sin and regenerating grace, until the fifth century.[2]

Inherited guilt was first distinctly anounced by Augustine.

Eternal Punishment,

Was taught by Justin Martyr, and some others of the second century.

"We believe," says Justin, "that those who live wickedly, and do not repent, are punished in everlasting fire."[3]

(1.) Epistle to the Corinthians, 7, 32.
(2.) History of Doctrines, vol. 2, "Anthropology."
(3.) 1st Apology, ch. 21.

The eternal duration of future punishment was denied by Origen and Clement of Alexandria.

"The good God" says Clement, "corrects for these three causes: First, that he who is corrected, may become better than his former self; then, that those who are capable of being saved by examples, may be driven back, being admonished; and thirdly, that he who is injured, may not readily be despised, and be apt to receive injury."—*Stromata, bk.* 4, *ch.* 24.

Origen believed in the final restoration of the whole human race.

The Intermediate State.

Justin Martyr represents the souls of the righteous as taking up a temporary abode in a happy, and those of the wicked, in a wretched place; and stigmatizes as heretical the doctrine, that souls are immediately received into heaven at death.[1]

Tertullian held that martyrs went at once to the abode of the blessed, but that this was a privilege peculiar to them, and not granted to other Christians.[2]

Providence.

Neander considers that the doctrine of providence, as now held throughout Christendom, is peculiarly new.[3]

We look in vain for any distinct statement of the doctrine, in the words of the Ante-Nicene fathers.

Creation out of Nothing.

This was held by some of the fathers. It is distinctly announced in the Shepherd of Hermas; the author of which speaks of God, "who brought all things into being out of nothing."[4]

Inspiration.

There was at this time, says Neander, "no coherent and systematic doctrine of inspiration."[5]

(1.) Dialogue with Trypho, 5, 80.
(2.) De Anima, 55; De Resur. 43.
(3.) Hist. of Doct. vol. 1, p. 123.
(4.) Commandment, 1.
(5.) Hist. of Doctrines, vol. 1, p. 90.

The Old Testament was held to be inspired, and inspired men were spoken of, under the new dispensation.

Hagenbach says, that Irenæus first taught the doctrine of inspiration, as connected with New Testament books; and cites Irenæus against Heresies, 3. 16. 2.

Millenarianism.

Barnabas, Hermas and Papias were millenarians. So also were Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian.[1]

Justin not only held to the doctrine, but he declared it the belief of all but the Gnostics.[2]

The Sabbath.

The Jewish Christians insisted upon maintaining the Jewish institutions, particularly, circumcision and the sabbath.

Paul protested against it, and urged that the Christians were freed from those observances. He cautioned them against permitting any man to judge them in respect of the sabbath.—[Colossians, 2. 16.]

There is no evidence of the transfer of the Jewish sabbath to the first day of the week.

On that day, Christians met, to commemorate the resurrection of Christ.

Baptism.

Peculiar efficacy was attached to this rite, by the early Christians.

That the form of baptism was by immersion, or at least by a washing of the whole body, must be the conclusion from an impartial examination of the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers.

The constitution of the church of Alexandria, which

(1.) Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho; Irenæus, adv. Hær. 5. 25. 36; Tert. adv. Mar. 3. 24.

(2.) Dialogue with Trypho.

is thought to have been established about the year 200, required the applicant for baptism to be divested of clothing, and after the ordinance had been administered, to be anointed with oil. [See ch. 2 of this work.]

Justin Martyr speaks of the laver, and of baptism as a washing.[1]

When the mother of Clement was converted, she was baptized in the sea.[2]

Nothing is heard of infant baptism before Irenæus. He is supposed to refer to it in the chapter on the ministry of Christ, which is quoted at length, in another part of this volume.

Transubstantiation.

This doctrine is expressly sanctioned by Justin Martyr, who says:

"So likewise have we been taught that the food which and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of the Jesus who was made flesh."—1*st Apology*, *ch.* 66.

The doctrine is apparently sanctioned, also, in the Epistle to the Smyrnæns, incorrectly attributed to Ignatius, and in other early writings of the church.

Religious Intolerance.

Tertullian did not admit the right of the heretics to use the scriptures:

"We oppose to them," said he, "this step above all others, of not admitting them to any discussion of the scriptures. If in these lie their resources, it ought to be clearly seen to whom belongs the possession of the scriptures, that none may be admitted to the use thereof, who has no title at all to the privilege."—*Prescription against Heretics*, *ch.* 15.

Secret Doctrines and Ceremonies.

There were exoteric and esoteric doctrines. The esoteric were taught only to members of the church.

(1.) 1st Apology, ch. 65. He speaks of the ceremony "in the water."—Ch. 61.
(2.) Recognitions, bk. 7, ch. 38.

The instruction in these may have been what is meant by the initiatory proceedings occasionally spoken of in the writings of the early Christians.

In the 38th chapter of the 7th book of the Recognitions, a work written in the second or third century, it is stated of the mother of Clement, who had been converted,

"She was then baptized in the sea, and returning to the lodging, was initiated in all the mysteries of religion in their order."—*Ante-Nicene Ch. Lib. vol.* 3, *p.* 358.

The secret character of some of the proceedings among the early Christians, is alluded to by Dr. Dollinger in the following terms:

"The vail of mystery in which the Christians shrouded their assemblies for divine service, from the beginning, fostered the suspicion of indulging in a criminal secret worship."—*First Age of the Church*, *p.* 100.

The mysteries of the church must be distinguished from the mere secrecy of their meetings, which was a necessity in times of persecution.

The esoteric and exoteric doctrines are alluded to by Origen, who says:

"To the carnal they taught the gospel in a literal way; preaching Jesus Christ, and him crucified. But to persons further advanced, and burning with love for divine, celestial wisdom, they communicated the Logos."—*Origen, Pref. to Comm. on John, Opera, vol.* 2, *p.* 255.

Whether there were other secrecies than those of doctrine, is uncertain. This feature of the church, whatever may have been its exact extent and purport, does not appear to have ante-dated the formation of the papal hierarchy.

Doctrine of the Messiah.

That Christ was the Messiah whose advent had been predicted by the prophets, was believed by all the fathers, and is a doctrine too well understood, to require further comment.

Antiquity of Christian Doctrines.

Many of the more prominent doctrines of the Christian religion, prevailed among nations of antiquity, hundreds, and in some instances, thousands of years before Christ.

The doctrine of an Immaculate Conception of an infant deity was not uncommon in very ancient times. The story of Chrishna has already been told. Zoroaster also was believed to have been born of an immaculate conception by a ray from the Divine Reason. Mars was conceived by Juno touching a flower, and she conceived Vulcan by being overshadowed by the wind. An ancient work entitled Codex Vaticanus, gives an account of the immaculate conception of Quexalcote, the Mexican Savior. One of the sects of China worshiped a savior named Xaca, who was conceived by his mother, in her sleep, seeing a white elephant.[1] Ya, the first Chinese monarch, was conceived by his mother being struck with a star while traveling.[2] Another legend is that Yu, (probably the same as Ya), was conceived from a water-lily. Many cases might be mentioned of mortals who had an immaculate conception. Plato, Pythagoras, Tamerlane, Gengis Khan, Apollonius of Tyana and Augustus Cæsar, were all supposed to have been the product of immaculate conceptions.

Stars also presaged the birth of several of them.

At the birth of Confucius, five wise men from a distance, came to the house, celestial music filled the air, and angels attended the scene.

The title of Son of God was very common among the ancients, and at the commencement of the Chris-

(1.) History of China, by Alvarez Semedo, p. 89.
(2.) History of the Rajahs, by Col. Tod, p. 57.
(3.) See the Five Volumes.

tian era. St. Basil says, "Every uncommonly good man was called the Son of God." When Apollonius, standing before Domitian, was asked, why men called him a god, his reply was, "Every good man is entitled to that appellation." An answer which Dr. Albert Reville, a theologian of Rotterdam, thought might throw a bright light upon the divinity of Christ.[1]

Miracles.—The belief in miracles has been common in all ages of the world. From the time of Uranus, father of all the gods, down through all the ages, the world has been filled with wonders. Esculapius raised Hippolytus from the dead—Hercules rescued Alcestis from the very hand of death—Actæon was changed to a stag—the walls of Thebes builded themselves to the music of the flute, while those of Jericho fell before the blasts of the priests of Israel. The daughters of Anius the high priest, changed every thing they chose, into corn, oil and wine, and the hair of Berenice was changed to a constellation of stars. Meanwhile Prometheus lay bound on Mt. Caucasus, the vultures devouring his vitals, which grew as fast as eaten.

The heavens were full of gods, and earth, air and sea swarmed with myriads of angels, spirits and demons.

Resurrection.—Many cases of resurrection from the dead, are handed down in the ancient mythologies. Mithras, the "Mediator" of Persia, is said to have risen, after three days.[2] So also, Quexalcote, of Mexico, Osiris of Egypt, and others.

Some of these, after their resurrection, ascended into heaven. Chrishna, after rising from the dead, and appearing to his disciples, ascended to Brahma, in heaven.

(1.) See chapter entitled "Apollonius."
(2.) Pitrat, p. 105.

THE ATONEMENT.—This doctrine, has in some form pervaded the religion of all countries. Offerings of propitiation, to appease the wrath of an offended God, or to satisfy the demands of justice, have been common in every period of the world. Sometimes they have consisted of fruits of the earth; at other times, of animals and men. As nations have advanced in civilization, the offerings have become less bloody in their character. In the Sandwich Islands, anciently, human beings were thrown as a sacrifice into the crater of Kileaua, the great volcano. Afterward, animals were substituted, and finally products of the earth. The propitiatory system of the Jews is well known. This is considered by Paul as a type of the higher Christian system.

THE TRINITY, was an essential feature in the religion of many oriental nations. The Holy Ghost was the third member, under various appellations. In the Hindoo trinity, it was Siva; the other members of the trinity being Brahma and Vishnu.

Mr. Maurice says, This notion of a third person in the deity, was diffused among all the nations of the earth. [1] Mr. Worsely considers the doctrine one "of very great antiquity, and generally received by the Gothic and Celtic nations." [2] In the Hindoo system, this third person was the Holy Breath, by which living creatures were made. [3] The Holy Ghost became visible in the forms of a dove, a tongue of fire, &c.

The Holy Ghost was sometimes the agent in immaculate conceptions. In the Mexican trinity, Y Zona was the Father, Bascal the Word, and Echvah the Holy Ghost, by the last of whom Chimalman conceived and

(1.) Ind. Antiq. vol. 4, p. 247.
(2.) Voyage, vol. 1, p. 259.
(3.) M. Dubois, p. 293.

brought forth Quexalcote.[1] When Sesostris invoked the oracle, to know who, before him, could subjugate all things, the answer was, "First God, then the Word, and with them the Spirit."[2] Plutarch, in his 'Life of Numa,' shows that the incarnation of the Holy Spirit was known to the ancient Egyptians.

The doctrine of the Word, as the creative power, is also very ancient. The Chinese bible states that "God pronounced the primeval Word, and his own eternal and glorious abode sprang into existence." According to the Zend-Avesta, it was by the Word, more ancient than the world, that Ormuzd created the universe. The ancient Greek writer, Amelias, speaking of the God Mercury, says, "And this plainly was the Logos, by whom all things were made," &c.

Plato taught a trinity of the soul, in which it is easy to see analogies, pointing to a higher form of the doctrine.

It is said there was an ancient Greek inscription on the great obelisk at Rome; thus; 1. The Mighty God; 2. The Begotten of God; and 3. Apollo the Spirit.

Confession and Remission of Sins.—These doctrines prevailed anciently in India; also among the ancient Persians, and Parsees.[3] In China, the invocation of Omito, was held to remit the punishment of the greatest crimes.[4]

The doctrines of Original Sin, Fall of Man, and Endless Punishment, are all to be found in the religious systems of several ancient nations.

(1.) Mexican Antiq. vol. 6, p. 1650.
(2.) Nimrod, vol. 1, p. 119.
(3.) Volney, p. 211.
(4.) Rev. Mr. Pitrat, p. 232.

SPRINKLING with water was a religious ceremony of much antiquity.[1] This may in some degree account for the change of the form of Christian baptism from immersion to sprinkling. The practice prevailed among the ancient Romans.[2]

THE SACRAMENT OR EUCHARIST, has also an ancient original. It was practiced among the Brahmins of India, and was introduced into the mysteries of Mithras. It prevailed also, among the ancient Mexicans.[3]

THE GOLDEN RULE was taught hundreds of years before Christ, by Confucius, Aristotle, and many others.[4]

(1.) See Potter's Antiquities, and Herbert's Travels.

(2.) Consult the writings of Virgil, Cicero and others.

(3.) Travels of Father Acosta; Memoirs of Mr. Marolles, p. 215.

(4.) Those who may wish to pursue this subject further, will find a mass of useful facts in the "Anacalypsis" of Sir Godfrey Higgins; a work in the preparation of which he was employed for twenty years; and from which some of the foregoing references, concerning the antiquity of prominent features of the Christian system have been taken. Consult also, "The World's Sixteen Crucified Saviors, or Christianity before Christ," by Kersey Graves; a work which contains, mixed with some erroneous statements, a fund of very valuable information."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.

A. D. 170 to A. D. 185.

MARCUS—ARISTO OF PELLA—DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH—MILTIADES—MAXIMUS—PINYTUS—MODESTAS—MUSANUS—CHURCH OF VIENNE AND LYONS—FLORINUS—BLASTUS—MELITO OF SARDIS—ATHENAGORAS—CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS--THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH—BARDESANES--HERMOGENES--BACCHYLUS OF CORINTH—PANTÆNUS—MARCIA—HEGESIPPUS.

MARCUS.—About A. D. 170.

Marcus was a native of Palestine, and a disciple of Valentinus. "Valentinianism," says Baring-Gould, "assumed two forms; broke into two sects; the Marcosians and the Ophites." [1]

Marcus was considered a heretic. The most that has been preserved concerning him, comes through Irenæus, who treats of him and his followers, in the work on Heresies, as follows:

"But there is another among these heretics, Marcus by name, who boasts of himself as having improved upon his master. [Valentinus.] He is a perfect adept in magical impostures, and by this means drawing away a great number of men, and not a few women, he has induced them to join themselves to him, as to one who is possessed of the greatest knowledge and perfection, and who has received the highest power from the invisible and ineffable regions above. thus it appears as if he were really the precursor of Anti-Christ."

(1.) Lost and Hostile Gospels, p. 287.

After describing some of the magical proceedings of Marcus, he continues:

"Again, handing mixed cups to the women, he bids them consecrate these in his presence."

Stating that, after the consecration of the cups, Marcus would fill larger cups from the smaller ones, Irenæus proceeds as follows:

"It appears probable enough, that this man possesses a demon as his familiar spirit, by means of which he seems able to prophecy, and also enables as many as he counts worthy to be partakers of his Charis, themselves to prophecy.

"He devotes himself especially to women, and those such as are well bred, and elegantly attired, and of great wealth; whom he frequently seeks to draw after him, by addressing them in such seductive words as these:" [Here giving what purports to be an address of Marcus, to the women, exhorting them to receive Charis, or the spirit of prophecy.] The effect of this speech, he says, is, that the woman, "vainly puffed up and elated by these words, and greatly excited in soul by the expectation that it is herself who is to prophecy, her heart beating violently, [from emotion], reaches the requisite pitch of audacity, and idly as well as impudently utters some nonsense as it happens to occur to her, such as might be expected from one heated by an empty spirit."

Our author does not hesitate to add, that the woman, deeming herself a prophetess, out of gratitude to Marcus, rewards him, not only by large possessions, but by yielding up to him her person.[1]

Aristo of Pella.—A. D. 175.

The Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, has been attributed to Aristo. Westcott thinks it uncertain whether he was the author. The same writer adds that the words of the Dialogue do not prove anything as to the existence of a New Testament Canon.[2]

Of the Apology which Aristo is said to have delivered to Hadrian,[3] nothing is known.

In the 22d volume of the Ante-Nicene Collection, are

(1.) Irenæus, adv. Hær. bk. 1, 13.
(2.) Canon, pp. 84, 85.
(3.) Chron. Pasc. 477, of Routh, p. 104.

five small fragments attributed to Aristo. Four of these are from the Dispute between Jason and Papiscus, cited by Jerome and others. The other is from Eusebius.

Dionysius of Corinth.—A. D. 175.

Some fragments from this writer are supposed to have been preserved by Eusebius, who, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives what purport to be extracts from his writings.

There has been some controversy over certain passages, which Canon Westcott supposes to refer to the New Testament; his conclusions being strongly attacked by the author of Supernatural Religion. It is not necessary to notice the discussion further; since any fragments which appear only in Eusebius, are absolutely unreliable.

This is the writer whom Eusebius cites in reference to the teaching and martyrdom of Paul and Peter. After giving an alleged quotation from Caius, a writer whose works are lost, Eusebius says he "superadds" the testimony of Dionysius, in order that the truth of his history, may be still more confirmed.[1]

Miltiades—Maximus—Pinytus.—About A. D. 175.

But little is known of these writers. Maximus was Bishop of Jerusalem. He is probably the one referred to by Eusebius,[2] who says he wrote on the origin of evil, and on the creation of matter.

The same writer refers thus to Pinytus:

Speaking of the writings of Dionysius of Corinth, he speaks of an epistle to the Gnossians, in which Dionysius "admonishes Pinytus, not to impose upon the brethren without necessity, a burden in regard to purity, too great to be borne; 'but to pay regard to the infirmity of the great mass.' Pinytus in reply, admires and applauds Dionysius, but exhorts him, at the same time, to impart, some time or other, stronger food, and to feed the people under him

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 2. 25. (2.) Ibid. 5. 27.

with writings abounding in more perfect doctrine, when he wrote again," &c. —*Ecclesiastical History*, 4. 23.

Modestas—Musanus.—A. D. 176.

These writers are mentioned by Dr. Lardner,[1] as writers of the second century, whose works are lost.

Churches of Vienne and Lyons.—A. D. 177.

An epistle is said to have been written by these, to certain eastern churches, and the extracts from it, occupy a prominent place in ecclesiastical history. The information comes through Eusebius. The epistle is supposed to contain references to the Protevangelion Gospel.

Florinus—Blastus.—A. D. 177.

Florinus was a presbyter of the Roman Church. Was ejected for heresy. He maintained that God was the author of evil. Blastus was of the same school.

Melito of Sardis.—A. D. 177.

It is supposed that some fragments of the lost writings of Melito, have been preserved in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.[2] In these, some have found, as they supposed, allusions to the New Testament writings. The inference is by others denied. Michaelis was inclined to the opinion, also, that Melito had testified to the existence of a Syriac version. But Bishop Marsh shows that the inference of Michaelis, was illogical and unauthorized.[3] The fact is, we have not sufficient evidence as to what Melito wrote.

Some Syriac writings have appeared under the name of Melito, but they are not considered genuine. His Discourse or Apology, and some other supposed fragments, are given in the 22d volume of Ante-Nicene.

(1.) Lard. Works, vol. 1, p. 436.
(2.) Ecc. History, 4. 26.
(3.) Marsh's Michaelis, vol. 2, p. 552.

Athenagoras.—A. D. 177.

But little is known of Athenagoras, beyond the fact, that he was an Athenian philosopher, became a Christian, and about the date above mentioned, is reputed to have presented to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, an embassy or apology for Christians, which is still extant. A Treatise on the Resurrection is also attributed to him.

In his Apology, Athenagoras has been supposed to refer to some of the canonical gospels; but nothing definite can be determined in regard to it.

We may safely accept the conclusion of Dr. Donaldson, expressed as follows:

"Athenagoras makes no allusion to the inspiration of the New Testament writers. He does not mention one of them by name, and one cannot be sure that he quotes from any except Paul. All the passages taken from the gospels, are part of our Lord's discourses, and may have come down to Athenagoras by tradition."—*Hist. Ch. Lit. and Doct.* 3. *p.* 172.

The passages referred to differ also from those in the canonical gospels, and may have exactly corresponded with older gospels then extant.

The fact that Athenagoras nowhere mentions either of the four gospels by name, becomes the more remarkable when it is considered that he cites by name, Moses, Jeremiah, Jonah, Thales, Plato, Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Herodotus, Pythagoras, Euripides, Aristotle and others.

Though the Gospels of Luke and Mark, and possibly John, may then have been written, it is not probable that they were much known, or that any names of reputed authors were attached to them.

Claudius Apollinaris,—A. D. 178,

Was Bishop of Hierapolis. He is said to have participated in the great paschal controversy. In an extract, purporting to be from a work written by him on

the passover, there is a reference to what Matthew had said, and by implication, to the Gospel of Matthew. The extract is found in the preface to the Paschal Chronicle, a work of the seventh century. Its genuineness is, however, generally discredited.[1] Three fragments are given, in Ante-Nicene, vol. 22.

Theophilus of Antioch — A. D. 180.

This writer occupies a prominent place in all the works on the canon. He was Bishop of Antioch. Of his writings, three letters to Autolycus are preserved, in one of which the Gospel of John is expressly mentioned by name;[2] though it is not stated it was written by an apostle.

Theophilus is reputed to have written a Commentary on the gospels; which is lost.

Bardesanes—Hermogenes—Bacchylus of Corinth—Pantænus.—A. D. 180.

The works of these writers are lost; except a few fragments. "The Discourse on Fate," of Bardesanes, is given in Ante-Nicene, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 85.

Bardesanes was a native of Mesopotamia, and lived at Edessa. He was a man of learning.[3]

Some have attributed to Bardesanes, the authorship of the Recognitions. Eusebius mentions him, in his Ecclesiastical History, 20. 30.

Hermogenes ascribed matter to an irregular motion.[4]

Bacchylus of Corinth was zealous in defending the faith against heretics. He was one of the bishops

(1.) Donaldson, Hist. Ch. Lit. and Doct. 3. 247; Lardner, Credibility, &c. vol. 2, p. 296.

(2.) Ad Autolycum, 2. 22.

(3.) Jerome, in Or. c. 10, p. 301; Augustine, de Civitate Dei, liber 22, c. 24.

(4.) Lardner, vol. 4, p. 266.

who convened local councils, at the request of Victor of Rome, to settle the paschal controversy.

Pantænus has been spoken of in connection with the Gospel of Matthew.[1]

Alexandria was the scene of his labors. He preceded Clement of Alexandria in the presidency of the catechetic school, or seminary in that city. Soon after, he went as missionary to India. He is said to have been the author of commentaries on the scriptures.

Marcia.—A. D. 183.

Marcia was a concubine of the Emperor Commodus. Dion Cassius says of her,

"She is related to have had a great affection for the Christians, and to have done them many good offices; she having a great ascendency over Commodus."—*Hist. l.* 72, *p.* 819.

Hegesippus.—A. D. 185.

Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian of Jerusalem. He traveled extensively, in order to become acquainted with the condition of the church, and came to Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus; sometime between the years 160 and 170.

Afterward, about 185, he wrote, it is stated, a historical work, called 'Memoirs,' in five books. It is said to have been a complete history of Christianity, down to his own time. It is now lost, except a few short fragments, most of them being only such as Eusebius has thought proper to preserve.

Hegesippus was an Ebionite, and like the others of that sect, was violently opposed to Paul. The virulence of these Christians against the great apostle of the Gentiles, is well illustrated by a fragment of Hegesippus, preserved by Gobarus, of the sixth century.

(1.) See chapter XXXI.

Referring to the words of Paul, in 1 Cor. 2. 9, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him," Hegesippus says:

"These words are vainly spoken; and those who say these things give the lie to the divine writings, and to the Lord, saying, 'Blessed are your eyes that see, and your ears that hear.' "—*Photius, Bib. Cod.* 232, *col.* 893.

This passage, cited by Hegesippus, is supposed to be taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews, which Eusebius says, Hegesippus used.[1] It will be noticed that the passage agrees in sense, while differing in phraseology from Matthew.

Hegesippus, though he traveled extensively over the Christian world, makes no mention of the canonical gospels. Some supposed quotations from them, have given rise to the usual discussion.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 4. 22.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REVIEW OF THE FIFTH PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, PREPARATORY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAPACY—THE SUBJECT INVOLVED IN MYSTERY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION GONE—SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

Though we find no mention of the four gospels during the fifth period, with the single exception of the Gospel of John, there is reason to believe they were all written during this time, as a part of the structure upon which Roman Catholic dominion was to rest. This relation to Roman Catholicism, is more particularly to be noticed, in the Gospels of John and Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles. The Gospels of Luke and Mark may have been composed without any special reference to the hierarchy; the one to counteract the influence of Marcion and his Gospel, and the other, to preserve, in a complete and comprehensive form, some of the older traditions of the church, which had been in circulation in various forms, particularly in the Gospel of Peter.

The Gospel of John was adopted, as settling, in beautiful language, and in an acceptable form, the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, and as indicating the unity of the church under Peter. The Gospel of Matthew,

in still more explicit language, laid the foundations broad and deep, for the establishment of the supremacy of the papal power, on the authority of Christ as delegated to Peter; while the Acts of the Apostles bridged over the differences which had so long existed, between the followers of Peter and Paul.

While thus much is apparent upon the surface, if we attempt to go deeper into the subject, we find everything involved in mystery.

All the most reliable sources of information, are closed to the researches of the historian. Those writings of the second century to which he would naturally turn for information, commentaries and works written especially concerning the gospels then in circulation, are lost or destroyed, *without a single exception.*

Not one remains, to give its testimony on one side or the other, of any controverted question. Also many books written on the same subject, during the next two or three hundred years; while it is notorious that others, which have been preserved, have been tampered with and extensively interpolated.

Loss or Destruction of Evidence, concerning the Four Gospels.

The following is some of the evidence of the second century, which has disappeared.

1. The Commentaries of Basilides.—A. D. 125.

Basilides is said to have written a Commentary on "the Gospel," in 24 books. A gospel is also attributed to him. But the better opinion appears to be that the Commentaries and the Gospel were one and the same.

These commentaries must have thrown a flood of light upon the history of the gospels then in existence. They would at least disclose the number and character of the principal ones then in circulation.

2. Agrippa Castor,—A. D. 130,

Wrote in refutation of the heresies of Basilides. This has perished with the commentaries of his adversary.

3. The Works of Prodicus.—A. D. 120.

The followers of Prodicus boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster. His writings would probably have disclosed the connection between Persian mythology and the Gospels of the Infancy.

4. Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.—A. D. 126.

If these had been preserved, we could test the correctness of the assertion of Eusebius that the Apology of Quadratus referred to the miracles of Christ; which, in that case, would be, so far as known, the first reference to them in history. We would know also what is meant by the statement of the same historian, if there be any truth in it at all, that Quadratus and others, at that time, delivered to those who had not heard the faith, the books of the holy gospels. We would probably learn from their writings what gospels were extant in their day.

5. Aristion,—A. D. 130,

According to Papias, as coming through Eusebius, preserved traditions concerning Christ. These traditions would have thrown much light upon the gospel history, and upon the earlier gospels.

6. John the Presbyter.—A. D. 130.

John, like Aristion, appears in Eusebius as one of the informants of Papias, particularly concerning certain writings composed by Mark and Matthew; information which was long supposed to relate to the gospels bearing those names. It is now thought they cannot be regarded as referring to any of the canonical gospels.

Had we the original traditions, or statements, in full, they would at once settle the matter.

7. CERINTHUS,—A. D. 145,

Was the reputed author of a gospel. His gospel and writings are lost or destroyed.

8. VALENTINUS.—A. D. 150.

Valentinus had a gospel, called "The Gospel of Truth." Irenæus places it sharply in antagonism with the four gospels. Says they are false, if that of Valentinus was the Gospel of Truth; that if they are true, Valentinus' was false. As the work of Irenæus is preserved, and the four gospels, it is much to be regretted, and must be considered calamitous to the cause of impartial investigation, that we have not the Gospel of Valentinus, and his writings in support of it.

9. PAPIAS,—A. D. 150,

Is said to have written five books, entitled "Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord." This must have been a Commentary on the Oracles, or collections of the sayings of Christ; and would have been invaluable; giving those sayings, as they stood in the middle of the second century.

10. THE WRITINGS OF MARCION.

Pure Christianity has suffered no greater loss, than that of the writings of Marcion, the great theological thinker of the second century—the compiler of the first complete gospel—the collector of the epistles of Paul—the editor and publisher of the first New Testament.

While the elaborate work against him, written by Tertullian, who called him a "hound," has been preserved, and the work of Epiphanius, who bestowed upon him the euphonious appellation of "beast," the wri-

tings of Marcion have perished, except such as are found in the references and citations of his adversaries. His works have shared the common fate of the writings of the heretics of the second century, none of which, in their original form, have been permitted to come down to us.

Marcion was an educated man, and a profound thinker, and no relic of Christian antiquity, next to the Epistles of Paul, would to-day be more valuable, than his writings. Being himself a collector of gospel and New Testament manuscripts, his writings upon those subjects would forever set at rest the question, as to what gospels were then in circulation.

11. The Work of Justin Martyr against Heresies.

As his Dialogue with Trypho contains an exposition of the Old Testament, his work against heresies would probably have thrown light upon the gospels in circution in his day. It would at least have determined the much controverted question, as to the gospels used by Justin himself.

12. The Writings of Apelles.—A. D. 160.

Apelles was a Gnostic leader, who had a gospel of his own, and whose writings must have referred to other gospels. His works are lost or destroyed.

13. Peregrinus,—A. D. about 160,

An erratic but talented Christian philosopher, held for a time, a commanding position among the Christians of Palestine. "Some books" says Lucian, "he interpreted and explained, others he wrote." His writings would constitute an important chapter in the history of the times. We have sketches of the man from Lucian, Ammianus, Aulus Gellius and others, but his writings have all perished.

14. Marcellina.—A. D. 160.

It would scarcely be expected that the heretical writings of a woman would be preserved, amid such wholesale slaughter of the obnoxious works of the opposite sex. The writings of Marcellina have perished.

15. Montanus.—A. D. 170.

Much has been said about Montanism, but we have only such extracts from the works of its founder, as his adversaries have chosen to preserve.

16. The Writings of Tatian.—A. D. 170.

Tatian wrote, it is said, a Harmony of the gospels. Though it is quite evident that he made use of the Gospel of the Hebrews, and his work was even known by some under that name, an attempt has been made to connect his Harmony with the four gospels, on the unsupported and suspicious testimony of Eusebius. He says it was called the Diatessaron, which he explains as meaning of or from the four. If we had the writings of Tatian himself or his Harmony, the question could speedily be determined.

17. Marcus,—about A. D. 170,

Had, according to Irenæus, an innumerable multitude of apocryphal writings. He probably wrote in explanation of these books, and of their origin. Both the books themselves, with a few exceptions, and whatever he may have written concerning them, have perished.

18. Pantænus.—A. D. 180.

While it could not be expected that Pantænus, if he wrote the Gospel of Matthew, would admit the fact, yet if we had the account of his travels in India, and of his discovery there, as claimed, of an original Gospel of Matthew, we might have at least some light thrown upon the origin of that gospel.

19. The Chronicles of Hegesippus.—A. D. 185.

Hegesippus was the first church historian. He traveled over nearly all Christendom, for the express purpose of obtaining information, and then wrote the history of the church, from the beginning to his own time. This work is lost or destroyed. The extent of the loss cannot be overestimated.

Eusebius was the next historian, writing 140 years afterward.

He had the history of Hegesippus before him.

After referring to the death of James, and the statement of Clement, that James was thrown from a wing of the temple, and beaten to death with a club, he says:

"Hegesippus, also, who flourished nearest the days of the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, gives the most accurate account of him, thus:

Here follows a lengthy account of the death of James. Eusebius then adds:

"Such is the more ample testimony of Hegesippus, in which he fully coincides with Clement."—*Ecc. Hist. bk.* 2, 23.

Again, Eusebius gives an account of the grand-children of Judas, called the Lord's brother, who were examined before the Emperor Domitian. He concludes as follows: "Such is the statement of Hegesippus."[1]

Again, speaking of the martyrdom of Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem, he says:

"To this the same Hegesippus bears testimony, whose words we have already so often quoted."—*Ecc. H.* 3. 32.

He then quotes several passages, further, from the same author. Subsequently, referring to ecclesiastical writers, he says:

"Among these Hegesippus holds a distinguished rank, many of whose writings we have already quoted, where we have given some things as he has

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 20.

delivered them from apostolic tradition. This author compiled, in five books, the plain tradition of the apostolic doctrine, in a most simple style of composition, and clearly shows the time in which he lived, where he writes respecting those who began to erect idols, &c." Here follows a quotation from Hegesippus, concerning the erection of cenotaphs and temples, &c.—*Ecc. Hist.* 4. 8.

Again, in the same book, he says:

"Hegesippus, indeed, in the five books of Commentaries that have come down to us, has left a most complete record of his own views. In these he states that he conversed with most of the bishops, when he traveled to Rome, and that he received the same doctrine from all. We may also add what he says after some observations on the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians."

He then quotes Hegesippus concerning the Church of Corinth.[1]

Continuing, Eusebius speaks of Hegesippus coming to Rome, and of the Roman Bishops Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherus.

" 'In every succession, however,' says Hegesippus, 'and in every city, the doctrine prevails, according to what is declared by the law and the prophets, and the Lord.' "

He then quotes what Hegesippus says, concerning the beginning of heresies, and the ancient heresies prevalent among the Jews.[2]

"He also speaks of many other matters," says Eusebius, "which we have in part already quoted, and introduced in their appropriate places. He also states some particulars from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and from the Syriac, and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he himself was a convert from the Hebrews. Other matters he also records, as taken from the unwritten tradition of the Jews. And not only he, but Irenæus also, and the whole body of the ancients called the Proverbs of Solomon, 'Wisdom,' comprehending every virtue. Also in discoursing on the books called apocryphal, he relates that some of them were forged in his day, by some of the heretics." —*Ecc. History*, 4. 22.

From the foregoing it will be seen how much of the history of Hegesippus, is incorporated into that of Eusebius. A few meager items, of comparatively no historical value;—the manner of the death of James, an examination of a few individuals before Domitian—

(I.) Ecc. Hist. 4. 22. (2.) Ibid.

the martyrdom of Simeon—the worshiping of idols—the journey to Rome, and a few words concerning the commencement of heresies.

Not a word of what was important to be known;—of the history of the progress of the church, and of the doctrines which had prevailed—of the controversies between the Jewish and Gentile Christians—of the history of Paul and Peter, and of the founding of the Church of Rome; and above all, of the history of the gospels and New Testament books which Hegesippus found in circulation, showing by whom they were written, and how they had been preserved.

So far as can be learned, Hegesippus was profoundly silent concerning the four gospels, and spoke only of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The History of Hegesippus must have been written after the accession of Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, and probably about A. D. 185. This was, if we have read history aright, in the infancy of the four gospels. Whether Hegesippus met with them, and if so, what estimate he formed of them, in comparison with the Gospel of the Hebrews, is a question of the utmost importance, but one upon which Eusebius is silent.

Since Eusebius had the history of Hegesippus in his possession, why did he not take measures to have it preserved, or else incorporate into his own history, the most important portions of it, and particularly the evidence, if any, in favor of the four gospels?

According to Eusebius, Hegesippus said, that in every city, the doctrine prevailed, according to the law and the prophets, and the Lord, and that he received the same doctrine from all. Eusebius would have his readers believe, that the doctrine of a Jewish Christian of the second century, was precisely the same as that which prevailed in every city. Again, Eusebius says

that Hegesippus derived his information concerning apostolic doctrine from tradition. Is that consistent with the existence of gospels, which were every-where received in the church as authoritative? Such gospels would have been superior to, and would have taken the place of all tradition, concerning apostolic doctrine.

20. Commentaries of Heracleon.—A. D. 190.

It is claimed that Heracleon wrote Commentaries on Luke and John. Clement of Alexandria quotes Heracleon in such a way as to indicate that he had commented on Luke or Marcion, or on some other gospel, containing the sayings of Christ. The Commentaries on John are inferred from some passages in Origen.

If these commentaries existed, their loss is irreparable.

21. The Writings of Serapion.—A. D. 190.

These, of which we have but a brief extract in Eusebius, would have enlightened us further in regard to the transaction at Rhossus. From Serapion, we could have learned something of the four gospels which he was substituting in place of the Gospel of Peter. He could inform us how long the four gospels had been in circulation—where he obtained them—what other gospels he had been obliged to suppress, to make way for them, and whether he was acting under the direction of the Church of Rome. His writings have perished.

22. Clement of Alexandria,

Is said to have composed a work, specially upon the scriptures, which were considered authoritative.

Eusebius says, that in the work called Hypotyposes, Clement gave abridged accounts of all the canonical scriptures.[1]

(1.) Ecclesiastical Hist. 6. 14.

The reader will appreciate the value of this work, when he reflects how frequently, in the foregoing pages, he has met with evidence of the use by Clement, of books afterward pronounced apocryphal. This work has perished, while most of the other more important writings ot Clement have been preserved.[1]

This ends the list of works of the second century, either written expressly concerning the gospels and New Testament books in circulation at that time, or which would have thrown more or less light upon the subject. More than fifty books, by more than twenty authors.

Not one of the whole number has been permitted to see the light of subsequent ages. The list might be extended considerably further, and would cover most of the writings of the third century, upon the same subject.

Nearly every thing written concerning the gospels to the year 325, and all the copies of the gospels themselves to the same period, are lost or destroyed.

(1.) Besides the Hypotyposes, (Ὑποτυπώσεις), consisting of eight books of exposition of scripture, Clement wrote an Ecclesiastical Canon; (*Κανὼν Εκκλησιαστικὸς.*) This also, has perished.

SIXTH PERIOD.—A. D. 185 to A. D. 200.

CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ASTERIUS URBANUS—CASSIANUS—HERACLEON—MURATORIAN FRAGMENT—PTOLEMÆUS—MAXIMILLA—VICTOR—SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH—THEODOTUS OF BYZANTIUM—NARCISSUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM—RHODON—PALMAS—POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS—MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM—NOETUS—PRAXEAS—SYMMACHUS—HERMAS—SELEUCAS—PISTIS SOPHIÆ—ARTEMON—SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT—JULIUS AFRICANUS.

ASTERIUS URBANUS.—A. D. 188.

Of this writer, but little is known. According to Cave, he flourished about the year 188.

CASSIANUS.—A. D. 190.

Julius Cassianus was a writer of the second century, who was quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, thus:

> Wherefore Cassianus saith, that when Salome asked (Christ), when the things should be known, concerning which she enquired, our Lord answered, "When you shall despise," &c. [See p. 71 of this vol.]

Which, Clement adds, was to be found in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. From which it is to be inferred that Cassianus made use of that gospel.

PTOLEMÆUS—HERACLON.—A. D. 190.

These were prominent Gnostics.

Ptolemæus wrote a letter to Flora, which occupies a

distinguished place in the literary history of the times.[1]

In this letter, Ptolemy, having commented upon the ceremonial and typical laws of the Pentateuch, as having been annulled by the appearing of the truth, adds:

"These things the other disciples of Christ taught, and also the apostle Paul." After which he tells Flora, that "he will explain to her the particulars of that doctrine he had just been mentioning, by the help of tradition received from the apostles, and handed down to them." But he adds, "All must be tried by, and made to square with, the doctrine of the Savior himself, which was to be the rule."—*Append. ad Iren. pp.* 360, 361. *Grabe, Spi. Pat. vol.* 2, *p.* 77.

Heracleon is quoted by Clement and Origen, and is said to have written Commentaries on Luke and John. This again, is denied by some critics. Origen shows that Heracleon made use of the Gospel of Peter.

The Muratorian Fragment.—About A. D. 190.

Nothing could better illustrate the paucity of materials, from which to make up a correct judgment concerning the New Testament writings of the second century, than the prominence which has been given to an anonymous manuscript, discovered in the last century, by the Italian scholar, Muratori.

This celebrated manuscript was found in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in a manuscript containing other writings of little importance.

It speaks of "the third book of the Gospel according to Luke," of "the fourth of the Gospels of John, one of the disciples;"—of the Acts of the Apostles; 13 Epistles of Paul, an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, (supposed to be the Epistle to the Hebrews), "forged in the name of Paul, after the heresy of Marcion;" and "many others which cannot be receiv-

(1.) See Epiphanius, Hær. 30. 3-7.

ed by the Catholic Church, as gall must not be mixed with vinegar."

The Epistle of Jude, and the 2d and 3d Epistles of John are spoken of, doubtfully, as among the received books. So also the Book of Wisdom. The Apocalypses of John and Peter were received, but some objected to reading in the church, the apocalypse of Peter. Special reference is made to the Pastor of Hermas, the writer thinking it should be read privately, but not publicly in the church.

It will be seen that the document exhibits a very confused condition of the canon.

The manuscript was estimated by Muratori himself, to be about a thousand years old. It bears internal evidence of being a transcript of an older document. How often it had been copied, cannot be known, nor even in what language it was originally written. It appears in Latin, and the text is very corrupt.

It is supposed by some, to have been written in the latter part of the second century; the supposition being based, principally, upon the reference to the Pastor of Hermas. This it states, "was composed very recently, in our own times, in the City of Rome, the Bishop Pius, his brother, sitting in the chair of the Church of the City of Rome." Pius was bishop, about the middle of the second century.

There are eminent critics, however, who hold, that the original was not written earlier than the third century.[1] Their opinion is based upon internal evidedce; particularly the expression, "sitting in the chair of the church."[2]

The document itself, a production of about the eighth century, cannot be looked upon as very satisfactory

(1.) Donaldson, Hug, Tayler, Eichhorn and others.

(2.) Donaldson, Ch. Lit. and Doct. 3. p. 212.

evidence of the condition of the canon in the second century.

VICTOR—SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH—MAXIMILLA. A. D. 190.

We are not aware, that any of the writings of these are extant, except a fragment or two of Serapion. They are given by Eusebius, and relate to the interdict of the Gospel of Peter, and the substitution of the canonical gospels, in its stead.[1]

THEODOTUS, OF BYZANTIUM.—A. D. 192.

A considerable fragment from this writer, is given by Clement of Alexandria. Theodotus taught that Christ was a man only. He used and cited the Preaching of Peter. He was excommunicated by Victor, Bishop of Rome.[2]

RHODON—NARCISSUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—A. D. 195.

There is a fragment in Eusebius, attributed to Rhodon, in which he vindicates the character of Apelles.[3]

The same historian relates of Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, that when the oil failed, at the vigils of the great watch of Easter, Narcissus commanded that water from a neighboring well should be poured into the lamps. Whereupon Narcissus having prayed over it, the water was changed into oil; of which, Eusebius says. a specimen had been preserved until that time.[4]

The same writer relates, that three men having slandered Narcissus, and sworn to their falsehoods, with imprecations of death upon themselves, by a miserable disease, by fire, and blindness, respectively, if their statements were not true, in each case the curse which

(1.) See page 7 of this volume.
(2.) Darras, Hist. Cath. Church, vol. 1, p. 163.
(3.) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. 5. 13.
(4.) Ecc. Hist. 6. 9.

had been invoked, was inflicted upon them by an omnipotent Providence.[1]

PALMAS—POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS.—A. D. 196.

These bishops were deputed by Victor, Bishop of Rome, to convene councils, to consider the question of the celebration of Easter.

Palmas convened the bishops of Pontus, and Polycrates those of pro-consular Asia. The latter refused to endorse the decree of the Italian Council, which provided that Easter should be celebrated on Sunday. Thereupon the Asiatic churches were excommunicated.[2]

Eusebius says, Polycrates wrote a letter to Victor, and gives extracts from it.[3]

MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—A. D. 200.

According to Eusebius, Maximus wrote on the origin of evil, and on the creation of matter.[4] A lengthy extract is given by Eusebius.[5]

NOETUS.—A. D. 200.

About this time, the controversy concerning the nature of Christ, was carried on with much spirit, by Theodotus, Hermogenes, Noetus, Vero, Beryllus and Sabellius, on the one side, and Artemon, and Paul of Samosata, on the other.

Noetus was a native of Asia Minor. He maintained, that Christ was the one God, both Father and Son. He was excommunicated.

The views of Noetus led to much discussion, which resulted in the Arian controversy, and the establishment of the doctrine of the trinity.

(1.) Ecc. Hist. 6. 9.
(2.) See next chapter.
(3.) Ecc. Hist. 3. 31, and 5. 24.
(4.) Ecc. Hist. 5. 27.
(5.) Evangelical Preparation, 7. 22.

PRAXEAS—SYMMACHUS—HERMAS—SELEUCAS.—A. D. 200.

These writers flourished near the close of the second century. But little is known concerning them. Seleucas is reputed to have written a number of the books in circulation in the second century, which were afterward pronounced apocryphal.

There is a strange confusion among the fathers, in regard to his name. He is called Seleucas, Lucianus, Lucanus, Leucius, Lucian, Leuthon, Lentitius and Leontius. Also Leucius Charinus. It was Seleucas who had published a version of the Gospel of the Infancy, which rendered it necessary for Jerome to give the bishops a better version.[1]

PISTIS SOPHIÆ.—A. D. 200.

This is a religious work, of the close of the second century, the author of which is unknown.

SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.—A. D. 200.

It is supposed to have been written about this time. The divinity of Jesus, which was not distinctly taught in the earlier Clementines, (but rather the contrary doctrine), now more clearly appears.

ARTEMON—JULIUS AFRICANUS.—A. D. 200.

But little is known of Artemon, beyond the fact, that he was prominent in the Noetian controversy.

Africanus was the writer cited by Eusebius, in his forgery upon Thallus. [See p. 294.]

These names close the list of the more important Christian writers of the first two centuries, except the three great fathers, who will be briefly noticed in the next chapter.

(1.) See Supposed Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

IRENÆUS—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA—TERTULLIAN.

Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Egypt, and Tertullian in Northern Africa, were the three fathers, by whose influence, the four gospels were introduced into general circulation, and who laid, broad and deep, the foundations of Roman Catholic supremacy.

It is not easy to form a just estimate of these men. That they were so far above the masses, in general intelligence, as to give them an immense and controlling influence in the church, is certain; while, judged by the standard of more enlightened times, they themselves appear at a disadvantage.

The Rev. Dr. Davidson says of them,

"Irenæus was credulous and blundering; Tertullian, passionate and one-sided; and Clement of Alexandria, embued with the treasures of Greek wisdom, was mainly occupied with ecclesiastical ethics."—*Davidson, Canon, p.* 121.

Again, "Irenæus argues that the gospels should be four in number, neither more nor less, because there are four universal winds, and four quarters of the world. The Word or Architect of all things gave the gospel in a four-fold shape. According to this father, the apostles were fully informed concerning all things, and had a perfect knowledge after their Lord's ascension.

"Matthew wrote his gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome, and founding the church. [Citing Iren. adv. Hær. 3. 1. 1.] Such assertions show both ignorance and exaggeration.

"Tertullian affirms, that the tradition of the apostolic churches, guaranties

the four gospels, [Citing adv. Marc. 4. 5.], and refers his readers to the churches of Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, &c., for the authentic epistles of Paul. [Citing de Præs. Hær. 36.] What is this but the rhetoric of an enthusiast?

"Clement contradicts himself in making Peter authorize Mark's Gospel to be read in the churches; while in another place, he says the apostle "neither forbade nor encouraged it." [Citing Clement according to Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 2. 15, and 6. 14.]"—*Ibid.*

The same writer continues thus:

"The three fathers of whom we are speaking, had neither the ability nor the inclination to examine the genesis of documents surrounded with an apostolic halo. No analysis of their authenticity and genuineness was seriously attempted. In its absence, custom, accident, taste, practical needs directed the tendency of tradition. All the rhetoric employed to throw the value of their testimony as far back as possible, even up to or very near the apostle John, is of the vaguest sort. Appeals to the continuity of tradition and of church doctrine, to the exceptional veneration of these fathers for the gospels, to their opinions being formed earlier than the composition of the works in which they are expressed, possess no force.

"The ends which the fathers in question had in view, their polemic motives, their uncritical, inconsistent assertions, their want of sure data, detract from their testimony. Their decisions were much more the result of pious feeling, biassed by the theological speculations of the times, than the conclusions of a sound judgment. The very arguments they use to establish certain conclusions, show weakness of perception. What are the manifestations of spiritual feeling, compared with the results of logical reasoning?"—*Davidson on the Canon, pp.* 123, 124.

One great work of these fathers, was the establishment of the four gospels, which had now appeared, and were being introduced into the churches.

Immediately connected with this was the establishment of the papal power.

That this end was had in view by at least one of the fathers mentioned, we have the clearest evidence.

Irenæus, in the third book against Heresies, written, about A. D. 190, gave the opinion, that every church should agree with the Church of Rome on account of its pre-eminent authority. [See next chapter.] About five years afterward, he was called upon by the Roman Bishop Victor, to assemble a council of the bishops of Gaul, to consider the subject of the celebration of Easter; the question having already been passed upon

by a council of Italian bishops. Irenæus presided in the council, and the result of its deliberations was, the approval of the decree of the Italian council. Other councils were in like manner held throughout the Christian world, and the result, with a single exception, was everywhere the same. The object of the movement was, to furnish a precedent for the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, over all questions of the kind.

Doubtless, the pre-eminent authority, which Irenæus had already conceded to the Church of Rome, had more to do with the result, than any critical discussion of the question at issue.

It will be seen in the next chapter, that the views of Tertullian, concerning the pre-eminence of the Roman Church, were, notwithstanding his difference with some of the Roman bishops, scarcely less decided than those of Irenæus.

As to Clement, he is less explicit in the assertion of any supremacy or even superiority of the Roman Church. On the contrary we might fairly infer from his writings, the equality of all the churches. At the same time, we find no protest against the assumption of power on the part of Victor. Victor was sustained at Alexandria, where the influence of Clement was all powerful.

There is little room to doubt that there existed an understanding among these fathers, and a concert of action, in upholding and establishing, at the same time, the four gospels, and the authority of the Roman Bishop.

A brief sketch of the lives of these distinguished men, must here suffice.

Irenæus was Bishop of Lyons. The chronological confusion that prevails, concerning the most important dates of this period, is well illustrated in the case of Irenæus. He was born, according to Dodwell, in the

year 97. According to Dr. Grabe, A. D. 108; Tillemont, about 120, Du Pin, about 140. The last is probably the nearest correct.

About the year 178, he was sent by the Church of Lyons, to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, with an epistle, describing their sufferings during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. On his return, he was elected Bishop of Lyons, in the year 180. He is supposed to have been martyred about A. D. 202. His martyrdom is denied by some critics.

Clement of Alexandria was born either at Athens or Alexandria, about the year 160. From 190 to 202, he presided over the catechetic school, at Alexandria. In the latter year, he was compelled to leave that city, by the persecution under Severus. It is supposed by some, that he returned A. D. 211. His return is doubted by others. He died about the year 220.

Tertullian was the first Latin father, whose works have been preserved. He was born at Carthage, about the middle of the second century, and lived to a very advanced age.

He was converted about the year 185, and was married the year afterward. Was admitted to the priesthood, in 192; became a Montanist, in 199, and died about 220.

He was a vigorous, and at times, powerful writer. But his works abound in looseness of argument, and in whimsical applications of Scripture, such as were common in that day.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY.

It was during the sixth period, that the foundations were laid, of that great ecclesiastical power, which dominated the Christian world for thirteen hundred years, and whose supremacy is still acknowledged throughout a large part of Christendom.

For more than a hundred years after the foundation of the Church of Rome, there is no trace of its jurisdiction over other churches, outside of the Italian provinces.

In the latter part of the second century, a dispute existed, concerning the celebration of Easter. The Latin churches claimed it should be on Sunday. The Eastern churches had been celebrating it on the fourteenth day of the moon. The controversy had lasted nearly half a century. About A. D. 150, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome, and explained the views of the Eastern churches. He was treated by Anicetus, who was then bishop, as an equal; no attempt was then made to impose a different day upon the Asiatic churches. On the contrary, Polycarp and others celebrated Easter, according to their own views, in the City of Rome.

But in the time of Victor, the controversy becoming more heated, an attempt was made to settle it. A council was called of all the churches of Italy. At this council it was decreed that Easter should be celebrated on Sunday. Victor then issued a general letter, requesting local councils to be assembled by the following bishops: Theophilus of Cæsarea, Irenæus of Lyons, Bacchylus of Corinth, Demetrius of Alexandria, Palmas of Pontus, and Polycrates of Ephesus.[1]

The local councils were held. One consisted of the bishops in Gaul; another, of those in Palestine, another in Egypt, &c. All these approved the decree of the Italian Council, except the churches of pro-consular Asia, presided over by Polycrates. These refused to conform.

Thereupon Victor, encouraged and strengthened by all the other councils, proceeded to excommunicate the non-conforming Asiatic churches. [About A. D. 195.]

This appears to be the first assumption of supreme power by any Roman bishop. From this time, the supremacy of the Church of Rome rapidly culminated, both in theory and practice. It is true, that for a long time, some churches remained rebellious, but they were considered by the great body of Christians, as without the pale of the church universal, as it had been established by Christ, and had been represented by a regular succession of supreme pontiffs, commencing with Peter. For, as soon as the supremacy of the Roman

(1.) The Catholic Historian Darras, [Genl. History of the Catholic Church, vol. 1, p. 160], calls this letter an "order." According to Eusebius, it was a request. He quotes Polycrates, as writing to Victor, thus: "I could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested to be summoned by me, and whom I did call."—*Euseb. Ecc. Hist.* 5. 24. It is more probable, the letter was in the form of a request. The council called by Victor himself, consisted of all the bishops of Italy; which may be looked upon as indicating the extent of his jurisdiction at that time.

Church was once admitted, the Christians of that day found no difficulty in believing that such supremacy had continued from the times of the apostles. They were no more disposed to trace back the title of a power which they found established, than they were to investigate the origin of books which they found in circulation.

Protestant writers have claimed, that the power of the papacy was not established, nor its claims admitted in the writings of the fathers, until several hundred years after Christ. Even the fair minded Neander does not see in the writings of Irenæus or Tertullian, any acknowledgment that "the Roman Church held a prominence as the Cathedra Petri, over all the other apostolic churches."[1] Whether as Cathedra Petri, or as the Church of Peter and Paul, not only the prominence, but the supremacy of the Church of Rome, would seem to be pretty clearly acknowledged, in the following passage from Irenæus:

"Since, however, it would be very tedious, in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vain-glory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings; (we do this) by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church, founded and organized at Rome, by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our times by means of the successions of the bishops.

"For it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its pre-eminent authority; that is, the faithful every where, inasmuch as the apostolic tradition has been preserved continually by those who exist everywhere."

"The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus, the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him, succeeded Anacletus, and after him, in the third place, from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric."

(1.) Church Hist. vol. 1, p. 290.

He then gives the names of nine bishops, following Clement, and proceeds as follows:

"In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles, and the preaching of the truth have come down to us. And this is most abundant proof, that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the church, from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth."—*Irenœus adv. Hær.* 3. 3.

In the time of Tertullian, some twenty years later, the Roman bishops issued peremptory edicts, and appealed to the authority of their predecessors.[1] They called themselves bishops of bishops; episcopi episcoporum.[2]

Tertullian himself, was scarcely less explicit than Irenæus:

"Since, moreover," he says, "you are close to Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes, even into our hands, the very authority. How happy is its church, in which apostles poured forth all their doctrine, along with their blood! Where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! Where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's! Where the apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile! See what she has learned, what she has taught, what fellowship she has had, even with churches in Africa! One Lord God does she acknowledge, the Creator of the Universe, and the Christ Jesus of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God, the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh. The law and the prophets she unites in one volume, with the writings of evangelists and apostles, from which she drinks in her faith; this she seals with the water, arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the eucharist, cheers with martyrdom; and against such a discipline thus she admits no gainsayer."—*Tertullian, Prescription against Heretics, ch.* 36.

This passage is evidence, not only of the supremacy of the Roman Church, but that the New Testament then in circulation, had been compiled under the same authority. The New Testament of Marcion, consisting of the Gospel and the Apostolicon, had been superseded by a larger collection, containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Revelation of John, a larger number of Epistles of Paul, and in place of the one gospel, of

(1.) Tert. De Virg. Velandis. (2.) Ibid. De Pudicitia, ch. 1.

Marcion, four gospels, which were to stand as four pillars, to support the authority of the Church of Rome.

Irenæus, while he clearly concedes the supremacy of that church, at the same time shows the weakness of the foundation upon which the supremacy rested. He declares that the church had been founded by Peter and Paul, and that the episcopacy had been by them committed into the hands of Linus. From Linus it had gone to Anacletus, and "after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric." The tradition of the Catholic church has been, that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, and that the keys of the kingdom, as well as the bishopric, were delivered immediately by Peter to Clement. This tradition is in accordance with the letter from Clement to James, which was in circulation at an early day, but it is not sustained by Irenæus.

This discrepancy has been the occasion of much discussion. The most ingenious explanation is given by Rufinus, the Latin translator of the Recognitions. He conjectures that Linus and Anacletus merely assisted Peter in the management of the church, which was still, at the death of Peter, delivered over to Clement. But then what becomes of the continuous "succession," dwelt upon by Irenæus, in the chain of which, two of the links consisted of Linus and Anacletus?

The difficulty does not end here. According to Irenæus, the next bishop to Clement, was Evaristus. But this succession, though accepted by some Catholic writers, is found by others, not to accord with the traditions of the church. Accordingly, the Roman Almanac, entitled Gerarchia Catholica, interposes Anacletus between Clement and Evaristus. The third bishop, the second, exclusive of Peter, according to this authority, was Cletus, instead of Anacletus, while Anacle-

tus came after Clement, and ruled over the church twelve years; from A. D. 100 to 112. Darras, the Catholic historian, whose work received the indorsement of Pope Pius IX, has followed the succession as given by Irenæus; stating that his chronology is that of the Chronologique de l'histoire Ecclesiastique, on the model of the great work of the President Henault, on the History of France.

But this author does not agree with other Catholic authorities. He has the bishopric of Peter commence in the year 33, fixing the very day; the 29th of June. This is nine years earlier than the time given in the Almanac, which on this point is supported by Alzog's Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, a book very extensively used heretofore among Catholics, as a text book of church history.

Cletus, whose bishopric, according to the Roman Almanac, ends in 90, rules a year longer, according to Darras, his bishopric ending A. D. 91. Then comes Clement, his office terminating, according to both, in the year 100. After him, Evaristus, until 109, according to Darras, but according to the Almanac, until 121. Then Alexander, his bishopric, according to Alzog and Darras, ending in the year 119, but according to the Almanac, in the year 132.

After Alexander, the succession of the pontificates was as follows, according to these three authorities:

Sixtus,	according to the	Almanac,	A. D. 132 to 142.
do.	do.	Alzog,	" 119 to 127.
"	"	Darras,	" 119 to 128.
Telesphorus,	"	Almanac,	" 142 to 154.
"	"	Alzog,	" 127 to 139.
"	"	Darras,	" 128 to 138.
Hyginus,	"	Almanac,	" 154 to 158.
"	"	Alzog,	" 139 to 142.

Hyginus,	acccording to	Darras,	A. D. 138 to 142.
Pius I,	"	Almanac,	" 158 to 167.
"	"	Alzog,	" 142 to 157.
"	"	Darras,	" 142 to 150.
Anicetus,	"	Almanac,	" 167 to 175.
"	"	Alzog,	" 157 to 168.
"	"	Darras,	" 150 to 161.
Soter or Soterus,	"	Almanac,	" 175 to 182.
"	"	Alzog,	" 168 to 177.
"	"	Darras,	" 162 to 174.
Eleutherus,	"	Almanac,	" 182 to 193.
"	"	Alzog,	" 177 to 192.
"	"	Darras,	" 174 to 186.
Victor I,	"	Almanac,	" 193 to 203.
"	"	Alzog,	" 192 to 202.
"	"	Darras,	" 186 to 200.

Thus, in these eight pontificates, there are but two points in which any two of the three authors agree; the commencement of the bishoprics of Sixtus and Pius. In these particulars, Darras agrees with the Handbuch. But the Handbuch and Almanac do not agree in a single date; neither does Darras agree with the Almanac in a single date.

Darras and the Handbuch give the names of fourteen popes or bishops, previous to the year 200; the Almanac gives fifteen.

If Irenæus be brought into the comparison, while he does not give the dates of the pontificates, he differs from all these authorities, in neglecting to say that Peter was bishop of Rome at all. On the contrary, he states that the church was founded by Peter and Paul, and by them handed over to Linus.

If, during all this time, the bishops of Rome had exercised supreme jurisdiction, can it be possible, that nowhere throughout the Christian world, there would have been kept a record of so much importance as the

succession of the supreme bishops? Would it not have been possible to arrive at a more harmonious result than this?

It will have been observed, that the Roman Catholic Church was established about the same time, that the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were brought into general circulation. When Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, in the year 190, put aside the Gospel of Peter, and substituted in its stead the four gospels, he was engaged in the unification of the church.

And it is a significant fact, that Irenæus, the first writer who mentions the four gospels, was the first who acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REVIEW OF THE SIXTH PERIOD—TESTIMONY OF HEATHEN WRITERS—GENERAL REVIEW—CONCLUSION.

REVIEW OF SIXTH PERIOD.—1. The termination of the sixth period, which closes the century, finds the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles coming into general circulation, with most of the other New Testament writings.

The condition of the church in reference to the New Testament books at the time, is well summed up by Rev. Dr. Davidson, in the closing paragraphs to his two volumes of Introduction to the New Testament:

"The following propositions," says he, "are deducible from an impartial survey of the history of the first two centuries:"

The propositions condensed are as follows:

1. Before A. D. 170, no book of the New Testament was termed "scripture."

2. No certain trace of the existence of the fourth gospel, till after Justin Martyr. [This proposition might with equal truth be applied to the synoptic gospels, in their present form.]

3. The gospels of Matthew and Mark, cannot be identified with the "logia" of Matthew, and the things "said and done" by Jesus, which Mark wrote, mentioned by Papias.

4. The writings of Paul were either not used, or little regarded by the prominent ecclesiastical writers of the first half of the second century. After A. D. 150, they began to be valued.

5. The present gospels did not assume a canonical position, till the latter half of the second century.

6. No canon of the New Testament, i. e. no collection of New Testament literature like the present one, supposed to possess divine authority, existed before A. D. 200.

[Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2, p. 520. The last proposition cannot be accepted without some hesitation. The reader will remember the words of Tertullian, written about the year 200:

"The law and the prophets she (the Church of Rome) unites in one volume, with the writings of evangelists and apostles," &c.

There is reason to believe, that very soon after the four gospels appeared, somewhere between the years 180 and 200, they were published under the authority and by the direction of the Church of Rome, in a volume with the Old Testament, and with the other New Testament books then in circulation.]

2. Closely following the introduction into general circulation, of the books mentioned, was the establishment of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the universal catholic church; the Gospels of John and Matthew being used as powerful agencies in the consummation of that object. Not that the gospels were considered of higher authority than the traditions of the church, but those traditions themselves were established upon the firmest foundation, by the sanction of gospels bearing the names of two of the apostles of Jesus.

And here it is worthy of remark, that while in the earlier gospels, attributed to Luke and Mark, neither of whom was an apostle, had been recorded the older legends and traditions of the churches, when, to aid the Bishop of Rome in assuming authority over the entire Christian world, it was thought necessary to have still other gospels, they were both attributed to apostles of Christ.

Heathen Writers.—Something is said in almost every complete work on the canon, concerning the evidence of heathen writers. Such evidence is absolutely of no value in reference to the canon, because no mention is found in any heathen writer, of any of the Christian writings, before they are referred to by the Christians themselves.

OF CALIFO

Celsus, who, as quoted by Origen, is perhaps most relied upon as referring to the New Testament books, does not appear to have written the work cited by Origen, "The True Word," until early in the third century.

There is, however, important evidence concerning the life and death of Jesus at the time claimed by the Christians; facts which have been disputed by some learned writers.[1]

General Review—Conclusion.—In taking a general review of the first hundred and seventy years of the Christian religion, the first thing that strikes the mind, is the dearth of material, from which to construct a reliable history. It is seen at once, how much must rest upon probability in its different degrees—how much must be relegated to the province of speculation. The works of the only church historian who wrote during that period, lost or destroyed—the few fragments that are left, being of comparatively no value—the writings of Porphyry and others who wrote against Christianity, and those of the heretic Christians, all destroyed—there remain only the works of some of the orthodox fathers, and the text of those in a mutilated and corrupted condition.

As from a few bones, the scientist can re-construct the entire anatomy, so from these fragments can the historian arrive at the frame-work of the orthodox religion of the second century. But the complete and living form of Christianity is wanting.

With the exception of the epistle of Clement of Rome, written near the close of the first century, and a few scattering writings afterward, there is but little in the fathers of that day, to remind one of the pure

(1.) See Appendix, I.

and lofty morality of Jesus, or the fervid utterances of the apostle to the Gentiles. The fathers of the second century were, with united energies, engaged in the work of suppressing heresy. Justin Martyr was writing against the Jews, Tertullian, against Marcion, and Irenæus against all the heretics. This raid against those who differed from the established faith, left but little time to cultivate the more kindly Christian graces, and finally culminated in the establishment of a power which should be competent for the suppression of heresy by force.

Another thing that strikes the attention, in a comprehensive review of the period, is, the ignorance and superstition, even of the most enlightened, and best educated of the fathers. Their bigotry has been noticed—their ignorance and superstition were no less.

With rare exceptions, they were men who utterly despised that learning of the heathen, which consisted in attempts to ascertain the laws of the material universe. Construing in the narrowest and strictest sense, the maxim, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, they confined themselves, almost exclusively, to an exposition of the Jewish scriptures, and of the sayings of Christ, construed in the light of those scriptures; drawing oftentimes, in the application of the prophecies, the most fanciful and whimsical analogies.

Their credulity was unbounded. They had a sublime disregard for truth; not so much from perversity, as from carelessness, and indifference to its sacred character. Their unscrupulousness when seeking for arguments to enforce their positions, is notorious; as well as the prevalence among them, of what are known as pious frauds. Jones, himself a zealous Christian writer, says, that Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus

and Lactantius made use of testimonies out of forgeries and spurious books, to prove the very foundation of the Christian Revelation;[1] and it is believed on good grounds, that Irenæus was no better. This father, while engaged in the introduction of gospels which show that the ministry of Christ lasted from one to three years, not longer than three and a half, himself declares that it lasted about twenty years, and that he had the tradition from the elders of Asia, who had obtained it from John and the other apostles.

Such is the material at the hands of the historian. Of course he cannot rely implicitly upon the unsupported assertion of any such writer, for the truth of any historical fact whatever. In every instance, he is obliged to scrutinize carefully, and endeavor to ascertain whether any ulterior motives may have prompted whatever statement may be under consideration. If he can find none, and the fact stands uncontradicted by other writers, it is cautiously accepted. Under such circumstances, progress is slow and uncertain. The most that any writer can hope to accomplish, is to place in proper shape, what is already known, and to establish here and there a landmark, for the benefit of subsequent historians.

In conclusion, as the result of this investigation, it may be repeated, that no evidence is found, of the existence in the first century, of either of the following doctrines; the immaculate conception—the miracles of Christ—his material resurrection. No one of these doctrines is to be found in the epistles of the New Testament, nor have we been able to find them in any other writings of the first century.

As to the four gospels, in coming to the conclusion

(1.) Jones, vol. I, p. 374.

that they were not written in the first century, we have but recorded the conviction of the more advanced scholars of the present day, irrespective of their religious views in other respects; with whom, the question as now presented is, how early in the second century were they composed?[1]

Discarding, as inventions of the second century, having no historical foundation, the three doctrines above named, and much else which must necessarily stand or fall with them, what remains of the Christian religion?

All that is of any value—all that is in harmony with the immutable laws of the universe, still remains.—We have still the divine teachings of Christ. The more important of these, though more or less interpopolated and corrupted, have been preserved and handed down, both by tradition and in writing; and unlike the books referred to, can be traced back to well authenticated records of the first century.

These teachings impress upon the mind and heart, the highest and purest form of morality. They have never been improved upon by any theological speculations. After all the systems of theologians shall have passed away, they will stand forth, shining brighter and brighter, even unto the perfect day.

(1.) Dr. Davidson does not think either of the four gospels, in its present form, written before the year 100. The Gospel of John, not before 150. See his Introduction to the New Testament.

APPENDIX.

I.
JESUS CHRIST AS A HISTORICAL PERSONAGE.

Some able writers, observing the confusion and uncertainty existing in the chronology of nearly all the events connected with the early history of Christianity, have doubted whether such a person as Jesus Christ lived at the time alleged. These doubts have, in some instances, been expressed by writers of much learning, and cannot well be disregarded.

There are three good and reliable witnesses of the first century; one a Christian, one a Jew, and the other a heathen:

1. Paul.—The Epistles of Paul stand out as a fact, utterly unexplainable, and incomprehensible, except upon the hypothesis of the life and suffering of the central figure of them all.

That Paul wrote his Epistles in the first century, is attested by Clement of Rome, A. D. 97, who refers to one of them expressly, and by the fathers and writers of the first half of the second century, particularly Marcion, who, about 145, made a compilation of those then in circulation; ten in number.

2. Josephus; who gives an account of the death of James, the brother of Jesus, in the 9th chapter of the 20th book of the Antiquities. While narrating the particulars of the death of James, he speaks of him as "the brother of Jesus who was called Christ." We know of no good reason for doubting the authenticity of this passage.—[See ante, pp. 34, 35.]

3. Tacitus; who, in the 44th chapter of the 15th book of the Annals, speaks of Christus, "who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the procurator, Pontius Pilate."—[See p. 330.]

II.
ZACHARIAS.

There were four persons by that name, who have been referred to in the apocryphal and canonical gospels, and in the writings of the fathers, in such an indiscriminate manner, as to create great confusion.

1. Zacharias or Zechariah, the son of Jehoida. He was stoned to death, in the court of the temple."—2. Chron. 24. 20, 21.

2. Zacharias or Zechariah, the prophet, who was the son of Berechiah.—Zech. 1. 1. We have no account of his death.

3. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist.

In the Protevangelion, it is stated that because he would not disclose the hiding place of his son John, who had been concealed from Herod, he was murdered "in the entrance of the temple." [See ante, p. 130.]

This account is referred to and accredited by the earlier fathers, including Tertullian and Origen. It does not appear who was the father of this Zacharias.

4. Zacharias, the son of Barouchos, who was murdered inside the temple, about A. D. 69.—[Josephus, Jewish War, bk. 4, ch. 5, 4.]

Thus it will be seen, that three of the persons by that name, were put to death in or near the temple. Of these, the first was the son of Jehoida; the father of the second, not named, and the third was the son of Barouchos. This comes the nearest to the description of the Zacharias mentioned in Matt. 23. 35. We have therefore adopted the opinion of able writers, who consider the last the one referred to by the author of Matthew.

GENERAL INDEX.

(The figures in bracketts indicate the year when the person lived or flourished.)

Aaron, the High Priest, John the Baptist of the family of, 60.

Abbott Prof., doubtful passages, 188.

Abulfaragius, [1256], 168, 169.

Abgarus, King of Edessa, first picture of Christ sent to, 196;
correspondence with Christ, 287;
" probably a forgery, 295.

Abraham, worshiped by heathen emperors, 100.

Acosta Father, [1640], 391.

Actæon, 388.

Accommodation, a mode of construing scripture, 145.

Acts of the Apostles, when brought into general circulation, 429;
not historical, 23, 369-372;
not referred to by the apostolic fathers, 55; Cambridge MS. contains 600 interpolations, 187;
not in Marcion's N. T., 241;
critically considered, 369-372;
referred to in Murator'n frag., 412;
references to passages in, 105, 288, 289, 356;
its relation to Roman Catholicism, 400, 401, 424, 428.

Acts and Martyrdom of Andrew, abstract of, 125.

Acts of Andrew and Matthias, 125.

" of Barnabas, 124.

" of John, 89.

" of the Apostles, by Lucius, 369.

" of Paul and Thecla, 23, 124, 369.

" of Peter, 89.

" of Philip, 369; abstract of, 125.

" of Peter and And. 31, 89, 125, 369.

Acts of Peter and Paul, 124, 369;
containing Letter of Pontius Pilate, 218; also account of Peter and Simon Magus before Nero, 111, 112, 113.

Acts of St. Mary, 89.

Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas, 125.

Acts and Martyrdom of St, Matthew, 125.

Acts of Pilate, 126, 214, 218, 332, 333, 374; one of the three most ancient gospels of the 2d century extant, 128; abstract of the gospel, and its standing with the fathers, 177-185; compared with the canonical gospels, 186-212; mentioned by Justin Martyr, 270, 274, 275, 276; written before any of the canonical gospels, 296; contains the most reliable account of the crucifixion, 331; Erasmus thought it was written before Luke, 344; contains the shortest and probably the oldest accounts of the miracles attributed to Christ, 189-198; newly discovered Acts of Pilate, 220, 221.

Africanus. See Julius.

Agrippa Castor, [130], 223; sketch of, 227; wrote against Basilides, his writings lost or destroyed, 227, 402.

Agrippa the Great, was brother of Herodias, 17.

Æons, 222, 325.

Ahaz, King of Judah, 142, 143.

Alvarez Semedo, 387.

Alford, Gr. Test., 35.

Alfonsa Sonsa, 174.

Alexander Abonotichus, [2d century], 101; sketch of him by Lucian, 114, 115, 282.

Alexander, Bishop of Rome, 426.

Alexander, Era of, 154.

Alexander Dr. on Hieronymian Versions of N. T., 305.

Alexandrians, Epistle to, [Supposed to be Ep. to the Heb.], 412.

Albinus, Procurator of Judæa, 35.

Alzog, 232, 425-427.
Alexander, statue of, 282.
Alcestis, rescued from death by Hercules, 388.
Amasis, King of Egypt, 95.
Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer, 3d century, 282, 404.
Amelias, an ancient Greek writer, 390.
Ambrose, Latin father of 4th century, 10, 83, 131, 343.
Amuphis, an Egyptian magician, 122.
Antonius, an ascetic, [3d cent.], 75.
Annas and Caiaphas, High Priests, 15, 16, 179, 183, 185, 209.
Anius, the High Priest, 388.
Anna, the grandmother of Jesus, 128, 129.
Anna, the prophetess, see Hannah.
Antoninus Pius, Emperor, [138 to 161], 267, 295.
Ananus, High Priest, 35.
Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, 398, 407, 421, 427.
Antonius, father of Simon Magus, 106.
Anacletus, Bishop of Rome, 423, 425.
Antonine column, sculpture on, 123.
Ananias and Sapphira, 28.
Announcement to Mary, 129, 135, 136, 162, 271, 321.
Andrew, the Apostle, 59, 356.
Anonymous Writings, 228, 229.
Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian, worshiped as a god, 116.
Angels in the Jewish system, 117, 118.
Antiquity of Christian Doctrines, 387-391.
Apollo, 115, 390.
Apollonius, Christ'n writer, [3d cent.], 284.
Apollonius, of Tyana, [1st cent.], 114, 116, 282, 283, 374, 387, 388; Biography of, by Philostratus, 90-99; estimate of his character by different writers, 99-101; extracts from his epistles, 101-103.
Apocalypse of John, in N. T., 36, 124, 269, 270, 413, 424; not generally received by the ancients, 33; omitted from the canon by the Asiatic churches 34; reference to passages in, 86, 279; supposed to have been written by John the presbyt'r, 228; not in Marcion's New Test., 241.
Apocalypse of John (another), 89, 124.
Apocalypse of Esdras, 124.
Apocalypse of Paul, 89, 124.
" of Moses, 124.
" of Cerinthus, 33.
" of Peter, 89, 413.
" of Bartholomew, 89.
Apocryphal Gospels, and Writings, 79-89, 124, 227, 310, 405, 410.
Apocryphal Acts, Epistles, Revelations, &c., 89, 124.
Apostolic Fathers, 37-55, 232.
Apuleius, pagan philosopher, of the 2d century, 116.
Apostles of Christ, 20-36, 417, 433.
Apelles, [160], a Gnostic leader, sketch of, 280, 281; his writings lost, 404.
Aquila, brother of Clement of Rome, 40, 106, 107.
Archelaus, King of Judæa, 149, 161, 322.
Aristides, [126], author of an Apology, 402; sketch of, 225, 226; Epistle to Diognetus attributed to, 238.
Aristides, the Sophist, [176], 370, 371.
Arnobius, Christian writer, early in 4th cent., 121.
Artemon, [200], 415, 416.
Aretas, King of Petræa, 18.
Aristeas, of Proconnesus, 116.
Aristo, of Pella, [175], 393, 394.
Aristotle, 92, 166, 301, 391, 396.
Aristion, [130], 228, 236, 402.
Arian Controversy, 415.
Asterius Urbanus, [188], 411.
Asterius, writer, [4th cent.], 196.
Asceticism, 72-75.
Atonement, the, 381, 382, 389.
Athenagoras, [177], an Athenian philosopher, and Christian writer, 267, 268, 282; sketch of, 396; held to a material resurrection, 375.
Athanasius, [373], 152.
Augustus Cæsar, 123, 139, 154, 387.
Aurelian, [Emp. 270-275], 100.

Austin, [600], Christ'n writer, 132, 280.
Aulus Gellius, early in 2d century, 282, 283, 404.
Aurelius, Marcus, [Emp., 161-180], 45, 122, 268, 396, 420.
Aurelius, Lucius Commodus, 268.
Augustine, [420], 80, 239, 307, 343, 356, 397; relates astonishing miracles, 122; discussion with Faustus, the Manichæan, 298-303; his explanation of the genealogy of Christ, 320; developed the doctrine of original sin, and inherited guilt, 382.
Avenging of the Savior, 220.

Baring-Gould, Rev. S., 11, 12, 58, 75, 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 225, 241, 243, 244, 392; exonerates Marcion from having corrupted the Gospel of Luke, 252, 253.
Baptism, 384, 385, 386; form of, was immersion, 384; change from immersion to sprinkling, 391.
Baptism of Jesus, 15, 60, 62, 151, 152, 159, 274, 280, 315.
Baptizing women, 23.
Baptizing by women, 23; taught and permitted by Marcion, 240, 241; also by a sect of Montanists, 284.
Barachiah, (Barachias), 63.
Bardanes, 93.
Basil, [375], 388.
Basnage, thought Luke the first of the canonical gospels, 245.
Bacchylus of Corinth, [180], sketch of, 397, 398, 422.
Bardesanes, [180], sketch of, 397.
Bayle, M., 100.
Barnabas, [1st century], 85, 86, 226; preaches at Rome, 40.
Barnabas, Epistle of, [130], 84, 85, 226, 227, 232; no evidence for the N. T., 53; attributed by the fathers to the companion of Paul, 226; such authorship rejected by modern scholars, ib.; one of the first books mentioning the miracles of Christ, 374; the author a millenarian, 384.
Basilides, [125], a famous Gnostic, 80, 81, 222, 227, 234, 402; Irenæus' account of his doctrines, 224; sketch of, 223, 224; is said to have written a commentary on "the gospel," in 24 books, 223, 401; not a reliable witness for the four gospels, 224; maintained that Christ, being innocent, could not endure penal suffering, 381.
Barsabas, 236.
Barabbas, 63, 200, 312, 331.
Baronius, [1588], 65, 99, 123, 132, 229, 351.
Bartholomew, 36, 80, 81, 125, 368.
Baldæus, 170, 171.
Bopadeva, [12th century], 175, 176.
Bellarmine, [1600], 343, 351.
Berenice, 388.
Berwick, Rev. Edward, [1809], 91.
Beausobre, [1734], 65.
Bede, Venerable, [734], 80, 83, 281, 344.
Beryllus, [200–244], 415.
Bhagavat Purana, 170, 171, 172, 174; antiquity of, 175, 176.
Bible Revision, 188.
Bishops of Rome to the year 200, 425-428.
Blastus, [177], notice of, 395.
Blount, Charles, [1680], a celebrated deist, 91.
Bleek, a German writer, 47.
Book of Enoch, 117.
Book of the Helkesaites, 87.
Book of Joseph, the High Priest, 147.
Book of James, see Protevangelion.
Book of Tobit, 117.
Book of John, concerning the falling asleep of Mary, 124.
Bolingbroke, [1740], 52, 53.
Bossuet, [1688], 371.
Book of Wisdom, 413.
Bretschneider, [1830], 355.
Brahma, first person in the Hindoo Trinity, 388, 389.
Brahmins, 93, 96, 174, 176, 391.
Bunsen, [1850], 23.
Buddha, 166.
Burton, [1833], 268.
Byzantius, 229.

Caius, [210], 30, 394.
Carpocrates, [135], 60, 233, 283, notice of, and his doctrines, 230, 231.
Cassiodorus, [550], historian, 196.
Cainites, 84.
Canon of the N. T., 76, 77.
Cave, [1700], a writer, 411.
Cave, Christ born in a, 129, 130, 132, 139, 141, 144, 146, 148, 154, 155, 156, 171, 273.
Catholic Church, 373, 413.
Caiaphas, High Priest, 15, 16, 147, 179, 214.
Capuanus Catena, [455], 54.
Canticles, Book of, 62.
Cassianus, Julius, [190], 71, 411.
Camerarius, 80.
Caracalla, Emp., [211-217], 98, 100.
Casting out Demons, 117, 120, 121, 126.
Cambridge Manuscript, [MS. Bezæ], 187, 370.
Celsus, [210], 101, 114, 431.
Celibacy taught in the Gospel of the Egyptians, 77; also by Saturninus, 223.
Cephas, 29, 334.
Cerdo, or Cerdon, a Gnostic, [140], notice of, 231.
Cerinthus, [145], a celebrated Gnostic, 31, 32, 33; held that Jesus was the real son of Joseph, 60, 234; sketch of, 233, 234; had a gospel and a revelation, 234; Toland thought he might have written the Gospel of John, 234; Irenæus and Jerome assert that John wrote against him, 234, 357; his works lost or destroyed, 403.
Cerinthians, used the Gospel of the Hebrews, 59.
Centurio, 182, 193, 194.
Chromatius, [400], a Bishop, 215-217.
Chrishna, [B. C. 1156], 170-174, 175, 387, 388; parallel between Chrishna and Christ, 171; antiquity of the legends concerning, 175, 176.
Chimalman, mother of Quexalcote, 389.
Chrysostom, [407], 10, 46, 131; his testimony concerning the Acts of the Apostles, 370.
Chronicles of Hegesippus, 406-408.
Christ, see Jesus Christ.
Christus, 330.
Christ and Abgarus, alleged correspondence between, 287, 295.
Christian women, 22, 23.
Churches of Vienne and Lyons, Epistle from, [177], 395.
Christian Era, date of, when and by whom established, 330.
Charinus, 183, 184.
Church of Corinth, 4, 27, 418.
Church of Lyons, 420.
Church of Rome, 408, 409, 418, 419, 430; founded by Peter and Paul, 417.
Church at Sinope, 3, 4.
Church of Philippi, 418.
Church of Rhossus, 7.
Church of Ephesus, 418.
Church of Thyatira, 34.
Chrysippus, [B. C. 230], a Greek philosopher, 92.
Circumcision, insisted upon by Jewish Christians, 384.
Circumcision of Jesus, see Jesus Christ.
Cicero, [B. C. 50], 301, 391.
Claudius Apollinaris, [178], a Christian writer, 122, 123; notice of, 396, 397.
Claudius, Emp., [41 to 54], 32, 105.
Cleomedes, of Astypalæa, a miracle-worker, 116.
Cletus, Bishop of Rome, 425, 426.
Clement of Rome, [97], sketch of, 37-43; when Bishop of Rome, 423, 424, 425, 426; his views concerning the resurrection, 26, 27, 55, 375, 376; says nothing of the immaculate conception, or of the miracles of Christ, 28; not a witness to the four gospels, 37-39, 52, 53; his treatment of heretics, 42, 54; the keys of the kingdom given to him, by Peter, at Rome, 29, 367.
Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, (called the First Epistle

of Clement), 2, 23, 37-43, 53, 84, 85, 382, 407, 431; 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, attributed to Clement, [150-200], 39, 71, 416; Clement to James, Epistle, 29, 39, 367, 425; the foundation of the Inquisition, 29; Epistle of Clement in praise of Virginity, 39; the Canons attributed to him, 39; also Apostolic Constitutions, 39;

Clementines, or Clementine Writings, 32, 39, 66, 67, 86, 238, 416; attributed to Clement, consisting of Epitome, 39, 238; Homilies, 32, 39, 105, 238, and Recognitions; see "Recognitions"; Gospel of the Hebrews used in the Clementine writings, 86, 238.

Clementine Gospel, probably the Gospel of the Hebrews, 86.

Clement, mother of, 385, 386.

Clement of Alexandria, [200], 66, 72, 234, 381, 382, 398, 406, 409, 412, 414, 417-420, 432; references to, and quotations from his writings, 10, 24, 57, 70, 71, 76, 77, 84, 85, 120, 170, 226, 229, 231, 232, 319, 368, 383, 411, 414; some of his lost works, 409, 410; held to the spiritual view of the resurrection, 376; denied the eternal duration of future punishment, 383.

Council of Nice, [325]; doctrine of the trinity established, 379.

Council of Laodicea, [365], forbade the ordination of women, 22; excluded the Apocalypse from the canon, 34.

Council, Italian, called by Victor, 418, 419, 422.

Councils, Local, ibid.

Constantius Porphyrogenitus, 196.

Constantine, Emp., [306-337], 33, 60; by his edict the works of Porphyry were burned, 294.

Codex Bezæ, see Cambridge.

Confucius, [B. C. 598], Magi attended his birth, from a distance, 387; golden rule taught by, 391.

Confession and Remission of Sins, 390.

Commodus, Emp., [180 to 192], 396, 398.

Credner, [1836], 8, 11, 13, 238, 270, 278, 351.

Creation out of nothing, taught by Hermas, [145], 383.

Crucifixion of Jesus, See Jesus Christ.

Cureton, Prof. [1845], 43, 229.

Cyrenius and the Taxing, 154, 268, 272, 273, 291, 322, 323.

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, [375], 10, 33, 131, 152.

Cyprian, [250], 121, 274.

Dardanus, 166.

Damis, [1st cent.], 91, 93, 96, 97, 99.

Damascene, [725], 132.

Damasus, [366], 307.

Darius Hystaspes, [B. C, 500], 166.

Darras, [1855], 414, 422, 426, 427.

Daille, 81.

Davidson, Dr., 6, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 45, 76, 224, 227, 235, 237, 238, 269, 275, 278, 303, 304, 308, 357, 417, 418, 429, 430, 434.

De Wette, [1825], 243.

Descent into Hell, 184.

Death of Pilate, 219.

Demetrius, a philosopher, of the first century, 97, 98.

Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, [195], 422.

Desposyni, see Genealogies.

Descent from the Cross, by John, 86.

Demi-Ourgos, 105, 240.

Demas, 201-204.

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, [175], 30; notice of, 394.

Dionysius, Exiguus, [525], 330.

Discussion between Peter and Simon Magus, 107-110.

Dion Cassius, [229], 90, 122, 123; what he says of Apollonius, 98; of Marcia, 398.

Diocletian, Emp., [284-305], 308.

Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, 393, 394.

Diognetus, Epistle to, [140], notice of, 238.

Divinity of Christ, 20, 278, 354, 355, 388, 400, 416; origin and history of the doctrine, 376 to 379.

Diatessaron, 284, 285, 297, 405.

Diapente, 285.
Dositheus, "The Standing One," 106, 107.
Dodwell, Dr. [1700], 124, 295, 419.
Dollinger, Dr. [1867], 23, 24, 26, 386; what he says as to the punishment inflicted by Peter, 28.
Docetae, a sect of Gnostics, who believed that Jesus and Christ were different, 11, 280.
Donaldson, Dr. [1860], 396, 397, 413.
Domitian, Emp., [81 to 96], 32, 96, 97, 116, 388, 406, 407; his assassination at Rome detailed, at the same time at Ephesus, by Apollonius of Tyana, 98.
Domna, Julia, wife of Septimius Severus, [210], 90.
Doctrines, Christian, 13, 26, 32, 40, 48, 55, 68, 77, 105, 224, 278; origin and history of, 373-386; antiquity of, 387-391.
Doctrine of Peter, see Peter.
Dubois, M., [1800], 389.
Du Perron, translation of the Zend-Avesta, [pub'd in 1771], 165-168.
Durant, [pub'd in 1606,] 196, 197.
Du Pin, [1688], 30, 65, 81, 101, 420.
Dumachus and Titus, 148.

Easter, 366, 367, 414, 415, 418, 421, 422.
Ebionites, [2d cent.], 25, 59, 60, 63, 68, 81, 398, 399.
Egyptian Impostor, 369, 370.
Eichhorn, [1794], 66, 313, 317, 318, 413.
Eisenmenger, 118.
Elders quoted by Irenæus, 236.
Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, 407, 408, 420, 427.
Ellicott, Bishop, [1856], 149, 198-200, 211.
Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, 60, 129, 130, 134, 136.
Elijah, 75.
Electra, mother of Dardanus, 166.
Enoch and Elias, 214.
Epiphanes, [140], sketch of, 231.
Ephraim, the Syrian, [378], 308.
Epistles of N. T., 37, 38.
Epiphanius, [385], 10, 73, 80-82, 84, 86, 130, 132, 196, 233, 234, 239, 241, 242, 252, 253, 258, 264, 284, 358, 403; references to his writings, 59, 60, 61, 72, 74, 75, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 130, 131, 132, 152, 217, 218, 233, 234, 258, 264, 273, 274, 280, 284, 285, 344, 358, 412; he thought the Gospel of Cerinthus, [A. D. 145], written before that of Luke, 344.
Erasmus, [1520], 72, 77, 83, 343; thought the Acts of Pilate written before the Gospel of Luke, 344.
Esculapius, 115, 116, 388.
Essenes, 72--75.
Esoteric, and Exoteric Doctrines, 385, 386.
Eternal Punishment, 382, 383, 390.
Eternal Gospel, 86, 87.
Eusebius, [325], 7, 10, 13, 33, 35, 56, 73, 83, 100, 103, 111, 178, 179, 221, 223, 225, 228, 229, 237, 285, 286, 297, 394, 398, 402, 405, 406-409, 414; references to, and quotations from his writings, 7, 12, 13, 24, 29, 30, 34, 35, 56, 57, 59, 73, 83, 86, 87, 103, 121, 122, 123, 124, 131, 152, 195, 196, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232, 236, 237, 273, 284, 285, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 343, 394, 395, 397, 399, 402, 405, 406--409, 414, 415, 418, 422; value of his testimony as a witness, 287-295; his falsehoods and forgeries, 288; forgeries on Josephus, 288-291; forgery on Phlegon, 291-293; forgery on Thallus, 293, 294; forgery on Porphyry, 294, 295; other forgeries, 295.
Euthimius, [1120], 131.
Eunapius [400], 100, 101.
Euodius, [410], 132.
Eucharist, 424; of ancient origin, 391.
Eudocia, 99, 100.
Euripides, 396.
Evagrius, [594], 46.
Evaristus, Bishop of Rome, 425, 426.
Ewald, [1800], 3, 6, 50, 228, 278, 315.

Faber, [1840], 165, 166, 167, 169.
Farrer, 205.
Faustus, a celebrated Manichæan Bishop, [400], 298--303, 356.
Fabricius, [1703], 3, 80, 86, 88, 89, 105, 125, 178, 285.
Fall of Man, an ancient doctrine, 390.
False Gospels of Lucianus, see Gospel of Lucius.
False Gospels of Hesychius, 87, 88.
Festus, Governor of Judæa, [62], 35.
Feuardentius, 54.
Final Restoration, believed in by Origen, 383.
Fire in the Jordan, 229, 274.
Fire Worshipers, 148, 160.
Flora, [190], 310, 411, 412.
Fleury, 269.
Florinus, [177], 395.
Forbe's Oriental Memoirs ,[1800], 175.
Fontenelle, [1700], 295.
Froude, the historian, 101, 114, 115.
Freedom of the Will, 381.

Galba, Emp., [68-69], 95.
Gamaliel, 369.
Galilee, 311.
Genealogy of Jesus, see Jesus Christ.
George, Bishop of Nicomedia, 132.
Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, [715], 132.
Gestas, 201, 203, 204.
Gelasius, Pope, [494], 81.
Gelasius, Decree of, [494], 11, 64, 76, 78, 80, 83, 84, 87-89, 132, 233.
Genealogies of the Desposyni, 86.
Gerarchia Catholica, the Roman Almanac, 425-427.
Gfroerer, [1850], 117.
Gengis Khan, [1220], 387.
Gibbon, [1780], 100.
Giving up of Pontius Pilate, 219.
Gnostics and Gnosticism, 49, 79, 80--82, 105, 223, 231, 234, 235, 280, 283, 284, 376, 384, 411.
Gobarus, [6th cent.], 398, 399.
Golden Rule before Christ, 391.
Gospel of Paul, one of the lost gospels of the first century, 3--6, 9, 12, 14, 76; the foundation of the Gospel of Marcion, 3; also of the Gospel of Luke, 14.
Gospel of Peter, another lost gospel of the first century, 3, 6--12, 13, 14, 75, 76, 131, 228, 288, 400, 412, 428; was part of the material entering into the Gospel of the Hebrews, 68; supposed to be very similar to it, 11, 87; cited by Justin Martyr, 7, 8, 270, 274; the basis of the Gospel of Mark, 9, 14, 346, 350; suppressed by the bishops in 2d century, to make place for the canonical gospels, 6, 7, 409, 414, 428.
Gospel of the Egyptians, 70 to 78, 411; frequently cited by Clement of Alexandria, 70, 71; written before Luke, 71, 72, 343, 344.
Gospel of the Hebrews, 11, 14, 56-69, 76, 80, 82, 86, 87, 105, 163, 237, 266, 274, 278, 374; claimed by Jerome and Epiphanius to be the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, 59--64, 358, 359; written before the canonical gospels, 71, 72, 343, 344; used by Justin Martyr, 238, 297; supposed to have been used by Tatian, 285, 405; used by Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, 399, 407, 408.
Gospel of James, see Protevangelion.
Gospel of Nicodemus, see Acts of Pilate.
Gospel of the Infancy, attributed to Thomas, 49, 79, 80, 140, 144, 146, 147, 148--176, 188, 215, 216, 217, 218, 273, 279, 309, 321, 323, 324, 361, 368, 402, 416; one of the three most ancient extant gospels, 128; known to Justin Martyr, 273, 274; written before Luke and Matthew, 71, 296; synopsis of its contents, 147--151; testimonies of the fathers, 151-153; compared with the first two chapters of Luke and Matthew, 154-164; origin and history of, 165-176.
Gospel of Marcion, 3, 4, 5, 19, 38, 39, 88, 89, 163, 224, 241, 242, 321, 337-343, 349, 350, 364, 400, 409, 424, 425; founded on the Gospel of Paul, 3, 4; written before the Gospel of Luke, 19, 252--

266, 296, 343, 344; contained no history of the infancy and childhood of Christ, 163, 242, 339, 350; the gospel reproduced, 243--251; the question of priority as between Marcion and Luke, 252--266; Marcion's Gospel interpolated by the author of Luke, 254--263, 321, 339--343.

Gospel of Perfection, 79, 80, 82, 149; mentioned in the Gospel of the Infancy, 80, 149.

Gospel of Andrew, 80; written before Luke, ib.

Gospel of Bartholomew, 71, 80, 81, 344, 368; written before Luke, 71, 344.

Gospel of Philip, 80, 81, 82, 225.

Gospel of Matthias, 71, 83, 344; written before Luke, ib.

Gospel of Judas, 83, 84, 88; mentioned by Irenæus, 83.

Gospel of Basilides, 71, 86, 224, 344; written before Luke, 71, 344.

Gospel of Cerinthus, 86, 89, 233, 234, 344, 403; written before the Gospel of John, 234; before Luke, 344.

Gospel of Truth, 89, 234, 235, 403; referred to by Irenæus, 403.

Gospel of Valentine, the same, 234.

Gospel of Apelles, 71, 72, 84, 281, 344; written before Luke, 71, 72, 281.

Gospel or Harmony of Tatian, 11, 86, 89, 163, 297, 405; did not contain the Infancy, 163; history of, 284--286; not a harmony of the four gospels, ib., 297; based on the Gospel of the Hebrews, 285, 405.

Gospels, the Four Canonical, 6, 10, 27, 37-99, 49, 51-55, 56, 65, 71, 72, 78, 126, 149, 172, 186-212, 224, 226, 233, 235, 240, 269-271, 275-277, 285, 286, 295--368, 376, 396, 399, 400, 403, 405, 408, 409, 417, 419, 425, 428, 429, 433, 434; when written, 317; selected for the use of the churches, from a large number of gospels, 10, 310; a support to Roman Catholic supremacy, 425, 428.

Gospels, the Synoptic, 13, 311-318, 324, 329, 331, 333, 346, 353, 354, 365, 366.

Gospel according to Luke, 4--6, 9, 14, 15, 19, 38, 52, 71, 72, 77, 80, 126, 129, 133--146, 152, 154--164, 170, 172, 188, 191--195, 201--206, 209--211, 224, 231, 241--266, 271--273, 281, 291, 296, 309, 312--317, 319, 331--333, 335, 337--350, 362, 367, 370, 396, 400, 409, 412, 429, 430; first two chapters compared with the Protevangelion, 133--146; with the Gospel of the Infancy, 154--164; reference to specific passages in, 4, 17, 38, 50, 58, 72, 80, 133--146, 152, 154--164, 191--195, 197, 201--206, 243--266, 271, 281, 338--343, 345-349, 352, 353, 359--361, 363, 364--366; subsequent to Apelles, 281; founded on the Gospels of Paul and Marcion, 6--14; written subsequent to Marcion, 252--266; when written, 317; critically examined, 337--345.

Gospel according to Mark, 9, 11, 14, 17, 39, 52, 58, 75, 76, 78, 191, 192, 210, 211, 237, 238, 258, 265, 266, 296, 309, 312, 313--317, 331--333, 335, 352, 353, 362, 368, 396, 400, 402, 418, 429, 430; reference to specific passages in, 4, 8, 18, 76, 188, 202--205, 208, 209, 332, 365, 366; founded on the Gospel of Peter, 9; when written, 317; critically examined, 346--351.

Gospel according to John, 34, 36, 52, 126, 169, 202, 211, 228, 238, 269, 276, 279, 284, 296, 309, 311, 316, 317, 324, 325, 328, 329, 331--333, 335, 336, 370, 396, 397, 400, 409, 412, 429, 430, 434; reference to specific passages in, 188--193, 203, 206, 265; written subsequent to Cerinthus, 234; not known to Justin Martyr, 269, 270, 276; when written, 317; the first canonical gospel mentioned in Christian history, 302, 303, 397; radically different from the synoptics, 311, 312; critically examined, 352--357.

Gospel according to Matthew, 14, 30, 38, 39, 53, 57--68, 80, 81, 85, 130, 133--146, 154, 155--164, 169, 170, 172, 188, 191, 192, 193, 197, 211, 236, 237, 238, 255, 271, 296, 309, 312--317, 319, 320, 330-333, 335, 340, 346, 347, 350, 357, 370, 397--400, 402, 405, 417, 429, 430; reference to specific passages

in, 4, 12, 17, 18, 50, 52, 57, 58, 62, 63, 76, 130, 141--146, 159--163, 200--208, 265, 332, 333, 335, 340, 352, 353, 356; first two chapters compared with the Protevangelion, 133-146; with the Gospel of the Infancy, 154-164; an original Greek gospel, 30, 67, 304, 314; when written, 317; critically examined, 358-368.

Gospel of the Syrians, or the Syriac Gospel, probably same as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 56, 82.

Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, another name for the Gospel of the Hebrews, 59, 61, 62, 71, 278, 297, 343, 344.

Gospel of the Nazarenes, the same, 65, 80, 82.

Gospel of the Ebionites, a version of the same, 65.

Gospel of the Birth of Mary, (a supposed gospel), nothing but a translation by Jerome, of a portion of the Gospel of the Infancy, 215-218, 323, 416; this gospel was asserted by Jerome, to be in the hand-writing of Matthew, 64, 216, 309.

Gospel of Thomas, same as Gospel of the Infancy, 71, 147, 152, 173, 174, 344.

Gospel of Eve, a doubtful gospel, referred to by Epiphanius, 79, 82, 83.

Gospel of the Encratites, referred to by Epiphanius, 86.

Gospel of Jude, same as Gospel of Judas Iscariot.

Gospel of Barnabas, 84-86.

Gospel of Merinthus, same as Gospel of Cerinthus, referred to by Epiphanius, 344.

Gospel of the Gnostics, properly no such gospel, though the term sometimes used, 87.

Gospel of Justin, sometimes employed to designate the gospel principally used by Justin Martyr, 87; this supposed to have been the Gospel of the Hebrews, ib.

Gospel of James the Less, same as the Protevangelion, 87, 88.

Gospel of the Lord, same as the Gospel of Marcion, 88.

Gospel of Lucius, one of the false gospels of Lucianus, so called; these pronounced apocryphal by the Decree of Gelasius, 88.

Gospel of Life, a gospel of the Manichæans, 88.

Gospel of Longinus, 88.

Gospel of Manes, [3d cent.], same as the Manichee Gospel, 88.

Gospel of Scythianus, 89.

Gospel of Simonides, or of the Simonians, (followers of Simon Magus), 89.

Gospel of Simon Magus, the same.

Gospel of Thaddæus, 89.

For other gospels, see Clementine, Acts, Eternal, &c.

Gregory Nazienzen, [380], 33, 229.

Gregory Nyssen. [380], 132, 217, 218, 273.

Grotius, [1640], 72, 77, 178, 343.

Griesbach, [1800], 188, 238, 253, 266, 347.

Graves, Kersey, [1876,] 391.

Grabe, Dr., [1710]. 72, 77, 78, 83, 84, 85, 229, 269, 310, 412, 420.

Grynæus, [1600], 54, 135, 137, 185, 275.

Guericke, [1833], 47, 238.

Gymnosophists, 96.

Hannah, the prophetess, 148, 157, 158.

Hadrian, Emp., [117-138], 74, 116, 225, 393; letter to his brother-in-law, Servianus, 74.

Hahn, [1830], 242, 243, 253, 340, 341.

Hades, 375.

Hagenbach, [1840], 384.

Hercules, 388.

Hesiod, [B. C. 800], 396.

Heliodorus, [400], a Catholic bishop, 215--217.

Herbert, [1634], 391.

Hermogenes, [180], 397, 415; notice of, 397.

Heracleon, [190], 10, 229, 409, 411, 412; used the Gospel of Peter, 412; notice of, 411, 412.

Henault, [1744], 426.

Hermas, companion of Paul, 232.

Hermas, 2d. [145], 232, 233, 384; sketch of, 232, 233; the Shepherd or Pastor of Hermas, a celebrated book, in the early age of the church, 53, 232, 233, 383, 413.

Heathen writers, 430, 431.

Herodotus, [B. C. 450], 396.

Hermas, 3d, [200], 416.

Heresy defined by Dr. Lardner, 222.

Heresy and Heretics, 222--225.

Hegesippus, [185], 56, 66, 67, 82, 238, 398, 399, 406--409; the first Jewish historian, 406; sketch of, 398, 399.

Hermodorus, [B. C. 450], 166.

Hermippus, [B. C. 270], 166.

Herod the Tetrarch, 15, 17, 18, 60, 185, 209, 210.

Herod the Great, 17, 130, 143, 144, 145, 148, 153, 159, 160, 161, 291, 321, 322, 331.

Herod Agrippa, 288, 289.

Herod, half-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, 17.

Herodias, 17, 18, 19.

Hindoos and Hindoo Religion, 166, 167, 170--176.

Higgins, Sir Godfrey, [1830], 391.

Hilary, [390], 131, 307.

Hierocles, [305], 91, 103, 116.

History of Joseph the Carpenter, 213, 214.

Hippocrates, [B. C. 400], 300, 301.

Hippolytus, restored by Esculapius, 388.

Hippolytus, [3d cent.], 223, 224, 234.

Hilgenfeld, 46, 243, 270.

Historical evidence, its proper place, 303.

Homer, 93, 97, 396.

Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost, 27, 28, 57, 60, 62, 72, 85, 135, 136, 141, 157, 159, 260, 271, 274, 389, 390, 424; the Holy Ghost of the feminine gender, 57, 62, 87.

Hug, [1808], 355, 413.

Hyde, [1700], 168, 169.

Hyginus, Bishop of Rome, 231, 426, 427.

Ignatius, [115], 43--50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 66, 382; his Epistles, 43--50, 53, 68, 187, 373; swollen from 12 to 100 pages, 188; their genuineness considered, 44--47; references to, and quotations from, 46--49.
- Epistle to the Ephesians, 43, 48.
- Epistle to the Romans, 43, 47, 48.
- Epistle to Polycarp, 43, 47, 49, 50, 51.
- Vossian Epistles, 43, 47, 53.
- Cureton or Syriac Epistles, 43, 46, 47, 187; these the genuine epistles, 187.
- Epistles ascribed to Ignatius:
- Epistle to the Magnesians, 43.
- Epistle to the Trallians, 43.
- Epistle to the Philadelphians, 43.
- Epistle to the Smyrnæans, 43, 63, 64, 68, 385.
- Eight others formerly attributed to him, 43.
- Martyrdom of Ignatius, 44--47, 51.

Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, [1562], 33.

Immaculate Conception, 13, 19, 20, 28, 32, 41, 55, 68, 77, 129, 130, 169, 170, 171, 240, 271, 272, 319, 374, 433, 434; first allusion to, extant, 48, 49, 373; immaculate conceptions, 168, 169, 387.

Imperfect Commentary on Matthew, 173.

Immersion as Baptism, 384.

Immortality of the soul, 380, 381.

Internal criticism, its proper place, 303.

Intermediate State, 383.

Inherited Guilt, 382.

Inspiration, 383, 884.

Infant baptism, 385.

Intolerance, 385.

Irenæus, [190], 6, 8, 12, 32, 33, 46, 47, 51, 54, 84, 223, 224, 328, 329, 357, 367, 376, 384, 403, 405, 407, 412, 417-420, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 433; references to, and quotations from his writings, 6, 30, 48, 83, 105, 120, 152, 223, 224, 230-232, 234, 236, 310, 325--328, 367, 384, 392, 393, 423, 424; the first writer who mentioned the four gospels, 302, 325, 385, 428;

the first who acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of Rome, 428.

Isidorus, [150], notice of, 234.

Isaiah, see Old Testament.

James, the son of Zebedee, brother to John, called also James the Elder, 7, 8, 29, 34, 35, 59, 76.

James the son of Alphæus, called James the Less, and James the Just, 29, 34, 61, 128, 130, 180, 240, 334, 371, 372; whether he was brother to Jesus, uncertain, 34.

James, the brother of the Lord, 34, 61, 131, 149, 150, 213, 406, 407; death of, 34, 35.

James, surnamed Panther, 131.

James, Epistle of, 35, 36, 433.

Jairus' Daughter, 126.

Jewish Institutions, 384.

Jewish Superstitions, 117, 118.

Jewish Christians, 355, 384.

Jerome, [400], 4, 26, 58, 65, 68, 73, 74, 77, 80, 81, 83, 152, 178, 215-218, 229, 234, 307, 309, 323, 357, 358, 394, 416; special references to, and quotations from his writings, 23, 57, 61--64, 71--75, 83, 87, 215--218, 227, 232, 239, 273, 281, 344, 397.

Jesus Christ, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 16-20, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 42, 43, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 84, 87, 91, 100, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 116, 117, 120, 126, 127, 136, 142, 213, 214, 218-221, 223, 224, 227, 229, 230, 234, 235, 237, 240, 243-266, 270, 272, 274, 275, 277-280, 285, 287, 289, 295, 298-301, 310-312, 314, 315, 319-336, 340, 341, 342, 346, 348, 352-357, 363--367, 374--376, 379, 380--382, 386, 399, 401, 411, 412, 414, 415; a historical personage, Appendix, I.
Canonical history of, 319--336.
Conception of, see Immaculate Conception.
Genealogy of, 60, 271, 319, 320.
Birth of, 49, 66, 130, 132, 134, 139, 143, 146, 148, 154, 155, 162, 170, 268, 291, 320--324, 330.
Christ born in a cave, 130, 132, 139, 141, 146, 148, 154, 273.
Infancy and Childhood of Jesus, 140, 144, 147--176, 216, 320--324, 350.
Ministry of, 6, 11, 19, 243--250, 311, 324--330, 352, 357, 368, 385, 433.
Crucifixion of, 20, 63, 73, 110, 116, 177--212, 214, 218--220, 224, 250, 251, 262, 274, 275, 291--294, 312, 315, 330, 331--333, 354.
Resurrection of, 13, 26, 27, 41, 55, 61, 63, 64, 69, 77, 78, 182, 183, 206--212, 218, 220, 229, 251, 263, 312, 334--336, 354, 363, 374--376, 433, 434.
Ascension of, 27, 208, 210, 334.
Brothers and sisters of, 12, 62, 129.
Relations of, 86.
Miracles of, see Miracles.

Jones, Rev. Jeremiah, [1726], 9, 11, 13, 67, 68, 76, 77, 80, 83, 84, 132, 152, 153, 179, 287, 343, 344, 359, 432, 433.

Jones, Sir Wm., [1790], 166.

Joachim, father of Mary, 128, 129.

Jortin, Dr., [1750], 124, 295.

Joseph the father of Jesus, 9, 10, 13, 78, 129--131, 135, 137--139, 141--144, 148--150, 152--155, 157--162, 179, 180, 213, 214, 230, 234, 255, 271--273, 319--321, 323, 324.

Joseph, who found the Gospel of Matthew, 60.

Joseph of Arimathea, 182--184, 199, 206, 212, 214, 215, 263, 335, 353.

Josephus, [70], 15--19, 34, 35, 73, 118, 161, 288--291, 322, 323, 355, 356, 364, 370.

Jose, brother of Christ, 131, 149.

John, the Apostle, 8, 23, 32, 33, 75, 76, 87, 89, 233, 234, 236, 240, 269, 270, 276, 309, 327, 329, 354-356, 418, 424, 433; his writings, 33, 233, 234; the gospel attributed to him, see Gospel of John; 1st Epistle of John, 33; 2d and 3d Epistles of John, 33, 36, 228, 413; Apocalypse or Revelation of John, see Apocalypse.

John the Baptist, 15--19, 59, 60, 62, 130, 184, 340, 365.

John the Presbyter, [130], 34, 233, 236, 237, 354, 402, 403; notice of, 228; supposed to have written the Revelation, 34, 228; also believed to have been the author of the Epistles of John, especially the 2d and 3d, 228.

John of Parma, [13th cent.], 87.

Julian, Emperor, [361], 196.

Julius Africanus, [200], 294, 416.

Justification by Faith, 382.

Jupiter Pluvius, 123.

Julius Capitolinus, [3d cent.], 122.

Juno, immaculate conception by, 387.

Judas Iscariot, 29, 36, 59, 83, 149, 214, 235, 236, 371.

Judas Thaddæus, called also Lebbæus, 29, 36, 180, 347; whether he was Judas, the Lord's brother, uncertain, 36.

Judas, the Lord's brother, 131, 406.

Jude, the son of James, probably not the same as Judas Thaddæus, 347.

Jude, Epistle of 33, 36, 413, 433.

Judas, of Galilee, 355, 356.

Julius Cassianus, see Cassianus.

Justin Martyr, [150–160], 11, 13, 28, 66, 87, 89, 119, 132, 141, 151, 177–179, 199, 221, 229, 238, 267–279, 284, 294, 297, 342, 377–379, 404, 429, 432; references to, and quotations from his writings, 7, 8, 105, 116, 221, 223, 267–275, 319, 375, 377, 378, 381–385; did not mention the canonical gospels, 269; was acquainted with and used other gospels, 271–276.

Kennedy, Col. Vans, 175, 176.

Kitto, [1850], 305.

Lardner, Dr., [1727], 7, 16, 19, 26, 70, 84, 91, 105, 229, 231, 235, 239, 250, 281–283, 289–291, 322, 395, 397.

Lactantius, [310], 10, 116, 121, 229, 294, 433.

Landon's Manual of Councils, 22, 34.

Latin Versions, 304–307.

Lampridius, [310], 100.

Lucius Charinus, Lucianus, Lucanus, Leucius, Lucian, &c., see Seleucas.

Le Clerk, [1716], 179.

Legal Priesthood of Christ, 88.

Less, Dr., [1768], 52, 53, 226, 227, 233.

Lightfoot, Dr., [1875], 44, 47, 118.

Lipsius, 47.

Linus, Bishop of Rome, 423, 425, 427.

Literary Accretion, 186–198, 200, 202, 204, 255–266, 316–318.

Logos, 148, 169, 278, 279, 306, 378, 379, 386, 390, 417.

Lœffler, [1800], 253.

Lost Gospels, 1–14, 56–89, 163.

Loss or Destruction of Evidence, 401–410.

Lubke, 196.

Lucian, Author of the Dialogues, [165], 101, 114, 115, 281–283, 404.

Luna, wife of Simon Magus, 106, 107.

Luther, [1530], 35, 36.

Luke, 73, 309; see Gospel.

Matarea, Mathura, 148, 171.

Malcolm, [1839], 167.

Maurice, [1795–1800], 170–173, 389.

MSS. of the New Testament, 187, 188, 404.

Marcus, [170], sketch of, 392, 393; his writings have perished, 405.

Manichæus, or Manes, [3d cent.], 300.

Manichæans, 88, 298.

Marcia, [183], notice of, 398.

Matthias, 371.

Marcellinus, [300], 100.

Marcellina, [160], notice of, 283; her writings lost, 405.

Marcellians, 283.

Malalas, [600], 46.

Maimberg, 288.

Marcosians, 152, 392.

Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, [175,] 394.

Maximus, the Ægean, [1st. cent.], 91.

Maximus, Emp., [235–238], 196.

Marolles, [1650], 391.

Maximilla, a prophetess, [190], 414.

Marcion, [145], 3–5, 12, 88, 89, 231, 238, 239–268, 280, 307, 317, 382, 400, 403, 404, 412; New Testament of, see New Testament; Gospel of, see Gospel; his writings and doctrines, 240; did not corrupt the Gospel of Luke, 252, 253; knew nothing of it, 242, 266.

Mark, the Evangelist, 9, 72–75, 237, 238, 309, 402.

Matthew, the Apostle, 3, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 216, 237, 309, 356, 397, 402.

Mars, Conception of, 387.

Mahabad, same as Menu, or Buddha, 166.

MSS. of the Gospels, 308, 309.

Marcus Aurelius, see Aurelius.

Mary, the mother of Jesus, 9, 48, 78, 129–132, 134-144, 148, 149, 151–161, 180, 189, 213, 215, 216, 234, 255, 271, 272, 319–221, 323, 324; sometimes called the mother of James, 213.

Mary, the sister of Jesus, 131.

Mary, the mother of James and Joses, 211.

Mary Magdalene, 210, 211, 312, 335, 336, 353.

Mayerhoff, 47, 270.

Magi, 130, 139, 140, 143, 144, 148, 159, 160, 163, 165, 167–169, 173, 274, 321, 387.

Maffæus, [1588], 174.

Marsh, Bishop, [1802], 53, 66, 252, 308, 313, 314, 359, 367, 395.

Manuscripts in Luke, 338.

Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the High Priest, 17.

Mariamne, who was changed to a glass chest, 125.

Mc Clintock and Strong, 31, 187, 269, 305, 370.

Messiah, Doctrine of the, 146, 386.

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, [177], 395.

Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, [300], 196, 197.

Mercury, the Logos, 390.

Menander, [120], sketch of, 222, 223.

Menu, same as Buddha, 166.

Memoirs of the Apostles, alluded to by Justin Martyr, 89, 270, 278, 297.

Melitine Legion, 122, 123.

Meragenes, 92.

Miracles and Miracle-Workers, 28, 39, 90-127, 129, 130, 167, 219, 220, 388.

Miracles of Apollonius, [1st cent.], 94–98, 102, 103.

Miracles of Simon Magus, 107–113.

Miracles of the Fathers, 118–124.

Miracles in the Church, 118–125, 374.

Miracles of Paul, 27, 28.

Miracles of Peter, 31.

Miracles of the New Testament, 125–127.

Miracles of Christ, 13, 28, 40, 41, 55, 63, 69, 77, 78, 91, 126, 127, 151, 181, 182, 188–198, 212, 218, 220, 234, 243–265, 275, 276, 402, 433, 434; first reference to, according to Eusebius, 225; first reference to, extant, 227, 374; not probable that Christ claimed to perform miracles, 374.

Miracles of Jesus, in his Infancy and Boyhood, 80, 148–153, 161.

Miraculous Conception, 171.

Michaelis, [1777], 36, 65, 66, 187, 205, 234, 345, 350, 395.

Minucius Felix, [3d cent.], 121, 294.

Miltiades, [175], 394.

Miller, [1840], 223.

Mithras, a god of Persia, 388, 391.

Midwife of our Savior, Book of, 89.

Milman, [1850], 205.

Mill, Dr., [1707], 11, 13, 65, 77, 78, 83, 229, 370.

Middleton, [1752], 118, 119.

Minucius, Rescript to, 225.

Millenarianism, 235, 384.

Montanus, [170], 284, 405.

Montanists and Montanism, 284, 405, 420; Tertullian a Montanist, 420.

Mohammed, [620], 85.

Mosheim, [1726], 39, 104, 105, 234.

Moyle, [1720], 123, 282.

Modestas, [176], 395.
Mozly, 127.
Moses, [B. C. 1500], 396.
Musanus, [176], 395.
Muratorian Fragment, 31, 232, 412–414.
Muratori, [1672], 412, 413.

Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, [195], 123, 124, 414, 415.
Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, 214, 215.
Nathaniel, Apostle, 36.
Nazarenes, 7, 11, 13, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68.
Nathan's Embassy, 220.
Nero, Emp., [54-68], 94, 95, 111-113, 218.
Nerva, Emp., [96-98], 96, 99.
Neander, [1840], 34, 238, 267, 281, 375, 383, 423.
Newman, Dr., [1840], 123, 124.
New Testament, 34, 36, 53, 59, 72, 77, 91, 277, 298, 299, 300-302, 304, 307, 308, 310, 371, 381, 393-396, 408, 410, 412, 429; published by the Roman Catholic Church, 424, 430.
New Testament of Marcion, [145], 26, 424; the first ever published, 241, 403; what it contained, 241.
New Testament of Eusebius, 33.
Niceta, a brother of Clement of Rome, 40, 106, 110, 111.
Nicodemus, 106, 181–185, 199, 206.
Niemeyer, Dr., [1790], 65.
Nimrod, 390.
Nicephorus, the historian, [800], 81, 85, 196.
Norton, [1846], 11, 32, 36, 66, 76, 79, 81, 269.
Noetus, [200], notice of, 415.
Noetian Controversy, 416.

Œcumenius, [950], 10, 235, 236.
Olshausen, [1830], 341.
Old Testament, 42, 61, 72, 117, 134, 138, 240, 270, 276, 277, 298, 299, 357, 384, 404, 430.
Genesis, 108; Exodus, 108, Psalms, 26, 84, 357; Isai., 142, 143, 273; Jeremiah, 144, 145. 396; Micah, 143, 146, 161; Hosea, 160; Deuteronomy, 299; Zechariah, 341; Proverbs of Solomon, 407; Pentateuch, 412.
Omito, a Chinese God, 390.
Ophites, 79, 82, 392.
Original Sin, 381, 382, 390.
Ormuzd, a Persian God, 390.
Original Acts of Pilate, 220.
Orpheus, [B. C. 1200], 100, 396.
Ordination of Clement of Rome, 29, 39.
Origen, [230], 10, 13, 39, 46, 57, 58, 61, 66, 72, 77, 128, 131, 132, 229, 264, 376, 382, 383, 409, 412, 431; references to, and quotations from his writings, 9, 10, 54, 71, 83, 116, 121, 130, 152, 226, 229, 232, 273, 291, 292, 310, 343, 380, 386.
Oracles of Christ, by Matthew, 3, 12–14, 38, 67, 68, 76, 237, 238, 315, 350, 368, 429.
Osiris, of Egypt, [B. C. 2000], 388.
Oschedermah, and Oschederbami, 168.
Otho, Emp., [69], 95.
Otto, [1150], 267.

Paulus, and Papinian, [210], 90.
Palmas, [196], 415, 422.
Pamphilus, [300], 61.
Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, [150], 12, 13, 59, 66, 228, 309, 384, 402, 403, 429; sketch of, 235–238.
Passing (Translation), of St. Mary, 89, 124.
Pantænus, [180], 80, 81, 368, 397, 398, 405.
Page, [1650], 267.
Paschal Supper, 342.
Paschal Controversy, 396, 398.
Paschal Chronicle, [7th cent.], 397.
Paulina, sister of Hadrian, 74.
Paul of Thebais, an Egyptian, the first Christian monk, 75.
Paul, of Samosata, [200–260], 415.
Paul, the Apostle, 3–6, 12, 20–28, 30,

41, 53, 82, 85, 113, 230, 232, 240, 241, 252, 277–279, 315, 367, 371, 372, 384, 389, 398, 401, 408, 412, 417, 423–425, 427; Paul a spiritualist, 26, 27, 41, 124, 334–336, 375, 376, 381, 394; Epistles of Paul, 2, 25, 26, 28, 37, 53, 241, 253, 277, 278; 374, 376, 396, 403, 404, 412, 424, 429, 433.

Epistle to the Romans, 4, 25, 27, 232, 241, 375.

1st Corinthians, 4, 25, 41, 53, 61, 241, 399.

2d Corinthians, 25, 27, 28, 241, 376.

Galatians, 4, 21, 25, 241.

Ephesians, 26, 53, 241.

Philippians, 53, 241, 376.

1st Thessalonians, 241.

2d Thessalonians, 4, 241.

Colossians, 241, 384.

1st Timothy, 26, 423.

2d Timothy, 26, 423.

Titus, 26.

Philemon, 241.

Hebrews, 25, 26, 36, 412.

Laodiceans, 241, 412.

Preaching of Paul, 10, 229, 274.

Pauline Gospels, 79, 82, 83, 84.

Peregrinus, [150–169], sketch of, 281–283; his writings have perished, 404.

Perpetua, story of, 24, 124.

Pearson, Bishop, [1672], 131, 178.

Persian History of Christ, 89.

Peshito Version, 31, 33, 36, 304, 307, 308.

Pepuzians, a sect who permitted women to baptize, 284.

Persians, and Persian Religion and Mythology, 165–170, 174, 402.

Pehlvian and Parsian Books of the Persians, 168.

Peter, 7-9, 22, 24, 28–32, 40, 59, 62, 64, 105-113, 167, 210, 218, 229, 230, 237, 240, 243, 245, 257, 277, 311, 312, 335, 336, 350, 356, 357, 365–367, 371, 372, 394, 400, 401, 408, 417, 418, 422–427; the first Bishop of Rome, according to some Catholic authorities, 425, 426; but not according to Irenæus, 427; his discussion with Simon Magus, 107–110; dispute with Simon, before Nero, 111–113; did Peter go to Rome? 30, 31.

Epistles of Peter, 31, 433.

1st Epistle of Peter, 31.

2d do. do. 31, 33, 36.

Epistle of Peter to James, 229.

Peter, Book of the Preaching of, 10, 68, 228, 229, 238, 414; written by Mark, 75.

Peter, Book of the Doctrine of, 68, 228, 229.

Petrine Gospels, 75.

Philostratus, [210], 90–99, 282.

Philo Judæus, [1st cent.], 72-75, 278, 279, 378.

Philumene, [2d cent.], 280, 281.

Photius, [877], 88, 196, 399.

Phlegon, [150], 74, 291–293.

Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis, 15, 17.

Philip, a writer, [170], 283.

Philip, Apostle and Evangelist, 3, 81, 82, 125, 236, 315.

Pious Frauds, prevalent among the fathers, 432.

Pinytus, [175], 394, 395.

Pistis Sophiæ, [200], 416.

Pitrat, 388, 390.

Pius I, Bishop of Rome, 232, 413, 427.

Pius IX, Pope, [1846], 426.

Plato, [B. C. 375], 92, 301, 387, 390, 396.

Pliny the Elder, [75], 166.

Pliny the Younger, [105], 377.

Plutarch, [100], 166, 390.

Porphyry, [300], 294, 295, 431; wrote against the Christian religion, 294; his works destroyed by order of the Emperor Constantine, 294, 295.

Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, [196], 415, 422.

Potter's Antiquities, [1700], 391.

Popes, or Bishops of Rome, to A. D. 200, 425–427.

Polytheism, 108, 378.

Polycarp, [116], 50–55, 236, 329, 421.

Epistle to the Philippians, 46, 50–54, 381.
Pontius Pilate, 15, 19, 31, 177–182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 192, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 206, 207, 209–212, 218, 219, 268, 275, 276, 312, 330–332, 341; Letter of, 218; Newly Discovered Acts of, 220, 221.
Praxeas, [200], 416.
Prideaux, Dr., [1700], 166, 167.
Prometheus, 93, 388.
Priestly, Dr., [1793], 278, 284, 381.
Providence, Doctrine of, 383.
Predestination, Doctrine of, 381.
Procla, wife of Pilate, 219.
Prodicus, [120], 170, 225, 402.
Prodiceans, followers of Prodicus, 82; a Christian sect who had the secret books of Zoroaster, 170, 225.
Proverbs of Xystas, 228.
Protevangelion, or Book of James, 9, 10, 87, 88, 128–146, 154, 159, 161-164, 165–176, 188, 266, 319, 361, 368, 395, 402; Justin Martyr acquainted with it, 271–273; written before Luke and Matthew, 133–146, 296.
Pseudo Matthew, 215.
Ptolemæus, [190], 327; Letter of to Flora, 310, 411, 412.
Puranas, Sacred books of the Hindoos, 175, 176.
Punishment, nature and object of, 383.
Punishment, Endless, see Eternal.
Pythagoras, [B. C. 530], 92, 224, 387, 396.

Quadratus, [126], Apology of, 225, 226, 402; Epistle of Diognetus attributed to, 238.
Quexalcote, 387, 388, 390.

Rachel, mother of Simon Magus, 106, 109.
Report of Pilate, 177–179, 218.
Reville, Albert, 100, 103, 388.
Resurrection of Saviors, 388.
Resurrection of Christ, See Jesus Christ.
Revelations of Adam, 87.
Revelations of Anti-Christ, 229.
For other Revela'ns, see Apocalypse.
Regenerating Grace, 382.
Recognitions, 25, 39, 40, 105–111, 167, 238, 385, 386, 425; attributed to Bardesanes 397.
Rhodon, [195], 414.
Ritschl, [1850], 243.
Rosenmuller, [1800], 66.
Roman Catholic Hierarchy, 357, 365, 366, 371, 372, 400, 401, 417–419, 421–428, 430.
Routh, [1814], 393.
Rufinus, [410], 39, 425.

Saturninus, [125], 222, 223.
Sabbath, the, 384.
Sapphira, 28.
Sanday, Rev. Mr., [1876], 44, 49, 50, 52, 317, 346, 351.
Salome, 70, 71, 76, 78, 130, 411; a daughter of Joseph, 131.
Sabellius, [200–250], 415.
Sabellians and Sabellianism, 72, 77, 380.
Sayings of Christ, 49–52, 106, 224, 228, 271, 276, 277, 358, 396, 409, 434.
Scaliger, [1600], 123, 287, 288, 293.
Scripture, when the term applied to New Testament books, 429.
Schmidt, J. Alexander, 253.
Schleiermacher, [1820], 133–135, 137–141, 156, 164, 197, 253, 266, 314, 315, 317, 321, 322, 324, 337–339, 346-349, 362, 363.
Scholten, 45.
Sesostris, [B. C. 1400], 390.
Seleucas, otherwise Leucius, &c., [200], 215–217, 416.
Severus, Septimius, Emp., [193–211], 90, 420.
Severus, Alexander, Emp., [222–235], 100, 196.
Secrecy of the Christians, 385, 386.
Serarius, [1600], 75.
Secret Books of Zoroaster, 170, 225.

Serapis, 74, 121, 152.
Semler, [1783], 253, 305.
Semisch, 267.
Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, [190], suppressed the Gospel of Peter, 7, 409, 414, 428.
Shepherd of Hermas, see Hermas.
Shepherds, the, 155, 156, 162, 321.
Shedd, Dr., [1871], 380, 382.
Siva, third member of the Hindoo Trinity, 389.
Sidonius Apollinaris, [475], 101.
Sibylline Oracles, 229.
Simon, the Cyrenian, 224, 331.
Simon, the High Priest, 17.
Simon, Father, [1689], 65, 343.
Simon Zelotes, 29, 59.
Simon Peter, see Peter.
Simon Magus, 40, 104–113, 218, 222, 223, 374; discussion with Peter, 107-110; before Nero, 111--113; his death, 113.
Sike, [1700], 147.
Sixtus Senensis, [1560], 229.
Sixtus I, Bishop of Rome, 426, 427.
Simeon, 148, 156, 157, 183, 184.
Simeon, 2d Bishop of Jerusalem, 406, 408.
Simeon, brother of Jesus, 131, 139.
Soul, nature of the, views of Tertullian and Origen, 380.
Son of God, 387, 388.
Slaughter of the Children, 130, 144, 161, 163, 175, 180, 321.
Smith's Bible Dictionary, 322.
Socrates, historian, [440], 273.
Sozomen, historian, [439], 75, 153, 196, 273.
Sosciosh, a prophetic son of Zoroaster, 168.
Soter, Bishop of Rome, 283, 407, 427.
Soterichus Oasites, 100.
Spanheim, [1680], 75, 178.
Strauss, [1865], 80.
Sprinkling, 391.
Spiritualism, 41, 120, 334.
Stowe, Prof., [1867], 295, 343.
Stars, 49, 165–170, 387; the Jews believed them to be animated beings, 117; so also Origen, 121; the star in the east, 143, 144, 148, 160, 165.
Stroth, [1780], 66.
Stephanus, who assassinated Domitian, 98.
Statue of Christ, 195, 196.
Suetonius, [125], 111, 113.
Suidas, [10th cent.], 85, 99.
Sunderland, Rev. Dr., 30.
Sunderland, J. T. [1878], 25, 315, 316.
Supernatural Religion, 28, 44, 118, 243, 270, 394.
Symmachus, [200], 416.
Syriac Documents, 229, 395.
Syriac Version, 35, 36, 56, 395.
Syriac Epistles, see Ignatius.
Syriac New Testament in 1562, 33.

Tacitus, [Annals, 117], 330.
Taxing, under Cyrenius, 139, 154, 162, 291, 322, 323.
Targums, 117.
Tattam, Archdeacon, [1842], 43.
Tanaquil Faber, [1665], 289, 290.
Tayler, Rev. J. J., 413.
Taschter, 166.
Tamerlane, [1400], 387.
Tatian, [170], 7, 297; sketch of, 284–286; used the gospel of the Hebrews, 66, 67, 238, 284; his writings lost, 405; his Gospel or Harmony, see Gospel; did not believe in the immortality of the soul, 380.
Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome, 426.
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 229.
Tertullian, [200–210], and his writings, 12, 13, 23, 26, 31, 32, 120–123, 127, 130, 132, 178, 179, 199, 221, 239–242, 252, 253, 259, 280, 282, 284, 294, 305–307, 350, 380–385, 403, 417–420, 423, 424, 430.
Tertullian v. Marcion, 4, 5, 8, 9, 127, 240, 259, 264, 306, 307, 375, 376, 384.
Therapeutæ, 72–75, 77.
Theodoret, [430], 7, 11, 84, 105, 285,

286.
Theodotus, [192], 229, 415; used and cited the Preaching of Peter, and taught that Christ was a man only, 414.
Theophilus, of Antioch, [180], 121, 294, 345, 380, 397; the first writer who mentioned any of the four gospels, 302, 303, 354.
Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, [3d cent.], 422.
Theophylact, [1075], 10, 72, 77, 130, 131, 196.
Thilo, [1850], 242.
Thales, [B. C. 575], 396.
Thales Milesius, 93.
Theudas, 290, 291, 369.
Theodore, of Mopsuestia, [394-429], 30.
Theodosius the Great, [390], 185.
Thirlby, [1750], 295.
Themistius, [380], 123.
Thundering Legion, 122, 123.
Thecla, 23.
Thaddeus, the apostle, 59.
Theodorus Lector, [6th cent.], 85.
Theurgy, 103.
Thallus, [220], 293, 294, 416.
Thomas, Apostle and Evangelist, 173, 174.
Titus, Emp., [79–81], 96, 103, 220.
Tillemont, [1690], 100, 101, 103, 269, 420.
Tiberius Cæsar, Emp., [14–37], 15, 16, 19, 20, 40, 177, 178, 185, 219, 220, 243, 254, 275, 276, 291, 292, 330, 435.
Timotheus, 82, 88.
Tischendorff, [1850], 26, 38, 66, 85, 213, 234, 235, 238, 272, 274, 275, 278, 284.
Todd, Col., [1825], 170.
Toland, [1700], 26, 31, 66, 83, 85, 229, 234.
Total Depravity, 381.
Trinity, Doctrine of the, 72, 379, 380, 389, 390, 415.
Trail, Dr., 16.
Traditions of Matthias, 83, 223.
Tradition instead of Gospels, 237, 309, 310, 409, 412.
Tradition as evidence of the Gospels, 301, 302, 418.
Traditions concerning Christ, 228, 236, 237, 402, 403.
Trajan, Emp., [98–117], 45, 46, 327.
Treatise on Re-Baptism, 274.
Transubstantiation, 385.
Trench, Archbishop, [1863], 127.

Ulpian, [210], 90.
Unitarians and Unitarianism, 284.
Uranus, 388.

Vandale, [1700], 295.
Valentinus, [150], 392; sketch of, 234, 235; had a gospel; his gospels and writings lost, 403.
Valesius, [1660], 123, 288.
Various Readings of the N. T., 150, 000, 188.
Vallancey, [1800], 169.
Varro, [B. C. 50], 301.
Veronica, 182, 195–197, 219, 220.
Vespasian, Emp., [69–79], 95, 96, 118, 220.
Vero, [200], 415.
Versions of the Gospels, 304.
Virgil, [B. C. 25], 391.
Vitellius, Emp., [69], 95.
Victor, Bishop of Rome, 398, 414, 415, 418, 419, 422, 427.
Victor, of Capua, 285.
Vishnu, 170, 389.
Volney, [1791], 390.
Vossius, [1650], 43.
Vopiscus, [300-310], 74, 100.
Volkmar, 45, 46, 243–245, 248, 264.
Vulgate, 304, 306, 307.
Vulcan, conception of, 387.

Weiss, 25.
Westcott, [1870], 3, 8, 26, 31, 33, 44, 47, 54, 104, 222, 223, 226–228, 233–235, 238, 253, 269, 270, 273, 287, 296, 303, 345, 350, 357,

370, 393, 394.
Whiston, [1710], 11, 13, 72, 73, 229.
Wisdom of God, 340, 363.
Wiggers, 382.
Wilson, Prof. H. H., [1864], 175, 176.
Worsely's Voyage, [1794], 389.
Woman in the Trinity, 105.
Word, the, 62, 169, 390, see Logos.
Worman, Prof., 269.

Xaverius, L. Hieronymus, [1600], 89.
Xaca, a Chinese Savior, 387.

Yu or Ya, first Chinese Monarch, 387.

Zend-Avesta, 165–168, 390.
Zaccheus, 106, 107.
Zaccheus, the Schoolmaster, 151.
Zacharias, or Zechariah, son of Berechiah, or Jeberechiah, 142, 436.
Zacharias, or Zechariah, son of Jehoida, 340, 364, 436.
Zacharias, the High Priest, father of John the Baptist, 60, 129–132, 134, 136, 436.
Zacharias, son of Barouchos, slain between the temple and the altar, 340, 341, 363, 364, 436, Appendix II.
Zeraduscht, 165, 166, 167, 169, see Zoroaster.
Zeno, Emp., [474–491], 85.
Zoroaster, 49, 148, 160, 165–170, 173, 174, 387, 402.
Zoradascht, (the same), 148, 159, 160.
Zumpt, [1854], 322, 323.

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MARCION

From pp.241- 249, G.R.S. Mead,*Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* (London and Benares, 1900; 3rd Edition 1931).

MARCION was a rich shipowner of Sinope, the chief port of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Black Sea; he was also a bishop and the son of a bishop. His chief activity at Rome may be placed somewhere between the years 150 and 160. At first he was in communion with the church at Rome, and contributed handsomely to its funds; as, however, the presbyters could not explain his difficulties and refused to face the important questions he set before them, he is said to have threatened to make a schism in the church; and apparently was finally excommunicated.

But as a matter of fact the origin of Marcionism is entirely wrapped in obscurity, and we know nothing of a reliable nature of the lives of either Cerdo or Marcion. The Church writers at the end of the second century, who are our best authorities, cannot tell the story of the beginning of the movement with any certainty. For all we know, Marcion may have developed his theories long before he came to Rome, and may have based them on information he gleaned and opinions he heard on his long voyages.

This much we know, that the views of Marcion spread rapidly over the "whole world," to use the usual Patristic phrase for the Graeco- Roman dominions; and as late as the fifth century we hear of Theodoret converting more than a thousand Marcionites. In Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor and Persia, Marcionite churches sprang up, splendidly organised, with their own bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical discipline, with a cult and service of the same nature as those of what subsequently became the Catholic Church. Orthodoxy had not declared for any party as yet, and the Marcionite view had then as good a chance as any other of becoming the universal one. What then was the secret of Marcion's success? As already pointed out, it was the same as that of the success of modern criticism as applied to the problem of the Old Testament.

Marcion's view was in some respects even more moderate than the judgment of some of our modern thinkers; he was willing to admit that the Yahweh of the Old Testament was just. With great acumen he arranged the sayings and doings ascribed to Yahweh by the writers, and compilers, and editors of the heterogeneous books of the Old Testament collection, in parallel columns, so to say, with the sayings and teachings of the Christ-in a series of antitheses which brought out in startling fashion the fact, that though the best of the former might be ascribed to the idea of a Just God, they were foreign to the ideal of the Good God preached by the Christ. We know how in these latter days the best minds in the Church have rejected the horrible sayings and doings ascribed to God in some of the Old Testament documents, and we thus see how Marcion formulated a protest which must have already declared itself in the hearts of thousands of the more enlightened of the Christian name.

As for the New Testament, in Marcion's time, the idea of a canon was not yet or was only just being thought of. Marcion, too, had an idea of a canon, but it was the antipodes of the views which afterwards became the basis of the orthodox canon.

The Christ had preached a universal doctrine, a new revelation of the Good God, the Father over all. They who tried to graft this on to Judaism, the imperfect creed of one smafl nation, were in grievous error, and had totally misunderstood the teaching of the Christ. The Christ was not the Messiah promised to the Jews. That Messiah was to be an earthly king, was intended for the Jews alone, and had not yet come. Therefore the pseudo-historical "in order that it might be fulfilled " school had adulterated and garbled the original Sayings of the Lord, the universal glad tidings, by the unintelligent and erroneous glosses they had woven into their collections of the teachings. It was the most terrific indictment of the cycle of New Testament "history" that has ever been formulated. Men were tired of all the contradictions and obscurities of the innumerable and mutually destructive variants of the traditions concerning the person of Jesus. No man could say what was the truth, now that "history" had been so altered to suit the new Messiah-theory of the Jewish converts.

As to actual history, then, Marcion started with Paul; he was the first who had really understood the mission of the Christ, and had rescued the teaching from the obscurantism of Jewish sectarianism. Of the manifold versions of the Gospel, he would have the Pauline alone. He rejected every other recension, including those now ascribed to Matthew, Mark, and John. The Gospel according to Luke, the "follower of Paul," he also rejected, regarding it as a recension to suit the views of the Judaising party. His Gospel was presumably the collection of Sayings in use among the Pauline churches of his day. Of course the Patristic writers say that Marcion mutilated Luke's version; but it is almost impossible to believe that, if he did this, so keen a critic as Marcion should have retained certain verses which made against his strong anti-Judaistic views. The Marcionites, on the contrary, contended that their Gospel was written by Paul from the direct tradition, and that Luke had nothing to do with it. But this is also a difficulty, for it is highly improbable that Paul wrote any Gospel.

So many orthodox apologists wrote against Marcion after his death, that it is possible to reconstruct almost the whole of his Gospel. It begins with the public preaching of the Christ at Capernaum; it is shorter than the present Luke document, and some writers of great ability have held that it was the original of Luke's version, but this is not very credible. As for the rest of the documents included in the present collection of the New Testament, Marcion would have nothing to do with any of them, except ten of the Letters of Paul, parts of which he also rejected as interpolations by the reconciliators of the Petro-Pauline controversy. These ten letters were called The Apostle ["Apostolikon"].

The longest criticism of Marcion's views is to be found in Tertullian's invective Against Marcion, written in 207 and the following years. This has always been regarded by the orthodox as a most brilliant piece of work; but by the light of the conclusions arrived at by the industry of modern criticism, and also to ordinary common sense, it appears but a sorry piece of angry rhetoric. Tertullian tries to show that Marcion taught two Gods, the Just and the Good. Marcion, however, taught that the idea of the Jews about God, as set forth in the Old Testament, was inferior and antagonistic to the ideal of the Good God revealed by the Christ. This he set forth in the usual Gnostic fashion. But we can hardly expect a dispassionate treatment of a grave problem, which has only in the last few years reached a satisfactory solution in Christendom, from the violent Tertullian, whose temper may be gleaned from his angry address to the Marcionites: "Now then, ye dogs, whom the apostle puts outside, and who yelp at the God of truth, let us come to your various questions! These are the bones of contention, which ye are perpetually gnawing !"

Enough has now been said to give the reader a general idea of the Marcionite position- a very strong one it must be admitted, both because of its simplicity and also because it formulated the protest of long slumbering discontent among the outer communities. It is, however, difficult to deduce anything like a clear system of cosmogony or christology from the onslaughts of the best known haeresiologists on Marcionite doctrines. It has even been doubted whether Marcion should be classed as a Gnostic, but this point is set at rest by the work of Eznik (Eznig or Esnig), an Armenian bishop, who flourished about 450 A.D. In his treatise "The Destruction of False Doctrines", he devotes the fourth and last book to the Marcionites, who seem to have been even at that late date a most flourishing body. Although it is doubted whether the ideas there described are precisely the same as the original system of Marcion, it is evident that the Marcionite tradition was of a distinctly Gnostic tendency, and that Marcion owed more to his predecessors in Gnosticism than was usully supposed prior to the first translation of Eznik's treatise (into French) in 1833.

It will be sufficient here to shorten Salmon's summary of this curious Marcionite myth, calling the reader's attention to the similarity of parts of its structure to the system of Justinus. There were three Heavens; in the highest was the Good God; in the intermediate the God of the Law; in the lowest, his Angels. Beneath lay Hyle or root-matter. The world was the joint product of the God of the Law and Hyle. The Creative Power perceiving that the world was very good, desired to make man to inhabit it. So Hyle gave him his body and the Creative Power the breath of hfe, his spirit. And Adam and Eve lived in innocence in Paradise, and did not beget children. And the' God of the Law desired to take Adam from Hyle and make him serve him alone. So taking him aside, he said: "Adam, I am God and beside me there is no other; if thou worshippest any other God thou shalt die the death." And Adam on hearing of death was afraid, and withdrew himself from Hyle. Now Hyle had been wont to serve Adam; but when she found that he withdrew from her, in revenge she filled the world with idolatry, so that men ceased to adore the Lord of Creation. Then was the Creator wrath, and as men died he cast them into Hell (Hades-the Unseen World), from Adam onwards.

But at length the Good God looked down from Heaven, and saw the miseries which man suffered through Hyle and the Creator. And He took corn-passion on them, and sent them down His Son to deliver them, saying: "Go down, take on Thee the form of a servant [? a body], and make Thyself like the sons of the Law. Heal their wounds, give sight to their blind, bring their dead to life, perform without reward the greatest miracles of healing; then will the God of the Law be jealous and instigate his servants to crucify thee. Then go down to Hell, which will open her mouth to receive Thee, supposing Thee to be one of the dead. Then liberate the captives Thou shalt find there, and bring them up to Me."

And thus the souls were freed from Hell and carried up to the Father. Whereupon the God of the Law was enraged, and rent his clothes and tore the curtain of his palace, and darkened the sun and veiled the world in darkness. Then the Christ descended a second time, but now in the glory of His divinity, to plead with the God of the Law. And the God of the Law was compelled to acknowledge that he had done wrong in thinking that there was no higher power than himself. And the Christ said unto him: "I have a controversy with thee, but I will take no other judge between us but thy own law. Is it not written in thy law that whoso killeth another shall himself be killed; that whoso sheddeth innocent blood shall have his own blood shed? Let me, then, kill thee and shed thy blood, for I am innocent and thou hast shed My blood."

And then He went on to recount the benefits He had bestowed on the children of the Creator, and how He had in return been crucified; and the God of the Law could find no defence, and confessed and said: "I was ignorant; I thought Thee but a man, and did not know Thee to be a god; take the revenge that is Thy due." And the Christ thereupon left him, and betook himself to Paul, and revealed the path of truth.

The Marcionites were the most rigid of ascetics, abstaining from marriage, flesh and wine, the latter being excluded from their Eucharist. They also rejoiced beyond all other sects in the number of their martyrs. The Marcionites have also given us the most ancient dated Christian inscription. It was discovered over the doorway of a house in a Syrian village, and formerly marked the site of a Marcionite meeting-house or church, which curiously enough was called a synagogue. The date is October 1, A.D. 318 and the most remarkable point about it is that the church was dedicated to "The Lord and Saviour Jesus, the Good - "Chrestos", not Christos. In early times there seems to have been much confusion between the two titles. Christos is the Greek for the Hebrew Messiah, Anointed, and was the title used by those who believed that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. This was denied, not only by the Marcionites, but also by many of their Gnostic predecessors and successors. The title Chrestos was used of one perfected, the holy one, the saint; no doubt in later days the orthodox, who subsequently had the sole editing of the texts, in pure ignorance changed Chrestos into Christos wherever it occurred; so that instead of finding the promise of perfection in the religious history of all the nations, they limited it to the Jewish tradition alone, and struck a fatal blow at the universality of history and doctrine. There was naturally a number of sub-schools of the Marcion school, and in its ranks were a number of distinguished teachers ...

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Excerpts from *Pioneers of Christian Thought*(pp.67-89)
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CHAPTER III, *MARCION*

"...Ultimately the New Testament became the Bible of the Christians as the Old Testament previously had been and is the Bible of the Jews. The church authorities held on to both Scriptures, apparently without being much disturbed by the moral scruples which perplexed the soul of Marcion. For a thousand years Christianity was much more sympathetic with the Old Testament standards than those of the Sermon on the Mount. The leaders of the Crusades liked to read of the heroic deeds of Joshua and David and to emulate their example. Even Cromwell and his Ironsides chanted Psalms and used the Old Covenant almost exclusively for purposes of worship. They yielded a nominal homage to the new covenant, but the idea of turning the other cheek and of practising the law of love was too much for them. They preferred the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, and they had no scruples about hewing Amalek to pieces. Marcion's Bible would not have suited them at all. It is doubtful whether any considerable number of them would have been able to accept Christianity if it had not been for the comforting enormities of the Old Testament..."

"...With all his faults Marcion stood for a certain ethical idealism which was superior to the more subtle philosophy of his opponents. He wanted to establish the goodness of God, no matter at what cost, and his ethical instincts at this point were sound. If his teaching had prevailed there would have been no *autos da fe*, no Inquisition, and no burning of heretics by either Catholics or Protestants. It was the triumph of the imperialistic God of Tertullian and Augustine which led to most of the later horrors in the history of the church. The idea that the Deity could do anything which he himself regarded as unjust or cruel seemed unthinkable to Marcion, but this was not the case with his opponents. There are passages in Tertullian in which the grim old Roman orator challenges his enemies to do their worst with rack or fagot or sword, being well assured that his persecutors will suffer infinitely more in the eternal flames of hell. The satisfaction which this reflection apparently gives him makes the thought of his own torments trivial and insignificant. It was the common belief of the period, at least in orthodox circles, that the joys of Paradise would be enhanced by the possibility of witnessing the torments of the damned. Augustine has a great deal to say about this somewhat gruesome topic later on, but neither Augustine nor Tertullian represented anything unusual from the orthodox point of view. As Marcion saw all too clearly, no human being will ever rise to a higher moral level than the ethical plane of the Deity he worships. A God who could condemn little children to the unending flames of perdition simply because some of their remote ancestors disobeyed his commands represents an ethical ideal which was later to write history in the torture chambers of Torquemada, the flames which consumed the bodies of Huss and Servetus, and which broke Jean Calas on the wheel only two centuries ago. Marcion's theology at the worst would never have permitted such things as these. He was close enough to the original message of Jesus to recognize its incongruity with the idea of a Cruel Omnipotence. His theological gropings were grotesque and absurd enough, but his moral sense was sound, and the world might have been better off if his heresy had prevailed."

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MARCION

Possible Progenitor of Three Famous Christian Communities: Baptists, Catholics, Gnostics

by Ray Embry 2001

Marcion's place in the history of Christianity is still not very well known. Over the last two hundred years, there has been a growing number of studies that have managed to shed more light on Christianity's first two centuries. Significant breakthroughs have been achieved through means of manuscript discoveries and critical reassessments of some strong traditions. One such orthodox claim that has lost support among many researchers is the once dominant tradition that describes Catholicism as the oldest form of Christianity (Walter Bauer. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*).

In the Twentieth Century, the emergence of some significant studies on Marcion has led a variety of Christian thinkers to describe Marcion as the initiator of some important customs and features now found in our modern Christian Faith. Here is a brief list of five things described on the Web as being created by Marcion:

1. The "faith only" movement (solafideism),

2. The theory of dispensationalism,

3. The concept of "New Testament Christianity,"

4. The New Testament itself, as a distinct body of inspired writings,

5. Sola Scriptura, the idea that all Christian teachings should be based solely on the Scriptures (The New Testament).

There are at least eight notable reactions to Marcion that indirectly may be attributed to his early work and mi ssion. After he evangelized the Roman Empire in the Second Century, there began to surface several energetic responses to Marcion's work:

1. The Orthodox began to expand his New Testament,

2. Such ideas as Church Tradition, the Rule of Faith and Apostolic Succession were introduced in order to undermine Marcion's insistence on sola scriptura. These formulations helped crystallize the concept of Orthodoxy (or Catholicism).

3. After Marcion commenced his evangelistic crusade, a significant portion of Christian literature became devoted to apologetics (or polemical defenses) of Orthodoxy (correct doctrines).

4. Forgeries of Christian semi-scriptures mushroomed. Some of these pseudepigrapha (false writings) were composed to counteract some aspect of Marcion's theology.

5. The *Apostles' Creed* is generally recognized as a forgery. Some scholars, such as Arthur C. McGiffert, recognize it as composed specially to temper Marcion's theism.

6. Even the extra-Biblical and incomprehensible word "Trinity" may be seen as a useful device invented to help fend off Marcionite logic.

7. The Inquisition was originally designed as a mechanism to deal with the dualistic Albigensians who had taken up some of Marcion's ideas.

8. The Rosary, according to Catholic Tradition, was also originally designed as an instrument to aid in the battle against Albigensians.

The following article focuses on an early time in Marcion's teaching career, and it brings to light some aspects of that crucial setting. Marcion enters the scene while a battle was waging for the soul of Christianity. There was a tendency then to see Christianity mainly as a New Israel, and Monotheism was then being put forth as the number one teaching of the Church (Note Clement of Rome's long glorification of the Creator, AD 90).

Marcion was attempting to bring Christianity back to its real roots in Jesus Christ. According to Marcion, faith in our Savior led to the real birth of the family of Christians. Traveling across the ancient world, Marcion spread his message of faith. His great success was due to a number of factors. His personal dynamism may have been important. The staying power of his influence was due in large part to the New Testament that he published. The logic of his thinking was persuasive. His ability to answer the problem of evil made him rise head and shoulders above all philosophers and metaphysicians.

THE GNOSTICS

According to Clement of Alexandria, Marcion preceded in time all the great Gnostic masters: "those that invented the heresies" (*The Miscellanies,* Book 7, ch. 17. 106f.). That educated scholar from Alexandria (Clement) represents Marcion as an "elder" predecessor to two early Gnostic teachers, Valentinus and Basilides. Another heresiarch, Simon Magus, who is often portrayed as the grand father of Gnosticism, also is described by Clement as succeeding Marcion. "This statement of Clement appears to make Marcion an old man while (Bas ilides and) Valentinus were still young, and to put Simon Magus posterior to them all in time" (Robert Smith Wilson. *Marcion: A Study of a Second-Century Heretic.* James Clarke & Co. Ltd. 1932. p. 56). Clement's chronological data is not being so readily dismissed today, and Marcion's career is being dated to an earlier time than before (*Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity - An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century*. R. Joseph Hoffmann. Scholars Press 1984).

Besides this historical evidence about his priority, Marcion's simple Dualism seems to be the logical antecedent or background for the complex arrangements found in Gnosticism. Indeed, Gnostics are often mistakenly described as Dualists. More correctly, the Gnostic method is essentially an imaginative attempt to give a monotheistic explanation about the rise of evil. (Gnostics seem to be direct heirs of Jewish speculative theology where there was a keen interest in angelology and Logos theories. The Gnostic aethereal matrix was mobilized to counteract the growing influence of Marcion's Antithesis. The Orthodox were less disturbed over the Gnostics than they were over Marcion.) The Gnostics believed they had adequately explained how darkness and corruption could ultimately descend from a singular source of Divine Light.

Between that Perfect Light and our imperfect world, there are (according to the Gnostics) a significant number of stations, events and beings that tend to absorb the attribution of evil away from the highest level of Divine Unity. The various lists of intermediaries found in Gnostic literature identify a number of individuals that seem to be responsible for all the strife and confusion that is so evident in this lower realm. Thus the Highest Cause remains ineffable and unsullied. The Gnostic quest is to return to that great level of Divine Integrity.

Marcion's simple Dualism was not adopted wholesale by any Gnostic system (unless Cerdo was a real Gnostic). All Gnostic theories eventually envision a single source for everything. Sometimes this original point seems to be bipolar and sometimes it is bisected along sexual lines. Even this binary entity acts corporately for the birth or incipience of all else.

All Gnostic theologies seemingly spring forth as ideological children born from the ancient Mosaic idea about an inviolable monotheism. This form of theism sees everything (no matter what) as ultimately deriving from a single Creator. Working within this rigid model of monism, the Judaistic or Mosaic theoreticians could only think in a linear or vertical fashion, where our world lies on one end, while an independent Father of Light stands on the other.

The new Gnostic systems describe every single thing as somehow related, but, due to Marcion's contention, evil is removed as far as possible down the ladder. These semi-Marcionite schemes all attempt to place evil far, far away from the Supreme Being. They make evil seem hardly related to the Most High Entity. In their effort to rebut Marcion's recognition of an independent kingdom of evil, the Gnostics preferred to describe the evil world as an accident or as a disturbance caused by a lack of knowledge. Evil, to the Gnostic, was mostly described as a mixing with Matter which in turn was able to interfere with man's clearness or pureness of vision.

Whenever a sufficient distance is achieved away from the Ultimate Source for Light, then this detached condition seems almost fated to bring about a measure of darkness. By not being directly responsible for an unenlightened world, the Gnostic God of Light and Wisdom was superficially made to resemble Marcion's. However, the Gnostic's ingenious image of divine supremacy was

described more in terms of philosophical majesty or profundity. Originally, Marcion's God was known always as the highest example of moral character and civility.

The later Church Fathers loved to describe Marcion as a Gnostic. They could make this allegation effective only at a time when Gnosticism was clearly waning. The original distinction between Marcion and the Gnostics is easily discoverable when the matter of the Christian canon is carefully examined.

Marcion was a man who determined all by the canon (sola scriptura). He did not rely on secret visitations or mysterious documents in order to validate his teaching. He relied solely on the plain message of the Gospel and the Epistles of Paul.

Departing dramatically from Marcion's simple reliance on Scripture, the Gnostics felt no compunction whatsoever about writing down their wild imaginations. They all felt totally justified in this because their holy campaign was looked on by them as a necessary defense of Hebrew monotheism. Many Gnostics alluded to the existence of Jesus, and when they made some such reference, they usually portrayed him as a brilliant Messenger who had been sent to point a way for man to pass back through the great cosmic confusion. A shadow had materialized throughout our world and it managed to obscure mankind's appreciation of pure monotheism.

The Gnostics were generally a scholarly community who tossed around their knowledge of ancient history and traditions. They gleaned much from their library of classics and they mixed legendary and scriptural matters freely. They had pride in mental eccentricity and they gloried in their metaphysical erudition. Their key to the future was their mind's ability to hold onto the secrets of life. Their crowning jewel was their apparent ability to solve Marcion's dilemma without having to abandon monotheism.

Marcion's use of the Christian canon brings him closer to the Scripture-oriented Christianity of the great Councils than it does to the myth-oriented Gnostics. Marcion sponsored an open Christianity that met in churches. The Gnostic affinity or group identity was a secret bond that transcended the local "Christian" congregations. Marcion preached the Gospel to all, while the Gnostics gloried in their elite status by carefully guarding the deepest of their inspired secrets.

Again, the similarity between Marcion and the Gnostics is only superficial. The similarity actually only involves a common vocabulary of a few key words. When the respective usage of these words is taken into consideration, a vast difference slowly emerges. Marcion had a practical and ethical interest. The Gnostic interest was philosophical and argumentative. A Gnostic group could be libertine i n its practice, and still it could be recognized as fundamentally faithful to the principles of Gnosticism. Marcion's principles always required the highest degree of morality.

Love, for the Gnostics, was generally only their conscious desire to return to the Highest Heaven, in company with their friends. Marcion recognized Christ's great mission as a journey of compassion to this lost world. Loving our enemies is the heart of this Gospel.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "CHRISTIAN"

The historical records about Marcion's contact with Gnostics is very meager. Accepting Marcion's priority makes sense out of the otherwise mysterious origins of Gnosticism. A more recent review of Marcion's chronology places the beginning of Marcion's ministry several years before that of the supposed "Gnostic" Cerdo. Cerdo (or Cerdon) apparently flourished as a teacher after AD 130, "in the time of Hyginus, who was the eighth bishop" (Robert Smith Wilson. *Marcion: A Study of a Second Century Heretic.* James Clarke & Co. Ltd. 1932. p.54; quoting Irenaeus. *Adv. Haer.* III.4.53). Hyginus superintended the Roman Ecclesia AD 136-140.

According to a reasonable interpretation of the chronological evidence, Polycarp (while a bishop of Smyrna) was writing in AD 115 about the extensiveness of Marcion's teachings in Asia Minor (*Pol. Phil.* 2:18,19). Polycarp styled Marcion as "the first-born of Satan" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers [ANF]* vol. 1, p. 416), and the object of Polycarp's criticism in his Epistle to Philippi is directed to this same "[son]."

About the year AD 138, Justin Martyr (a resident of Rome) wrote about Marcion's unusually long and effective teaching career. "And there is Marcion, a man of Pontus, who is even at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator. And he, by the aid of devils, has caused many of every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that God is the maker of this universe, and to assert that some other being, greater than He, has done greater works. All who take these opinions from these men are, as we before said, called Christian" (Justin's [First] *Apology.* I.26. *ANF.* vol. 1. p. 171). The reason for dating this statement to the year AD 138 is discoverable in Blackman's study (*Marcion and His Influence.* p. 21).

One of the most startling things in Justin's unfavorable review of Marcion is the surprising appearance of the word "Christians" as a commonly used title to describe the members of Marcionite churches. By AD 138, Marcionites could be found in "every nation." At this early time, there is some confusion about the correct spelling for "Christian." It is known that Marcion preferred to call Jesus the "Chrestos" (which means the Kind or Helpful One). "… [T]he spelling for 'Chrestos' (=the Good *one*) [is] derived from an ancient inscription to a Marcionite synagogue" (Daniel Jon Mahar. *English Reconstruction and Translation of Marcion's version of To The Galatians.* p. 1).

Those 'orthodox' believers who were more allied with the Roman Ecclesia were already at this time pr oudly bearing the title "Catholic." By the time when *The Acts of the Apostles* was formally published about the middle of the Second Century, the word "Christian" had become very popular as a designation for believers in Jesus. Because of this, there was needed some kind of explanation about its origin.

Not many know that the Sinaiticus manuscript has a peculiar way of spelling the word Christian. Everywhere this title appears, that Fourth Century manuscript spells it "Chrestian." Vaticanus, a manuscript of the same age, utilizes a slightly transitional spelling: "Chreistian."

This surely is strong evidence about Marcion's real role. Not only is Marcion's original spelling for "Christian" still evident in such important manuscripts, this also indicates directly the strength and extent of Marcionite effects on the entire Christian community, including its scholars. There is still some bifurcation between the words "Catholic" and "Christian" today.

In AD 49, Rome experienced disturbances in the Jewish community that had been provoked by the preaching of "Chrestus" (based on the account of Suetonius in J. Steven's *New Eusebius.* no. 2, p. 1). "[Aquila] and his wife Priscilla had recently left Italy because an edict of Claudius had expelled all the Jews from Rome" (Acts 18:2, Jerusalem Bible). It seems notable at this time (AD 49) that "Jews" in general were expelled, and not simply followers of "Chrestus" or "Chrestians." "Was it because at this early date the Roman authorities did not or could not clearly differentiate between the Christians and the Jews?" (Wilson. *Marcion…* p. 25). The presence of the Gentile title "Chrestus" in Rome implies also the presence of an accompanying Gentile-oriented Gospel. Some Jews seem to have loudly voiced a degree of intolerance upon hearing this proclamation of "Chrestus."

In Vaticanus and Sinaiticus it is not possible to discover how Jesus' main title (Christ) was spelled. A scribal device called "nomina sacra" was employed as a emphatic technique to highlight special words. The highlighted words were shortened. Because of this, the scribes left out the main vowel every time. Most Greek editions restore the vowel as an iota ("i").

By making a back formation from the Sinaiticus' "Chrestian," the word "Chrestos" appears as the proper title for Jesus. Through this logical method, it can be reasonably argued that Jesus' normal title should be fully spelled "Chrestos" throughout Sinaiticus.

Besides the two oldest Greek New Testaments from the Fourth Century, and in addition to the oldest dated church inscription (AD 318), there is an abundance of ancient testimony that shows that the title "Chrestus" for Jesus was very popular among "common" Christians.

The two titles "Chrestus" or "Chrestian" are referred to in the following written sources: Tertullian (AD 210), *The Eighth Sibyl* (AD 200), Theophilos of Antioch (AD 170), Marcus (AD 145), *Apocalypse of Elijah* (AD 100), Suetonius (AD 124) and Tacitus (AD 116). There is even a disputed inscription (now lost) from Pompei (AD 79) that is believed to have contained a reference to this lost title of Jesus.

The ruling theologians of orthodoxy denounced the spelling "Chrestus" as based on ignorance. Lactantius (AD 310) said: "The ignorant are accustomed to call Him 'Chrestus'" (*ANF.* Vol. 7, p. 106).

To the simple believers in Jesus, He is Christ, the Good Shepherd, who seeks and saves the lost. To the intellectuals, He is Christ, the just King, who casts the sinner into hell.

As a token of His merciful character, Jesus was once honored with the title "Chrestus" (which means benevolent one). This probably was the original meaning (and spelling) for Jesus' title in the oldest New Testament, the one that Marcion published.

The theological reason for the Orthodox scribes carefully and stealthily introducing "Christ" as Jesus' main title is explainable from its etymology. "Christ" in Greek means "anointed" (or royal). This meaning matches that of the Hebrew word "Messiah." The Church Fathers preferred Jesus to be known as Israel's coming King.

"Paul put Jesus Christ in the forefront of his preaching, and they ['the early Gentile churches'] can hardly have done otherwise. It is no accident, indeed, that the adherents of the new faith were early called Christians" (Arthur Cushman McGiffert. *The God of the Early Christians.* p. 44).

THE BEGINNING OF CATHOLICISM

Adolf von Harnack represented Marcion as the creator of the Catholic Church. This characterization mainly refers to the Roman ecclesia's response to Marcion's evangelism. The rapid growth of Marcionite churches across the Roman Empire in the first two decades of the Second Century motivated the presbytery of the "great" Roman congregation to form a more comprehensive hierarchy and outreach.

Before this time, Christianity was often viewed as indistinguishable from Judaism. Marcion's effort called for a clear distinction. Afterwards, Judeo-Christianity became isolated so that it had to take an independent course. This was predictable because its strong Jewish anchor made it totally incompatible with Marcion's idea of New Testament Christianity.

"… [O]nly after Marcion did those in the great church begin the purposeful work of deriving from heaven the holy church, … and of combining the congregations here on earth into an actual community and unity on the basis of a fixed doctrine that is rooted in the New Testament, just as Marcion did. This demonstrates that by means of his organizational and theological conceptions and by his activity Marcion gave the decisive impetus towards the creation of the old catholic church and provided the pattern for it" (Adolf von Harnack. *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God.* Labyrinth Press 1990 [1924]. p. 131,132).

"… [C]atholicism is constructed as a defense against Marcion…" (ibid p. ix).

The idea of Christian independence from Judaism became quickly popular. From this point on, Catholicism grew in many ways. Many additional modifications would be made un til much of the simplicity evident in Marcion's day became either obscured or entirely lost. By keeping the law about Jewish monotheism as its chief doctrine (as is attested in the creeds), Catholicism opened the door to regain various other features borrowed from the religion of the Old Testament. By following the pattern of ancient Israel, Catholicism began to augment its hierarchy, its ritualism and its animosity towards independent thinkers.

BAPTIST HISTORY

There is an even greater affinity between the Marcionite churches and the Baptist churches. Many Baptist historians trace modern Baptist churches back to the Anabaptists of northern Europe, those who were contemporary with Luther (early Sixteenth Century). The Anabaptist phenomenon is often viewed as a revival of the Albigensian churches of the Fourteenth Century.

The Albigensian Dualists flourished in Languedoc (southern France). The Albigensians, along with the Cathari, are in turn traced by some prominent historians back to the Paulicians of the Ninth Century. These Christian Dualists prospered primarily in Armenia. At last, many view the Paulicians as direct (or indirect) heirs to Marcion's Gospel message. Baptist historians conveniently fail to make this last connection.

The analogy between the Marcionites and the Baptists does not end with this probable evidence of historical lineage. The similar character of the churches is more remarkable. They both were a) simple, b) New Testament oriented, c) non-establishment, d) non-sacerdotal, e) non-sacramental, f) evangelistic, g) faithful to sola scriptura, and h) devoted to Jesus.

On the subject regarding "Marcion's historical position," Adolf von Harnack stated: "It is understandable that Neander could call him {Marcion} the first Protestant. [¶] But we may go further. He not only took up again the work and the struggle of Paul, but he also did this in the apostle's understanding and consciousness of faith; for it was his intention to know nothing save Christ the crucified one" (ibid p. 124, 125).

SUMMARY

Prior to Marcion's revival of Paul's theology, Christianity was much identified with Judaism. At that time, the Christian Bible was only the Old Testament. After Marcion openly published the first New Testament in Rome (AD 116), there arose four great divisions in Christianity. These groups were denominated: the Gnostics, the Catholics, the Judeo-Christians and the Marcionites.

Before Marcion published the first truly Christian Bible, Christianity already had been divided into two groups. In Paul's words, there were the "Judaizers" and there were the Pneumatics (the "Spiritual"). The Judaizers were more allied with Peter and James. The Pneumatics upheld Paul's Gospel of freedom.

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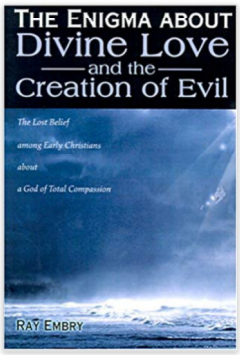

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Marcion's Place in Early Christianity:

A Political Power Play

By Dr. Michael Conley

The conventions of Christian orthodoxy have it that the letters of St. Paul constitute the earliest documents arising in the course of the Christian movement and date back approximately to the 50s of the first century while the Acts of the Apostles were written by a surgeon by the name of Luke who accompanied Paul on his trips in the eastern Mediterranean and wrote down an account of Paul's experiences as a kind of codicil to the latter's own pronouncements.

The extremely thorough-going research of the last decades, by contrast, suggests a very different, and much later date for both the letters and the Acts of the Apostles, reassigning the lot of them to the second century and stressing the clearly apparent conflict that obtains between the two sets of documents, inhibiting any attempt to understand the one as an elaboration of the other .1 Rather, as now becomes apparent, the documents in question are the product of a conflict between two belligerent camps contending with one another for control of the Christian movement in its formative stage.

The names, Paul, Luke, become, in the light of recent research, meaningless. Paul, the latin `paulus' means the `little,' applied to a person, it becomes, more forcefully: `the runt.' It's a nickname for one of diminutive stature. And Luke? No one has the slightest idea where he came from - Syria? Palestine? Alexandria? Rome? - or whether he ever actually met `the runt.' Conceivably, he was simply engaged in writing a fictitious biography for ulterior purposes.

Let us be quite clear on this point: our would-be Luke knew nothing about the letters presumably written by `Paul.' The author of Acts systematically suppressed any mention of any of them or the phrases occurring in them. More specifically, the author was quite unacquainted with the dogma, `sola fide'(!), a matter of central importance in the Reformation of Martin Luther 2 which finally split the Christian movement asunder! Why this silence? Was it because `Luke' knew that the letters and the doctrine of `by faith alone' were products of a hostile, competing group or was it that the letters did not yet bear the name of Paul and were thought to be non-authentic?

But behind this quandry of identification, stood forces much more easily identified with clearly delineated, vested interests in the success of the one or the other of the opposing lines of argument contained in the respective documents.

Paulus became the engine of the episcopacy of Marcion, a well-to-do ship owner from Sinope on the southern coast of the Pontos Euxeino, born conceiveably in 85 C.E., one who set about building an international, `Christian' church with its center to the east of Ephesos, up the Maiandros river to Laodikeia or perhaps further north and east, beyond Magnesia, at Colossa and/or Thyatira where the book of Revelations placed the "synagogues of Satan." Justin Martyr, one within the elite of the Roman church and definitely no friend of Marcion, writing circa 150 CE (= Common Era), remarks (I Apol. 26) that Marcion's teaching had spread "to every nation," and that the famous heretic - viewed, that is to say, from Rome's perspective! - is "even until now alive (`kai nun eti') and teaching his disciples.

For Marcion, marriage was `porneia' and begot `phthora' (= death and perdition). Marriage, indeed, was `phthora kai porneia.' [`Phthoros': a common form of cursing; addressed to a person, it meant the same as the word, `olethros,' namely a pestilent fellow.] This attitude caused him to strictly forbid marriage or sexual intercourse in any form within his congregation. He baptisted only such Katechumenen and allowed them to participate in communion who vowed celebacy or, should they already be married, who renounced carnal relations and lived sexually fully separated from one another. The growth of his congregations, consequently, depended exclusively upon enrolling ever new members from the greater community in which they existed . 3

Marcion's church possessed a rotating hierarchical structure composed of an orderly succession of bishops from Marcion onwards (Markion episkopos), presbyters, deacons/deaconesses - other as at Rome, women assumed a prominent role - and a catechumenate for beginners in the faith. (Always, of course, adults; never their recently born children.) Cyrill of Jerusalem felt it necessary to warn his own catechumens against wandering into a marcionite place of worship by mistake (Cat., 18.26); upon arriving in a new city, he advised, "inquire after the `catholic' church'."

In many small towns, there may have been ONLY a marcionite building. 4 Despite the impositions placed upon them, the number of Christians espousing the doctrines of the Marcionite church may have reached fifty percent of all the Christians in the eastern Mediterranean. He who spurns this possibility, stressing the dearth of sources to substantiate it, is doing little more than commending the early Roman church fathers for the thoroughness with which they - once the battle was over - set about willfully destroying their opponents architectual and written labors.

Marcion was firmly commited to a `good' god, totally distinct from and inmeasurably superior to the vindictive Jewish creator god, Jahwah, who'd nothing to his credit but a slip-shod firmament, populated with defective creatures, reaching from the swamp fly to the two-legged humans who hustled about over the crust of the firmament. And, accordingly, Marcion rejected the Jewish Old Testament lock, stock and barrel in which the distasteful accomplishment of their vindictive god were recounted.

Jahweh, Marcion argued, was a merciless stickler for `righteousness,' applied with unrelenting earnestness and ferocity. He was a head-strong zealot, filled with wrath. On every page of the Jew's book, his partiality, pettiness and narrow-mindedness lay open to the discriminating reader to reaffirm. And the exhortions and judgements, commandments and directives he uttered over those who wallowed prostrate before him were filled of contradictions, vaciliations and displays of his own tempormental inadequacies in matters of morality. Aye, in Marcion's eyes, Yahweh was, critically considered, the `conditor malorum,' the primeval source of wickedness, the instigator of war, a habitual liar when he made promises and, indeed, pernicious by nature in his undertakings.

In such a conceptual world, there could be NO ORIGINAL SIN by virtue of one's descendant from Adam, but only in the sense that human beings are "children of the lesser God whose very essence (`substantia') is capable of sin." 5 Again, in this sense, the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, as well, is meaningless. Christianity could have nothing to do with this `demiourgos,' Marcion asserted, nor could Jesus Christ have been his son! The view that the Law (`thesis') and the Evangelium (`Antithesis') constituted a unity was a central, decisive error of the Roman `kleroi.'

The logic of Marcion's stand retains a certain strength up to the very present day. Let us consider the letters of "Saint Paul" as known to us in their approved Roman Catholic versions. What does one learn here about the

Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan

Translated by C.W. Mitchell

Introductory Essay: The System of Marcion
Third Discourse to Hypatius Against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (Part I)
Third Discourse to Hypatius Against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (Part II)
Against Marcion I
Against Marcion II
Against Marcion III

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

The System of Marcion.

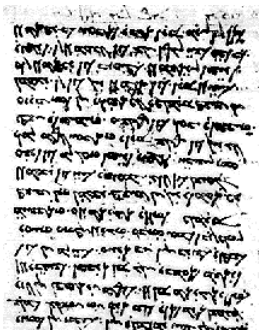
Web version prepared from

S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan

VOLUME II

by C.W. Mitchell. Completed by A.A. Bevan and F.C. Burkitt

(Williams & Norgate, 1921), pp.cxvii-cxxii.



(Above)A portion of the Syriac manuscript (Folio 13b of the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623), from which underwriting C.W. Mitchell painstakingly recovered Ephraim's discourses against Marcion.

These treatises tell us more about Syriac-speaking Marcionites than is told in any other extant source. The main result is to show that they were very similar in their beliefs and practices to the Marcionites elsewhere, especially as described in Eznik's well-known chapters against them

[Eznik of Kolb, "Against the Sects"]. In fact, it is very likely that Eznik's account is not so much an original description of the Armenian Marcionites known to him as a translation from some early Syriac writer.

It is important to notice at the outset that S. Ephraim's polemic against Marcion differs in one respect from that of Tertullian and Epiphanius: there is no controversy about Marcion's Gospel. Marcion, who rejected the authority of the Old Testament as the work of the Adversary of Jesus, considered that most of the writings current among Christians had been interpolated in the interests of Judaism, and the only Gospel he received was a shortened recension of Luke. According to Tertullian and Epiphanius, with whom almost all modern scholars are in agreement, Marcion's Gospel was an arbitrary mutilation of the text, while Marcion no doubt regarded it as the genuine Evangel purged of alien elements. In any case it was obviously a variant form of the canonical Luke, and opponents of Marcion who were accustomed to use the Canonical Luke were concerned to vindicate the superiority of the text familiar to them.

But Ephraim and the branch of the Catholic Church to which he belonged habitually used the Diatessaron, not the four separate Gospels. He seems to have been quite unfamiliar with the Gospels as separate literary works (though he knew something about the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel), and probably did not recognise Marcion's Gospel as being one of the Canonical Four used by Greek and Latin orthodox Christians. However that may be, he says nothing about it.

Possibly he did not even know the Marcionite Gospel itself, and only bases his polemic on Marcionite theological and controversial works which quote it.

The most striking new fact about Marcionite usage brought out by these treatises is that the Syriac-speaking Marcionites used a different transliteration of the name 'Jesus' from the orthodox. The ordinary Syriac for Jesus is [E-WAH-SHEM-YUD] pronounced 'Isho' by Nestorians but Yeshu' by Jacobites, which is simply the Syriac form of the Old Testament name Joshua. This form 'Isho' was used not only by the orthodox, but also by the Manichees. It was therefore a surprise to find that Ephraim in arguing against Marcionites, and certainly in part quoting from their books or sayings, uses the form 'ISU', a direct transcription of the Greek 'IHSOU (or IHSOUS). As it is always written [WAH-SEMKATH-YUD], never [WAH-SEMKATH-YUD-ALPHA], I suppose the pronunciation intended is IESU rather than ISU, but I have retained Mitchell's ISU (vol. i. p. li), not only for uniformity but also because it was desirable to emphasize the strangeness of the form [WAH-SEMKATH-YUD].

SYRIAC NAMES FOR "JESUS"

'Isho or Yeshu

"Orthodox" spelling.

Isu

Marcionite spelling

When Ephraim uses this Marcionite transliteration he is evidently basing his argument on Marcionite texts. The question therefore does arise, how far his references to Gospel incidents are quotations from the Marcionite Gospel. My first impression on reading the First Discourse against Marcion was that he was working on a copy of that Gospel, or at least was conscious of its main peculiarities. After an argument about Adam and the nature of his punishment he goes on to discuss the message of John the Baptist to ISU , and this is followed by a discussion of the Transfiguration. Both these incidents are contained in Marcion's Gospel, and most of the textual allusions might be regarded as taken from Luke, though the wording often differs from the ordinary Syriac.

But a closer examination made this view more than doubtful: I think Ephraim was, as usual, quoting the Diatessaron loosely from memory, and I do not think there is any tangible evidence that he knew that certain of his Gospel references were taken from passages and incidents which had no place in Marcion's Gospel-book, so that their citation had no weight in an argument against Marcionites.

Thus on p.84, 1. 24, and p.109, 1.13, he has sarcastic references to 'the girl,' i.e. the daughter of Herodias, playing with John the Baptist's head, while on p.108, 1.45, the 'soldier of the guard' is mentioned. But the whole incident of Herod's banquet is absent from Luke, and therefore from Marcion's Gospel, while the 'soldier' (espukiatra) is mentioned only in Mk. vi 27.

Again, on p.72, 1.26 f.,Ephraim quotes 'Blessed are the meek in their spirit': this is an inaccurate combination of Matt. v 5 and Matt. v 3, but neither element of the quotation is represented in the Lucan Beatitudes, accepted by Marcion. Further, 'Blessed is he, except he be offended in me,' on p.86,1.6 f., agrees neither with the Syriac vulgate nor with the Sinai Palimpsest text of Lk. vil 23, but it does agree with the Curetonian text of Matt. xi 6.

Finally, on p.82, 1.5, John is called a Light-bringer, which recalls Joh. v 35, but has no parallel in Luke. These passages are decisive enough to shew that Ephraim, unlike Tertullian and Epiphanius, is not attempting to confute Marcion out of his own recension of the Gospel.

Still less is there reason to regard the few references to S. Paul as taken from the Marcionite 'Apostle.' The most interesting of these, from a textual point of view, is the quotation of 1 Tim. ii 15 on p.100, 1.10 f.,1 but the argument could have meant little to a Marcionite, because Marcion never accepted the Pastoral Epistles. The most we can learn from Ephraim about the Biblical exegesis of the Marcionites comes from the few pasages which he directly quotes from them. The two most striing of these are to be found on p.106 in the Second Discourse and on p.125 in

the Third. On p.106, 11.38-12, Ephraim suggests that the only reason Marcionites can allege for John the Baptist believing at all in Jesus is a fantastic faith in the unknown: "'Because,' they say, 'John was near to die he sent his flock by the hand of the two under-shepherds to the Lord of the flock.'"

And again, on p.125, 11.40-47, Ephraim says: "Two things the Marcionites proclaim about our Lord, which are contrary to each other, for they say, 'He annulled former Laws and healed diseased organs. " The interest of these simple sentences, which are shewn by the use of the particle LM [MEM-LAMAD] to be quotations, is that they seem to be polemical, isolated bits of Marcionite answer to orthodox criticism. It is not to be expected that they will be very profound or convincing, because they deal with points on which the Marcionite theory was weakest, viz. the events of the Gospel history.

John the Baptist was a specially inconvenient figure, for he is altogether linked up with the Old Testament and Jewish religion, and yet he appears as a forerunner of Jesus. If John recognised Jesus at all he must, as Epiphanius says (Haer. xlii, p.325), have known of Him before, while to the Marcionites Jesus is the Son of the Stranger, and His coming was altogether unexpected and unprepared. And with regard to the second quotation, it is easy for Ephraim to shew the inconsistency of regarding the cure of human bodies or organs as good, seeing that the whole domain of matter, or HYLE, is accounted by Marcionites as altogether outside the plan of salvation.

One feature of Ephraim's polemic with the Marcionites that cannot help striking the reader who comes to it after reading the tracts against Bardaisan or Mani is its more Biblical character. The religion of Marcion was essentially Christian and Biblical. He is a Dissenter from the orthodox interpretation of the Bible, but his philosophy starts from it.

Bardaisan, on the other hand, appears in these controversies as a Cosmologist or Natural Philosopher with a system of his own, who found in the Gospel, as he found in Greek philosophy, certain things which he adopted because they seemed to be in harmony with his own views. Mani also is a thinker, more or less independent of Biblical data. Both to Bardaisan and to Mani their cosmological notions are an essential part of their religion. But I have the impression that Marcion was only a cosmologist by accident, that he was essentially concerned with morals and the working of the mind and what may be called the psychology of forgiveness.

Ephraim makes some telling points against him over the Voice at the Transfiguration. Marcion, we know, had a clumsy presentation of the Universe as consisting of three Regions, one 'above' the other. In the highest dwelt the Kind Stranger; in the lowest, on the earth, was the domain of Matter; between them, above the earth, was the domain of the Creator or Maker, the God of Justice and Law, who had made Man out of Matter in his own image. When the Voice came at the Transfiguration, saying, 'This is My Son,' how, says Ephraim, did they know it was the Stranger's Voice, and not that of the God of the Law? If it was the Stranger, speaking from the heavens above us, how had He got there? This is a good debating point; but just as we see how very much easier the controversy between Ephraim and Bardaisan would have been, if they had considered Space as measured with Cartesian axes, so I venture to think Marcion would have made his meaning clearer if he had placed his Kind Stranger in a 'fourth dimension.'

The essential thing about the Kind Stranger who can and will forgive freely is that He is not in or of this tangible and measurable world. At least this is so, except in so far as the very notions in Marcion's mind are part of the whole of Nature. With this proviso, the whole of Marcion's system is essentially built upon the same lines as the religion outlined in Huxley's famous Romanes Lecture. Nature is red in tooth and claw, in this world an eye is exacted for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (or its equivalent). Action and reaction are equal and opposite, and the Law of the Conservation of Energy seems to be unbroken. But Man can imagine, more or less, another world where this is not the case, and his mind can take refuge in this fairyland, which is outside the visible universe.

Marcion did not, as a matter of fact, put his thoughts in this way. He was, as Ephraim says (p. lvii), 'half in and half out' of orthodox thought, and so was liable to charges of inconsistency. His great merit is that he felt the charm of the Gospel message apart from the sanction of the Old Testament. Ephraim starts off his polemic against Marcion by appealing to the miracles of the Exodus, and to alleged confirmations of Old Testament wonders in the archives of Egypt and Babylon, an argument which now only raises a smile. But Marcion's position is not similarly affected by modern discovery: the God to Whom he gave his allegiance was always outside of this visible world, and if the visible world has been found not to be geocentric that matters less to him than to those whose God had His throne 'above the bright blue sky'.

Apart from their views about the Bible the Marcionites appear in these treatises as an ultra-pietistic school, who fast more than Ezekiel and pray more than Daniel. Indeed, they claim to pray all day (p. xxxi med.). The early orthodox Syriac-speaking Church esteemed virginity so highly, that we need not be surprised that Ephraim does not touch upon Marcion's rejection of Christian marriage. According to vol. i. p.129, 1.1 (p. xciv), the Marcionites worshipped towards the West.

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St. Ephraim

Prose Refutations Against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (I)

SAINT EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS
Translated by C.W. Mitchell.
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THIRD DISCOURSE TO HYPATIUS
THE THIRD DISCOURSE AGAINST THE TEACHINGS

Marcion's Teaching; the heavens of the Stranger.

I DESIRE to utter one more refutation against the three of them (i.e, Marcion, Mani, and Bardaisan), that is against Marcion in the first place who (says) that a heaven is found also beneath the Stranger. Let us ask who bears up those heavens, and what is in them. For a power is neceesary to bear them. Or can it be that the heavens of the Stranger are resting on the heavens of the Maker, so that he is the all-sustaining Maker, as indeed is the case? But if they say that the heavens of the Stranger hang by the power of the Stranger, we also will deal frowardly with the froward, (and say) that he who is above the heavens cannot support the heavens, but (only) if he were beneath them. But if he is the same person who is above the heavens and below them, it is clear that the place of his possessions is the same, and in the midst of it are collected those Souls whom ISU brought up hence. For a Supporter is required for those heavy Souls whom he brought up thence . . . [inasmuch as when his possessions are found enfolded within his bosom there is required for them another power which supports them.] For we cannot accept from them just as they do not accept from us I that there should be anything set up without a foundation.

The heavens of the Stranger and his Boundaries

But know that if the Stranger has heavens which have been created from nothing, we must inquire by whom they were created. And if they are his in virtue of (their) 'essential being' beneath him, which he cannot cross. And just as he is not able to go forth from that Place which surrounds him so as to be something which does not exist in a Place, and has no Creator, so he is not able to cross that boundary which is beneath him. Nor were the Souls able to go up hence to cross it.

The Relations of the Stranger and the Maker.

But if that boundary was capable of being crossed so that also the Stranger crossed it and came down to us, as they say, and the Souls also rent it asunder and ascended, as they falsely state, then (it follows that) a boundary which could be crossed would not be able to prevent the Maker from going up to the Domain of the Stranger. If, therefore, when he was able to go up he was unwilling to trample down the boundary of his Companion, he is a God who is worthy of praise, since even those things which he (i.e., Marcion) has invented, redound (lit., cry out) to his praise. But if he had the will to go up, and the Stranger above allowed him, let them show us why.... And if the Good (Being) was guarding himself, he was verily afraid lest he (i.e., the Maker) should injure him. And how did he who was afraid in his own Domain, come to the Domain of the Maker to struggle with him? And if he guarded his freedom that there should be no Strife and contention between him and his neighbour, let his Heralds be despised who make him quarrelsome and contentious. And if they say that the Maker did not perceive the Stranger, it is unlikely. For how did he not perceive him when he was his neighbour? And if they say that he was far from him, infinitely far, if it was a mountain immeasurable and an endless path, and a vast extent without any limit, then how was that Stranger able to proceed and come down the immeasurable mountain, and (through) a dead region in which there was no living air, and (across) a bitter waste which nothing had ever crossed? And if they make the improbable statement that "the Stranger like a man of war was able to come," well if he came as a man of war-[though he did not come), (take the case of) those weak Souls whom he brought up hence, how were these sickly ones able to travel through all that region which God their Maker and Creator was not able to traverse, as they say?

Surely the Maker could reach the Domain of the Stranger

And if they say that these were able but their Maker was not, if they say anything they like, they must hear something they dislike, (namely), that if the Soul, which is all the creation of this Creator, was strong enough so that with the strength of the Stranger, it was able to cross and to go, and did not remain anywhere(?) on that immeasurable journey, how much more able would the Creator be to go, not only up to the Domain of the Stranger, but even to explore the other regions inside of it, if there were any there !... [Thou mayest know that the system of statements that they make is impossible.) For (being) a Person who grows not old nor ever dies or grows weary, who has no need of a conveyance of any kind, and requires no food,-and in that Domain there were no walls to hinder him,-how was the Maker hindered from travelling to see what was above him, (to see) whether that Domain was empty or had something in it or not? But if he reached the heavens of the Stranger, even if he did not actually enter he must have struck them to see what they were or whose they were.

The Stranger and His Domain

And when the Stranger went forth from his Domain to come hither, it is clear that he vacated his Domain. For anything which is limited, and in the midst of a place, when it goes forth from its place, the whole of it goes forth and no part of it remains in its place. But if half of it goes forth and half remains, or some portion of it, these things prove concerning its nature that it is divisible. And if again they wish to change their ground, and say a thing which cannot be, (namely), that when he went forth to come from his Domain, his Domain was not deprived of him at all, because he is a Fullness which does not lack, and a Greatness which is not lessened, then how was his Domain full of him, and the Domain which was in the middle full of him-a place infinite and unlimited? And, moreover, the Domain of the Maker would be full of him (i.e., of the Stranger), and this creation would be full of him; even unto Sheol beneath would his extent reach. If before he went out he was the sole occupant (lit., fullness) of that Domain wherein he dwelt, and after he went out that Domain was likewise full of him as before, it is clear that he is something which was found to belong to that Domain, and was (nevertheless) outside.

How the Stranger may be both inside and outside of His Domain

It is necessary that we should inquire whence this addition arose or perhaps some veil was upon his face as upon the face of the Sun; and when that veil was drawn aside he extended his rays unto us. And when he gathered himself in and confined himself to his Domain he filled the whole of the Domain in which he dwelt from of old. And it is necessary that we should inquire from whence are those causes which arose in front of him, and impeded the Light; and here his nature is found to fill all (space), and our place is not found to be foreign to his rays, just as also the vault of creation is not foreign to the rays of the Sun, even if by means of other veils it is concealed from us.

If the Marcionites use the Light to illustrate the omni-presence of the Stranger, they dishonour him.

But the Sun is one thing and its effulgence is another thing. For the Sun has substance and a circumference, too, and the eye sets bounds to the Sun, but its effulgence has no limit and sub-stance. For the eye cannot set bounds to it. And by this proof it is discovered that the child is greater than its parent, since the parent is limited and the child that springs from the parent unlimited. But it (i.e., the effulgence) is not really greater; it really is less than it, in that it has not substance like it (i.e., the Sun). But because also the Sun is fire we learn to know it (i.e., the Sun) from this lower fire; for thus also a flame of fire has a substance, but the Light of the fire has no substance. And bodies come and go in the midst of its Light and are not injured, but bodies cannot approach very near to the substance (of the flame). And just as there are flowers or blossoms or one of the roots which have sweet-smelling fruits and one small place is able to accommodate them because they are substances, but their scent is diffused outside of them because it has no localised substance; and we do not say that the scent of spices is more than the spices, or the perfumes of ointments more than the ointments, for they themselves are sold for a price, but the scent of fragrant herbs is freely given to all who come near them; and (just as) the censer cannot fill the house, but its smoke is greater than the house, for it is even diffused outside of it, (so) if they have made, therefore, their God like a perfume, which is dissipated and like a flame which is scattered, though they wish to honour him, they reduce him to inferiority, for they make him (to be) without an in-dependent substantial Existence.

Bardaisan's Teaching; what supports his Entities in Space?

Again, let the party of Bardaisan be asked concerning those Entities which he speaks of, what supports these things of his also, seeing that they are placed in a deserted and empty Space in which there is no breath of air supporting all, especially inasmuch as he mentions that there are both light and heavy Entities there? For Light is lighter than Wind and Wind than Fire, just as also Fire is lighter than Water. But light and heavy things cannot exist unitedly in one enclosure without the force of another (supporting them). For the light (thing) must dwell

above just as the heavy (thing) beneath all. Therefore, Fire cannot exist in the same rank in which Light exists, nor can Water, which is heavy, be in rank of Fire, or of Wind, because there is no force to support them.Water puts an end to Fire, which is opposite it. For heaviness and weight cannot exist in one rank just as they cannot by the same weight . . . things which are light and heavy in the midst of Water or in Air. These things convince concerning themselves how (far) the heavy approach the light. And if these which are heavier by measure than their companions, do greatly flee towards the depths, how much more distant from those things which are beneath, without weight and without measure, will the Darkness be which exists more heavily than all! For lo, all its heaviness, too, is beneath all . . . [how did the Darkness] go up from them because its heaviness. . . . But if it is able to exist and be quiet, let them tell us what thing it was which came upon its heaviness (?) . . . for it is unable to be raised by itself ... But if they say that it crossed its boundary and when it crossed it, it crossed it in an upward direction, then (let me ask), which is easier-for a heavy thing to go upwards, which is not natural, or to be sent downwards according to its nature? For so... [owing to some cause or other] to cross its boundary and make an Assault upwards. Above all [the proper nature of its (i.e., of the Darkness) heaviness, demands that it] should be continually sent beneath. And because from of old and from eternity everything was actually going down and down the Fire would not be able [to find its way down through the great distance to the darkness beneath or to reach) the Depths which are immeasurable.

If a Primal Wind stirred up the Entities, who caused this Wind? God?

But let us inquire as to this Fire, what was the cause that stirred it up also to cross the Boundary which it had never crossed before? They say that the Wind beat upon it and stirred it up. Let us come to the succession of causes and let us ask also concerning the Wind,-what stirred it up too? And if the causes are multiplied, what, then, was that which was the Cause of all the causes? If it be not known, there is a great error, but if it be known, there is a right question in reply to which a true argument should be offered. For if it was God, then He is the cause of all confusion, He who disturbed things in their state of order and mingled things that were pure and introduced Strife and Contention among Natures that were at peace; then He Who, they say, is the real cause of all beauty turns out to be the cause of all ugliness.

But whoever stirred up that Evil which was asleep, and gave power to what was powerless and found out a method and arranged the Cause to make the Evil cross the Boundary, a thing that had never crossed its Boundary, that misdeed of his teaches us what name we should give him, with what eye we should look upon him, and with what amazement we should wonder at him !

Why would the Upper Being do so?

But if the same Upper Being stirred the Element of the Wind in a manner contrary to its nature, then that Upper Being must have crept and come down from his natural height; and what Cause, then, stirred him up, too, that he should hurl Contention and Strife among the Entities and Natures which were in a peaceful state, and, if they know not, whence did this cause spring? For as regards these other things which they say concerning the Entities, whence did they learn that they are as they say? If the spirit of revelation made (it) known to them, it ought to have revealed to them (something) concerning the Cause on which all the causes depended. But one must wonder at this Wind that it was not revealed to Moses, the chief of the Prophets, who divided the sea and went through its midst, nor again to Simon, the chief of the Apostles, was it revealed, he who went down and walked upon the waters, and moved lightly upon the waves of the sea! But it was revealed to this Bardaisan who was unable to prevent the dew which dropped upon his bed! But let them give us the signs and wonders which he did, that by means of the open signs the secrets which he taught may be believed. But if the Prophets and Apostles who did many signs and wonders did not say one of the things which Bardaisan by himself denied, and if Bardaisan, who denied many things which are foreign to the teaching of the Prophets and Apostles, did not do any of the signs which they did, is it not clear and evident to any one who wishes to see clearly that there is a great gulf between his Error and their true Knowledge?

What supported the Entities in Space?

Let us ask [what force it is which supported] all those creatures which Bardaisan preached and the Firmament (?) and the Earth and those whom he calls PANPHLGOS ["the all-flaming"] (?) and all that earth (?) which is beneath everything and above the Darkness - who supports all these? Or how does the Darkness, which is beneath everything, support everything so as to be the foundation of all? But if they say that everything is placed on nothing, let Bardaisan who said how can it be explained that something comes from nothing, (let him) repeat the thing which went forth from his mouth (and ask) how can something be supported by nothing? For how can a thing which does not exist support a thing which does exist? But if he says that it would be easy for God to hang everything on nothing, he confesses, though unwillingly, that it would not be difficult for God to create everything out of nothing. For if he was unable to create something from nothing, neither would he be able to set something on nothing . . . [and Bardaisan cannot say that the Will of God supported everthing]. For (how) was that Will which they say is light [and unable to make anything from nothing able even to support it?] And, therefore, as it was necessary for the Will to have something out of which to create creatures [so it needed something] on which to place its creatures.

[And if creatures are made from Entities] which are not dependent on something which supports them, [are not these Entities dependent] upon something which is not dependent ? And if they say that there is a myriad of . . . each supporting one another . . . [they are not Wise in What] they say; [for let us ask about that last supporter] of them all, who bears it up? Until of necessity one great and perfect One is found Who is perfect in every respect, Who is identical with His own Domain and exists by His own power, and from nothing makes everything. For if He lacks any one of these things, then He is not perfect, and, therefore, He is in some sort an imperfect God who requires three things -that is, something from which to create created things, and a Pillar which upholds His creatures and a Domain in which His Divinity may dwell. But if the Will of God is supporting by its power the creatures which come from the Entities, it is clear that also that Will of God was supporting the Entities from the first and the same confused them. And if it was not supporting the Entities, then it does not support anything that comes from them. And if the Entities were dependent on.it (i.e. the Divine Will) and existing by His power, they were not even Entities, especially as the Darkness also is found to exist likewise by the power of the Good One.

Mani's Teaching; he placed the Light-World in contact with the Darkness, and thereby introduced great difficulties.

And, therefore, on these grounds we have opposed Mani also with a true refutation. For he, too, calls God the Earth of Light, which (Earth) is not perfect, but if it is a deficient thing, the very word deficiency is enough to refute its claim to perfection. For its one side proclaims concerning the whole if it, that if on its side which is near the Darkness, it is limited by the Darkness, and if it is (so) by nature, its nature is very deficient and imperfect, inasmuch as that which limits it on one side is not a thing which is fair but the Darkness. Now, in the case of a thing which is limited by the Evil, inquire no further as to its weakness; for it is enough that the Evil limited it. And how, 0 Mani, shall we call that thing the perfect Good which is limited by the Darkness, or perfect Light that which is bounded by the Darkness? For it (i.e., the Darkness) confined and limited its inferiority (i.e., the inferiority of the Light), and did not suffer it to fill all (Space), in addition to the fact that it (i.e., the Darkness) waxed bold like a strong one to trample down its Domain and to enter its Boundaries, and to plunder its Possessions. But they say that it (i.e., the Darkness) came as one in need; but if it was in need, know that this (i.e., the Light) also is weak, and if the former plunders the latter is plundered. And, in order that they may be refuted in all points, if the two frontiers of Good and Evil were thus contiguous, all that side which bordered on the unclean became unclean and defiled, and infected, and corrupted by the contact of the Darkness. And if they say that that side which bordered on the Darkness was not injured by the contact of the Darkness, then that side which could not be injured is more excellent than those Souls which were injured by the contact of the Darkness, for it (i.e., the Darkness) is said to have acquired power over the inferior, since this inferior was all injured. But although it (i.e., the side) has contact with the corrupt Darkness from everlasting to everlasting, the injurious contact could not injure it. And if the Enemy was unable to get dominion over it, and the Foe to tread it down and the Marauder to ascend and cross it, then why was it necessary for the Good One to take the pure Souls who belonged to him, and to 'hurl' them beyond his own victorious Frontier into the jaws of the Darkness? For it has been said that the Darkness could not even cross that mighty Frontier. But if it was a defenceless Frontier, one which could be overcome, and laid low, and trodden down and crossed, then its weakness could also be injured by the contact of the Darkness. And if the Darkness had been able to get dominion over it, if it had wished to destroy it, lo, it would have destroyed it by degrees, and made an Assault. And if it desired to rob it, behold it would have approached it stealthily by degrees, and moved onwards. And if (it had wished) to feel a Passion for it and to enjoy it, lo, what gave it Pleasure was at its side... if what gave it Pleasure was in close contact on its side from everlasting to everlasting; and if it carried its will into action, the Darkness had no need to make an Assault and enter the midst of the Earth of Light, because the same Pleasantness was diffused throughout the whole of it (i.e., the Earth). For the Light is one in its nature, and wherever a man has pleasure in it, it is the same. Look, therefore, at the fabricated system of deceit, for in all this the Pleasantness of the Light is in contact with the Darkness, as they say. If it is after the fashion of a park, the one side which bordered on the Sons of the Darkness was entirely akin to the Darkness- for it is with them. And if the Fragrance of that pleasant thing is sent forth into their nostrils, and if that Light is diffused upon their eyes, andif the Melodies of that sweet Player are poured into their ears, how since all this was present with him, did he smell and perceive as from a far mountain that "there was something pleasant there"? And if from the centre of the Earth (of Light) or from the inner sides he received the smell of the Pleasantness of Light, this, too, is against them. For how did it come about that the sweet smell and effulgence burst forth and entered even there? And how did this beautiful Fragrance ever smite the Darkness?

If Darkness has foreknowledge it is more excellent than the Light.

For if the Darkness had foreknowledge, and by means of that he knew that there would be something pleasant (in the realm of Light) then is that Entity (of the Darkness) greater and more excellent than this Good, in that it has this foreknowledge. But lo, the Souls who are from this (Entity) are today existing in Ignorance and Error. And if he had great foreknowledge, when do the Souls who have strayed expect to be refined, seeing that 'he who leads them astray' is so great? For by his knowledge he made them to be without

knowledge. But, above all, they cannot go forth hence, because, howsoever that Good (Being) may contrive to form ways and means for their departure hence, that Evil One knows beforehand all the movements and secrets which are planned there against him; and that Good (Being) cannot even conceal his secret thoughts from him. And if he cannot conceal from him the thoughts in his own heart and in his own Domain, how does he expect to release from under the hand of this mighty One the Souls who are subject to his authority, especially, too, if they are stored up in the midst of him and 'swallowed,' as they say! And if, when they were not swallowed, he contrived to swallow them, now that he has swallowed them, who is there that can bring them forth from his midst? (This is a thought) which even Mani himself may have muttered from the midst of the Darkness when he was swallowed. And in his muttering whose help would be invoke[d]? (Would he invoke) Him who even in his own Domain is guarding himself from that which he fears? For he is afraid to come because he knows that if he comes he is swallowed; but they are ashamed to say that he can be swallowed. And how can they conceal it? For behold those Souls which were swallowed up (so as to be removed) from him make them ashamed. And if they were not swallowed, again they are all the more ashamed in this point, (namely): Why did that Nature which cannot be swallowed not contend (?) with the Darkness and swallow all of it?

The Evil One had or had not foreknowledge.

Behold, two alternatives are set before them; let them choose one, whichever they wish, that they may be put to confusion in it. But if in both directions they are put to confusion, this is not due to us, but to their wise Teacher, who concocted for them a Teaching which is put to confusion in every respect. But if they say that he had no foreknowledge, [then let them hear my former questions about the contact of the Darkness with the Light].If the Evil One has foreknowledge from the first, how is it that he sometimes (?) perceived as if he sometimes knew? And if when he knew he did not feel desire; the question is one which resolves itself into two alternatives, (namely), if he verily made an Assault with his eyes (open?), it is a thing repugnant to his nature; but if, though he felt desire, he did not make an Assault he remained by reason of his self-restraint for a long time in a state of desire perforce. But these Souls who are from the Good (Being) are put to shame by his self-restraint, since they are found to be fornicators, and they run corruptly into all evils. And who caused that false ascetic to offend? Can it have been that Virgin of the Light about whom they say that she manifested her beauty to the Archons, so that they were ravished to run after her? But it is not possible for pure mouths to speak as they do about the things after this; so that we will not commit them to writing, but we will take refuge in such discourse as it is possible to use (and argue), that if that Virgin of Light appeared to him and made him offend by her purity, her folly is seen in this. And in what respect was the beauty or pleasantness or fragrance of the Virgin of Light different from that of that Luminous Earth? So that if there is a question of Passion, behold, as a harlot, she embraces the fornicator. For the borders of both Domains embrace one another after the manner of bodies. And, because from eternity and from everlasting they were touching one another, perhaps, also, that Evil one became weary of the perpetual contact. But if a comparison such as that which they employ (lit., bring) is applicable to the matter, (namely), that one loves and another is loved, the experience of debauchees refutes them. (namely), that, although they love, there comes a time when they are sated and weary of that thing which they love. And if our questions do not please them, neither does it please us that they should speak all this blasphemy against the Truth. If, therefore, they wish to hear many things, in a single word . . . that is to say, when they confess that they are in an evil case. And, therefore, silence is our part, and they will have profit. But if . . . And if they do not wish to come to that which overthrows them (?.),let them show how at one time the Darkness had a Passion for the Light, though they were from everlasting hidden in one another. If this Fragrance was diffused recently, first we must inquire what was the cause which made it spread, and what was the power which stirred it up, and why all this was. (?) And it is clear that that is the cause of the trouble and war. But if the Darkness acquired Thought which . . . , and a Mind which he had not (formerly) and Knowledge which he had not, lo again [we refute them by asking how Mind could be acquired by a Nature which did not contain it. It could only come from an outside source- from a region above the Darkness].

PART II

St.Ephraem

Prose Refutations Against Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan (II)

SAINT EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS
Translated by C.W. Mitchell.
Published by Williams and Norgate (1912).
THIRD DISCOURSE TO HYPATIUS(Part 2)
THE THIRD DISCOURSE AGAINST THE TEACHINGS

The explanations of Bardaisan, Marcion and Mani as to the original cause of the Disturbance.

For Bardaisan had already (?) (i.e., before Mani) said. 'There arose a cause by chance, and the Wind was impelled against the Fire. Marcion said [concerning the . . .] "that he saw a certain picture." (?) For we will not utter these other things which are after it (?); even though their mouths were fit to utter something which was not permissible. For (let us ask) whence sprang the cause, 0 Marcion, which first [made him aware of] that which was beneath him? And if the Good . . . which was above it did not perceive HULE seeing that it was under him, how did he perceive it anew or how did HULE (?) recently (ascend to regions) which are not natural for it?

And Mani said, concerning the Darkness [that its Sons began to rage and ascend to see what was above them outside the Darkness or that it acquired Thought]. And see how like the perverse crabs are to one another, Teach one of whom takes a devious course and goes forth, not to come to the Scriptures, but to turn aside from the Scriptures! And, perhaps, Satan, their father, took a somewhat devious course, because he is a native in Error- that is because they are foreigners from foreigners, who do not blaspheme at all. For let the circumcised foreigners prove that each of them is a drop of poison of the troubled sea. Whenever, therefore, it suits Mani, he brings their two sides into contact, like Sun and Shade, which cannot be mingled together.

And, again, when he is forced he destroys the first and mixes them together- the Good and the Evil- like water with water. And that he may not be refuted (by the argument) that if they had been near together, how did the Darkness recently desire the Light, as if it had suddenly met it, he constructed the theory that sometimes HULE acquired Thought. And in seeking to avoid refutation he came to such a point that he rightly suffered confusion. And because he was compelled he named two Roots; and because again he was plainly exposed he produced many Natures from the midst of two Natures. But a tongue which is in the power of Falsehood is turned by it as it (i.e., Falsehood) finds convenient.

For with regard to Light which the opponent and the abolisher of Darkness whenever it suits them, they say that it (i.e., the Darkness) had a Passion for it (i.e., the Light). And how does opposite love opposite, that is to say, how does the injured one love its injurer? or how does the eater have affection for that which is eaten, as the wolf for the lamb? Or will they, therefore, suppose the Light to be injured like the lamb? And (then) it had good reason to desire the Darkness (which is) like a wolf! But if they suppose that the Darkness is injured like the lamb, how does that which is injured have a Passion for its injurer? They attribute to Darkness that it desires, like the wolf, and that it is injured like a lamb; and when these two things are laid at the door of the Darkness, has not the true (opinion) perished from them (i.e., the Manichaeans), that is, have they not perished from the Truth? For those proofs and comparisons which they adduce are also confused like them (i.e., the Manichaeans).

The Domain of Good and Evil illustrated from the natural places of Fish and Moles.

But if there are two Domains, and Good and Evil who dwell in them, (now) I portray these from things external and with simple illustrations in order that they may be easy for their hearers. For let us suppose that there is a great and clear and pure river, and fine fish in it, and that there is a bad and filthy and foul sepulchre, and moles in it. Then let us set the moles which dwell in the Darkness as the likeness of the Sons of Darkness, and let us place the fine fish as a fine (?) type of the Sons of the Light and let us suppose that their Domains are bounded this by that, the water by sepulchral vaults, and the dry land by wet ground . . . if those fishes [do not] long to go up to the dry land and to soil themselves in mud and in the burrows of moles; is it not, therefore, incontestably clear that just as moles dislike going down to the water, so fishes disdain to go up to the dry land? And they are made to be neighbours one another; and in proportion as their boundaries approach one another, so much the further are their (natural) wills removed from one another; so that there is none of them which desires his neighbour's domain.

If, therefore, these things which are not Entities, and are not (derived) from Entities, and were not made from good and evil Natures- since if thou kill a mole and cast it to the fishes, the fishes will devour it- and if, therefore, these things which are near to one another in a certain sense are thus far strangers as regards their abodes and . . in their nature, and do not dare to cross their borders, how much more would it be right that Good and Evil should exist in their Nature and Domains, seeing that they are real Entities and really strangers to one another, and the reality of their Enmity is never lessened! For if it was lessened, that is due to Freedom and not to Essential-nature, (it is due) to Will and not to Nature; how, therefore, did the Darkness . . . to cross to the Domain of its opposite, and why ? - seeing that when a mole goes it goes into its own (proper place), and when it ceases (?) (it goes forth) and smells that it may reach the edge of the water and (then) returns again to go into its own (proper place). And so, also, a fish, to which are assigned its depths comes into its own (proper place), and when it ceases (?) it returns to its depths. Here are correct demonstrations which refute those who have introduced confused Teaching . . . For it is found that fishes and moles which come from Nature [stay in their own natural places]...

[Moles akin to the Darkness are not anxious to cross the boundary] of fishes, the sons of water. And how do they flee from this boundary and rank of the Sons of the Light; and (yet) the Darkness, their Father, made an Assault to enter within the boundaries of the Sons of the Light, and why are (the words) 'refined,' and 'first' (used to describe him)? But if their Father made an Assault, but they flee, it is found that these blind and dark moles do (in reality) come from the nature and abode of the Good (World of Light). For, behold, they flee from their opposite. Nor (even) like these blind moles is the perception of Souls which see and hear and speak and perceive that they may flee from the vile boundary of the Darkness.

How can Darkness swallow Light?

Again, let us turn and ask the advocates of Error, that is, its Preachers- how were the Sons of the Light cast into the mouths of the Sons of the Darkness? And how did the Darkness swallow the Light - a thing which is not natural to it? But the nature of both is that the Light swallows and the Darkness is swallowed. And if here (in our world) the Light swallows the Darkness as experience shows, but there the Light is swallowed, as the Heretics say, it is clear that this Darkness which is swallowed here is not akin to that Darkness which swallows there; just as also the Light which swallows the Darkness is not akin to that which is swallowed by the Darkness. And if they strive to make a stand, again they fall. For one fall is not sufficient for them. For really it is not a case of falling at all. For this takes place (only) where there has been standing; they are always prostrate- they do not wish to stand.

Again, let them understand (?) that as regards this Light which swallows the Darkness here with us, and this Darkness which here amongst us is swallowed by the Light, it it is the nature of that which swallows to swallow, and of that which is swallowed to disappear. Or has the Creator's own will changed their natures? And if it is due to (His) Will, where was their (unchangeable) Nature? If he is one who submitted (?) himself there, and is the Light-God who did not aid himself, whose Light was swallowed by the Darkness, how has he to-day changed the nature of the Darkness that it should be swallowed by the Light? For they say that he is the Maker. And, if the Darkness changed its nature, it is unlikely that it would bring itself to the weakness, so that he who swallowed them is swallowed to-day. Since that true saying demands that natures essentially fixed cannot be changed; but that Freewill, because He created it to say everything, proclaims by name those Entities whose true nature it cannot declare. But, because those names belong to the Entities, the Entities of the substances (?) are changed. For if the substances (?) of the Entities had been like the names of the Entities, and were fixed natures, they could not be changed; because a thing which exists in the natural condition of its original Essence, so exists as it is, and so remains for ever and ever.

But let us inquire about the nature of this Darkness, whether this is natural to it, (namely), that it should be Swallowed by the Light, just as our sight proves . . .that it (i.e., the Darkness), too, is swallowed here so that both here and there it has an essential Nature. For one Entity cannot be divided into two Entities, even though the Heretics speak absurdities. And if the nature of the Light around us, as it proves about itself, is such that it swallow, and is not swallowed, and there is no means whereby Light is swallowed by Darkness, at any time and for all time to come, it is clear . . . that as it swallows the Darkness here, so it swallows there, and was not swallowed (by the Darkness).

Refutatory Summary

Also the perverse ones do perversely proclaim the Teaching -but here [we have correctly refuted what] they say concerning the Light and the Darkness . . . we hear that it was done

there in quite a contrary and opposite way. On which (opinion), therefore, is it right that we should stand -on the cunning tale which is proclaimed preposterously, or on true evidence, whereof the correctness is seen by practice?... For not a little . . . because it was not right that they should be a little ashamed. For . . . to speak . . . against that rightly . . . but also those who believe. (?) For according to the great falsehood and untruth . . . difficult . . . he gives them a preposterous account of a thing which we see in practice correctly every day. For it seems that he made them drunk first, and then he told them a tale. For he was afraid of the truth of Nature, lest it should refute him. But, if not, how (?) was the perverse tale not disgraced in their ears, that, while they see that the Light swallows the Darkness here, they think that there it (i.e., the Light) is swallowed by the Darkness?

The Light and the Darkness have no bodies

And the Darkness when it is swallowed here by the Light has not even a body; for nothing is separated from itself (i.e., the Darkness), seeing that it vanishes altogether. But a house full of darkness shows that if a man opens the doors and windows in the daytime, whither can that darkness, which is in it, go up [to hide]? There is no room for it to go outside, for the Light which is from outside absorbs it. If we say that it stays within, it does not remain there. For the rays of the Sun entering pursue it. And if it does not exist within, and goes out, it is clear that it has all come to an end; and with it has come to an end all that Teaching which says that it (i.e., Darkness) has a kind of body in reality. For in this manner it (i.e., the Teaching) says that it has a body, in that "it verily ate those brilliant Shining Ones (ZIWANE) who were east into its mouth." So Darkness and Light have become composite bodies- a thing which nature does not teach. For a man never eats Light nor ever swallows Darkness.

The body has not the same nature as Darkness, nor has the soul the same nature as Light

And if this Body with which we are clothed is of the same nature as the Darkness, as they say, and this Soul which is in us is of the same nature as the Light, when we look at these two natures which are in us, and at the two (natures) of Light and Darkness which are outside of us, they are refuted (and shown) that these are not from those, neither these from those. For how can the bright Soul which is within be overcome by the Body which is akin to the Darkness? For the outer Light which is akin to it (i.e., the Soul) overcomes the Darkness. Moreover, how does this Body overwhelm the bright Soul, seeing that this outer Darkness which is akin to it is consumed and swallowed by the Light?

The Sons of Light were not used as bait to catch the Sons of Darkness

And as for these things which are obvious even to simpletons and madmen, how do they who will not distinguish between statements which are correct, and those which are self contradictory, applaud them when they hear them ? For how dost thou receive (this) into thy mind, 0 wise Hearer, and how is there a (healthy) ear... that thou shouldst hear . . when . . . and explains with explanations which are worthy of ridicule?... [for he says) that the Primal Man (?) cast (?) "the Sons of the Light into the mouths of the Sons of the Darkness as (into the mouths) of hunters, and that the Light was pleasant and agreeable and sweet to those Sons of the Darkness; and thus they were found to eat them greedily, and they were cast in and entered into their midst and were mixed with them." 0 how exceedingly ridiculous that a man . . . 0 what vile blasphemy! wolves eat lambs and lions eat calves, and the eater and the eaten are quite content with one another! And these are bodies, and these are composite things, and both of them if . . . the Sons of the Darkness are bodies because (they have) bodies as they say (but) the nature of the Sons of the Light is spiritual, as they say; for this Light, too, is akin to them, how is it fitting (that) this thing which is mingled (with the Darkness) should be held fast? And the Soul which dwells in the Body [would not be held fast] since it is akin to it . . . so that if the Soul was akin to the Darkness . . . this [perterbed] Body . . . lo, they are akin to its nature as they say [for] that Darkness . . . and as the wise ones profess...

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Darkness by the Primal [Man] who bore it, he would have died; since it is difficult . . . which (is) in its Essence and also the Parts . . . which he slew...because they teach that the Darkness has a nature . . . and goes into anything which he catches. And, therefore, if the Sons of the Light were eaten and entered into the Belly and were digested in the stomach, it must be that they were dissolved in the excrement and waste refuse. For these are plausible statements to be made by their own about their own! And, therefore, those Sons of the Light are natures which can be dissolved and destroyed. And it is proper to ask concerning this nature, as to how it existed from all eternity. For if they were compounded they are also dissolved . . . and also destroyed; they are not the thing which they were before they were destroyed; and besides this it is clear that if he collects and compounds them, has compounded them from the beginning. And if from all eternity they have not been compounded? but are natures which are not composite (they spring) from an Existence which is not composite. So that by plain things they have been refuted who speak much falsehood about secret things akin to the body, as they say, that body is found not only [unable] to eat or to destroy or to torture . . . but, also, it is unable to understand their plain things . . . as they say, [that as] the Darkness ate the Light . . . which was in it, and it was all inside the Darkness . . . how did it eternally and from the beginning both seize it and feel it . . . into its midst. . and how. . . .?

Judge judged and the tormenting Fire

But they say these things in addition to those other things, (namely), "that the Souls came to the Judge." For if that nature is one, how can part of it judge and part of it be judged? And also the Souls are part of the Essence (?), how (does there spring) from it one who torments and one who is tormented? And if, too, the fire which torments is akin to him who torments, and to those who are tormented, what ear is there which can endure this blasphemy that the judge and the judged and the tormentor are from one good Essence, as they say? And how are there in it these three opposites? For He also who judges the judged came hither in his entirety and was mixed with the Body; thus he sinned and offended just as those Souls who are from him offended. And if these Souls had stayed in their (native) Domain and had not come hither, these would have possessed it, after he had gone thither. And how are they true natures, those natures which did not preserve their Essence?

For, consider the pure and righteous Body, how it is not such as the apostates state (when they say), "that the Body is a covering which is from the evil Nature," nor is the Soul as they say, from a pure Root. For the eyes of the glorious body clothe themselves with chastity, its ears with purity, its limbs with glory, its senses with holiness, in its mouth is praise and on its tongue is thanksgiving, and in its lips is blessing, in its feet is the habit of visiting the sick, in its hands alms for the needy, in its heart is true faith, and in its . . . love (?). And that wall was built by God and [He made it to be] a pure shrine for Him, and a temple . . . for its architect when in (?) the body . . . he (i.e., Mani) says . . . that it (i.e., the Body) is from a nature so that it sins . . . it is a shame to them since it shows that the Body . . . And if they are not persuaded to secret sin, they will be persuaded by a devil. How did he (?) force...

The Soul is not neccessarily pure.

Consider again the refined Soul about which they say that its nature is from the Good (Being), it shows concerning its nature . . . the Body is . . . (a nature) which is evil. Also . . . the ' refined' Soul which they say is the Daughter of the Light puts on that Darkness in its deeds and in its conduct. . . . And if (it is) from God [how does it revile Him?] . . . and if (it is) from [the Holy One, how is it impure]...and if (it is) from . . . behold it puts on . . . and if it is from the Good (Being), how has it become a den and nest of unmixed Evil? And if all this was pleasant in the midst of Satan, how do they say that some of these Souls who sin much and do much wickedness, and blaspheme much, and are guilty of great unbelief are found like dregs in the midst of one whom they call BOLOS? [note: i.e.Greek *Diabolos*]. As they say that "when the fire dissolves all his interior, there is collected every portion of the Light which was mixed and mingled among created things, and who have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when he is tortured." And if it (i.e., the Light) is a nature which pleases him, as the beginning of their Teaching says, how is it the cause of his torment, as the end of their fabricated system says? But that that Luminous Nature should become at one time his enjoyment, and [that he should like it] and enjoy it, and that, again it should be assigned to his realm, and that he (i.e., the Daikness) should be imprisoned and tortured therein- this may happen in the cases of changeable Natures which are created out of nothing: according to the Will of the Creator they can be changed to anything.

For loose dust of the earth is the dwelling of every creeping thing, and according to its liking it crawls in it and dwells in it. But if any one by regulation associates two Natures with the Nature, that is to say, so that it may be moulded with water by the hand of the workman, and receive strength from fire, then there springs from it a vessel and a prison-house to torture . . . that creeping thing which lay in it when it was dust, and crawled in it, and was delighted when it was clay. When it becomes a vessel moulded and baked in an oven, it becomes the torturer of those that are imprisoned in it.

If, therefore, the Darkness is finally tormented by that Luminous Nature in which it takes pleasure, what was the cause of the negligence long ago (which brought it about) that the Darkness obtained dominion over all this and took pleasure therein? And what is the cause of its fierceness so that at last the Darkness is imprisoned and tormented in it? If its 'Essential nature' has this strength, then where was it formerly? But if this energy comes from another place, why did it not come formerly? So that instead of the Grave which is now built stupidly for the Darkness, an impregnable wall should have been built, and thus there would have been (a Separation) between the two Domains, (such a wall) as it would be fitting for the Good (Being) to make, and right for the Just (Being) to keep in repair, and proper for the Wise (Being) to guard. But after those atrocities which the Darkness wrought upon the Light, and after those blasphemies which the Souls blasphemed against their Father, and after they committed fornication and folly and polluted and disgraced themselves, and after great blemishes have appeared in them, so that, although their wounds may be healed, they cannot be effaced, and the places of their spots cannot be covered up, after all this Strife and Contention, and after all this misery and loss- even if there was a gain, the gain of such things would not be equal to the loss- he has planned to-day to build a Grave for the Darkness so that at last it may be imprisoned there.

And how can a Grave limit him who is infinite? For if the Darkness can be limited, then the Light also can be limited. And if the Good (Being) cannot be limited, but the Evil One can be limited, it is clear that this Evil One who can be limited is not an (eternal) Entity, the Companion of that Good (Being) who is not limited; and it is found that that which limits an (eternal) Entity, and that which is limited by whoever is able to limit him, is a creature. But if he is not a creature and is an (eternal) Entity, an Entity cannot limit an Entity without itself being also limited by that other one, his equal, which is limited.

THE END OF THE THIRD DISCOURSE.

Back to PART I

Back to EPHREM THE SYRIAN

Back to MARCIONITE RESEARCH LIBRARY

Saint Ephraem:

AGAINST MARCION I.

St. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan.

(Williams and Norgate, 1912, 1921).

Translated by C.W. Mitchell, M.A.

ANOTHER (DISCOURSE) AGAINST THE (FALSE) TEACHINGS.

To the true Scriptures of the Church all the Teachings bear witness that they are true; but as for the Scriptures belonging to the Teachings, only the Teachings bear witness concerning them, because the Scriptures of the Church do not appeal to the testimony of the Scriptures of the Teachings. Moreover to our Scriptures the Jews bear witness, for in every place. . . . For inasmuch as God knew that the Teachings were about to go forth into the world He worked great Signs beforehand . . . and the dividing of the sea and the cloud, and the Pillar and the Quails and the Manna and all the Signs and all the Wonders . . .

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...in order that they might bear witness concerning that people that it was the people of God. . . . Moreover (to?) other countries some of them were scattered formerly, and (they bear witness) today concerning the aforesaid Jews and concerning their laws, as that (passage) in which it says [Jeremiah 40.2ff], "The LORD hath brought evil upon this place", as He said.

But the Edicts which had been written by Nebuchadnezzar and by Darius were deposited among the archives of the aforesaid kingdom first of all, and then they were sent to the (various) countries. And lo! also the kings of the countries bear witness concerning the books of the Hebrews in the chronicles which belong to them, according to that which is said in Ezra, 'Learn and see that this city is a warlike city from of old,' together with that other (passage in) which he says, 'learn again and see that Darius commanded concerning this city that it should be built." [Ezra 4.15, 4.1 (paraphrased)]. Thus the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Egypt were inscribed in the archives of Aegyptus; and, again, the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Babylon were in the annals belonging to the kings of Babylon, and also (in those) belonging to the Greeks, and the Romans likewise, as well as (in) those of the aforesaid country of Jerusalem. For lo! even to this day Tablets which are even now inscribed and set up bear witness to the people of the aforesaid city that they must not venture to enter within their limits. All these witnesses which I have enumerated to thee, together with the aforesaid teachings (and) together with the Hebrews, are witnesses to our Scriptures that they are true. But to the Scriptures of the aforesaid teachings, as I have stated before, those teachings alone bear witness. And would that they all bore witness to the Scriptures of one another! For even if this were thought to be in their favour, inasmuch as their witnesses were many, yet it would be all against them that the testimony of each one of them about his fellow was a denial of his own teaching.

For how could he be veracious who proclaims Seven Gods, when another asserts after him in confirmation who proclaims only Two Gods? Or how could he who proclaims Three Gods assert (anything) in confirmation of both of them? Thus all the teachings are refuted by the Jews, because the Scriptures belonging to the Jews are truer than all the teachings. But the Jews themselves, who by means of their true Scriptures have been able to overcome many teachings, are refuted by the Church.

Therefore to the one God whom we proclaim the Jews bear witness together with the Marcionites ... Bardaisan together with Mani. For though Bardaisan said [seven Enities constitute] the world he nevertheless said concerning the Law that it was given by God. And Mani again, though he said that [He] who spoke by the Prophets exists as the result of a 'mixture,' nevertheless said concerning Him that He is in heaven. And Marcion, though he introduced a 'Stranger,' nevertheless, (while) he was crying out all the [time (?)] about the [. . .] of the 'Maker' and about His preaching and about the people that is His, yet our Scriptures that are in the hands of the Marcionites were bearing witness on [our] behalf. But the blasphemies [of] the Marcion[ites]- it is [the books of] the Marcionites only that bear witness to them.

The followers [of Marcion] therefore name our God 'the Just One': yet we see that His worshipers are afflicted in this world, and His prophets were . . . in the region of the Maker. . . but on the other hand (lit. side) we see that the unjust and the doers of evil enjoy themselves, and He is found to be good towards evil men and something different towards those who are His own. For He promises enjoyments to those who keep His commandments, and lo! afflictions surround them. And He said concerning the unjust 'Cursed art thou.' . . . And he who is blessed according to the Law runs on foot in front of him who is cursed in the Scriptures; for Elijah the prophet ran in front of Ahab the unjust, while Ahab the . . . was sitting in his chariot. Again, the prophets of Baal were fattening at Jezebel's table, and the true prophets [were] housing themselves in caves.

The followers (?) of Marcion say concerning each of these things, that is, concerning the justice of the Just One and concerning the grace of their own (God), that it did not come and bring relief to the just in this world (?). But [see that] the grace of the Maker [Lo,] is extended even over the followers of Marcion. And if they say that an Alien Force is opposed to them, who is it, on the other hand, who is opposed to Mercy? And, again, who constrained Him that His mercy should afford a covering to Philosophers and Magians and all manner of doctrines? And (as for) the babes and the seed-corn and the plants and the possessions of the followers of Marcion, who causes them to grow? And who sends down the rain for them, or who causes the sun to shine for them? Who commands the earth to bear them, and governs the sky for them? Thou seest that all the grace of our Maker is (shown) towards the followers of Marcion and moreover towards those who are ungrateful like them; but in the case of the righteous and the prophets the contrary of these things (takes place), namely humiliation and ignominy. For Jeremiah the prophet is cast into a miry pit, while Zedekiah, an unjust man, is living in luxury. Or can it then have been the case that an Alien severe One [came and was favoring] the wicked and oppressing the good?

But it was not the Stranger - who did not exist- that had already announced earthly things to the simple minded, while, on the other hand, among all of us he taught the likeness of true things by means of his faithful ones and by means of his righteous ones; by means of these two (methods he taught) two classes of persons, namely the class of the mature (?), and another (consisting) of the simple-minded. For he gladdened the simple-minded with promises of the earth, and oppressed (?) the mature by severe afflictions. But let us see to what our own affliction is like; is it like that of [the simple-minded] or that of his prophets? If we are like the prophets in our afflictions, how do the followers of Marcion say that (only) in recent times have afflictions been announced? And, again, let us ask the Jews also, that is to say, the Jews and the righteous ones who were among them, whom ought we to resemble? [The others] rather than them we ought to resemble.

Let them then look at us and at the righteous, and let them see if we are like them in our afflictions. And if we are like the righteous in our afflictions, it is also the fact that the Law is with us. For unto whom was it right that the Law of the afflicted and destitute ones should be given, to us the afflicted and destitute, or to those who even until to-day are expecting to go up to Jerusalem and are eagerly looking till now for the milk and honey? Thou seest, therefore, O Marcion, that if in the midst of all this maturity the simple-mindedness of the Jews has not been outgrown (lit. weaned), since these (qualities) still exist in them, how could numerous countries attain to maturity, seeing that one country (i.e. the country of the Jews) with all this exertion was not able to attain to maturity?

But if the associates of Marcion, whom we have left behind (in our discussion), come and agree with him and say to us, If the Creator was one and knew that Adam would sin against Him, why then did the Creator create ?-let all the sects (lit., teachings) know that they too are included in this (objection). For why did not their Gods come or prevent (it), so that he (i.e. Adam) should not be created, or so that they might set right and assist that which had been created? For why did not their Gods prevent the Maker from creating that which is not good? And if they did not prevent Him at that time, who will send (?) after them to-day? And perhaps it was for that reason that God caused Adam to dwell for nine hundred and thirty years outside the enclosure of the Tree of Life, in order that it might be seen that there was no other God who could be found to break into the enclosure, which the Just One had enclosed by means of the Cherub and the point of the sword, and to bring him (i.e. Adam) in.

For if there had been another God more compassionate than this one and stronger than our Maker, he would have broken into the enclosure -which was not then broken into- and would have brought the mortal Adam into the presence of the Tree of Life, that he might eat thereof, so that, just as in consequence of his eating of the Tree of Knowledge we all die, likewise in consequence of his eating of the Tree of Life we might all live by means of him. But if he remained for nine hundred and thirty years outside the enclosure of Paradise and did not find any other God to bring him inside the enclosure of Paradise, and afterwards (God) dissolved him and caused him to return to his dust, and no other God was found to raise him from the dust -acknowledge, O Marcion, the justice of Him who said, I am God and there is none beside Me!

But if Marcion says that the sole reason that the Stranger did not come previously was that at the last his grace might be seen, [let him know] that God had already shown a small measure of grace in connection with His justice, so that His great grace was not deemed strange when it was manifested in its time. And therefore He who showed a small measure of grace towards Adam at that time- when no strange God had shown his grace towards him- is known to be the same (God) who showed great grace at this time, (a grace) of which they say that it is the grace of the Stranger. For God had decreed this in His justice concerning Adam, (saying) that 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' For our God decreed justly and in order that He might in His love warn Adam who was existing in a good state, lest he should exist in an evil state. But when Adam did not take warning and fell from grace, Justice overtook him, according as it (had) decreed that 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' But God turned in [the way] of grace and tempered the harshness of justice, that Adam might not die that very day but that he might live nine hundred and thirty years [and] then die.

[As He gave to Adam] nine hundred and thirty years at that time on account of His compassion, (so) He has kept him alive even now in the life everlasting on account of His grace. For He gave to him in the beginning a temporal life, in order to show that. . . . For He gave to Adam in mercy- which (signifies that) He gave to him by means of our Lord -life everlasting. But if they apply the term 'strangeness' to every (?) grace, then (?) also in relation to Adam 'strangeness' was displayed. For the same (God) decreed that, 'In the day that thou eatest thou shalt die ' -and how is He found keeping him alive for nine hundred and thirty years?

About John, again, from whence . . . let the Jews therefore be asked whether John did come, or no. . . . [If he says] that John did come, from whence hast thou this, O Marcion ? Perhaps he says from the testimony to Isu...

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The Jews say that in the days of the Messenger the King's Son also comes, seeing that John also when he [heard] the report of [Isu] that he had come [asked] him, 'Hast thou then come, or look we for another? ' And he (i.e. John the Baptist) does not say, 'they look,' but 'we look,' in order to show that he and his contemporaries, in his own days and in those of his contemporaries, were looking for Him.

If therefore the Jews say that if Elijah comes the Messiah also has come, and (as) John thought concerning Isu, when He came, that He was he, was not this because he firmly believed that he was to come in his own days, even John's? On that account he thought concerning Him, when He came, that it was he, or did not even John know when the Messiah was to come ? And why then did he (i.e. John) come? If he came to smooth the way before Him, then he came to clear away stones. But if he came to call sinners to repentance and to baptize the repentant, he was sent to purge away sins by means of water.

It is evident that these were prepared as it were for the guest-chamber of Him that was to come, and it is manifest that He has come. If He dwells in pure hearts, He is therefore spiritual; but if He who was coming was not spiritual, because He was David's Son, let him (i.e. Marcion) explain to us which was the way that John (was) smoothing for Him. For in honour of kings, or kings' sons, ways are leveled and stones cleared away before them. But before (the coming of) this One he said that minds should be purified. What is probable? That David's Son . . . not to David himself ? Or can it be that David also, in the days of his sovereignty, was dwelling in minds and not in palaces? And if David was dwelling in palaces, and also David's son is to dwell in palaces, what (was) John preparing for him? minds instead of palaces? Or can it be that John smoothed ways and prepared palaces, though he was not even dwelling in the cultivated land?

But nevertheless, although John was the Messenger of the kingdom, he did not go straight to the capital of the kingdom. Why did he leave the cultivated land and go out to the desert? Or can it be that he who sent him came into the desert and that on that account he who was sent also was preaching in the desert? But if they drove him out, did they not treat him rightly? For what did they see in him that was likely to make them believe that he was the Messenger of Him who was coming? Perhaps (they were convinced by) the fact that he was imprisoned, or that he was removed, or that the girl played with his skull! But perhaps thou wilt say that they did these things to John by the power of Herod. And if he is the Messenger of that Messiah to all nations, was he really not greater than Herod even there? Or can it be that even the general of Herod was greater than the King of the nations? . . . But if thou sayest that these men, on account of their subjection, were more submissive than . . , whereas Herod was not subjected and submissive but he subjected...

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For if in truth he was His herald... a Messenger for the King. Can it be that he who is coming is really persecuted like his Messenger? . . Or is he really killed like him ? But if at his coming [they did] not [recognize him, how does he] resemble him (i.e. John)?

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For even if he were not 'in his days,' but, yet were really like him in every respect, this would suffice, even by itself, to refute them (by showing) that he cannot be 'strange' to one whom he resembled in every respect. And if this one point would suffice to refute them, how much more credible will it be that he is not 'strange' to this man (?) also who happened to be in his day, seeing that at the mouth of two witness every word is established!

But if thou sayest that therefore not (only) John is like ISU, but also Elijah and Jeremiah, who preceded him, thou sayest well. But are these whom thou citest like him or not? If they are like him, lo! it is against thee that thou canst not turn round (?) and say that by chance, as it were, John only happened to be like him. But lo! thou saidst that there are many men of former times who are like John, and these are all like Isu, so that now we have found that humility existed before ISU. And if humility existed before him, what is that one new thing which he brought with him (and) which was not in those three (i.e. John, Elijah, and Jeremiah) and in their other associates who were like them?

Why forsooth do they say that there was no fasting (in the world), seeing that when all the scattered groups (lit. fragments) of the followers of Marcion are gathered together they cannot keep the fast of Ezekiel, nor have they (ever) prayed, nor do they (now) pray, a prayer like that of the friends of Daniel? If they say, 'We are praying the whole day,' let us see whether their prayer is accepted. But perhaps they will say, .' (It is,) for how do you know that it is not accepted?' I say, 'From the fact that He does not do for them here (?) anything at all.' And if they say that He does (something) for them, let them show (it) us, and we will accept (it)! For Daniel used to pray three times a day and by means of his prayer he interpreted dreams and brought back the People from Babylon, and angels used to come to him at the time of his prayer. But the Marcionites, because they pray more than Daniel, as they say, will not accomplish more than he, nor even as much as he, but less than he. But since they pray more than the righteous, as they say, and yet are not answered even as much as sinners (are answered), it is clear that, because they pray to one who does not exist, on that account they are not heard or answered when they pray. But if we pray concerning great and heavenly things...these are additions. . . What is the new (kind of) prayer which he brought with him?

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Perhaps thou wilt say that these things were not announced in the Old (Testament), for in the New (Testament)....

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by means of the prophet, and speaks thus that he should give again his cheek to him who smites...

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...to the prophets he sent it and also to Isu. And if Isu did not send the prophets and the Maker did not send Isu, then from these same sufferings of the prophets Isu [took an example] that he might adorn himself with them in the midst of the world when he came ; because he saw that these very (qualities) were pleasing (lit., chosen) and agreeable to one who loves, he invested himself with them and made use of them, so that he might attract the inhabitants of our world by the humility which was pleasing to them. And if he attracts us by something that is pleasing to us, how can that which is pleasing to us be strange to our nature? For even if they had not been in the prophets, but are greatly pleasing to our nature (it would equally follow). Or do they say that he changed our nature and (the nature) of the former prophets ? who changed their nature ? Was it Isu ? Wilt thou not then tell us that he was in the world ? And if he was in the world, then the world was in him and if the world was in him, he is the Creator's Son, as the Scriptures say, and he is not the Stranger's Son, as the followers of Marcion erroneously assert. But if he was not in the world, who previously sowed in our world the pleasing qualities of Isu ?

Did then the Maker really know that by means of these he (i.e. Isu) was destined to lead created beings astray, and did he give them to us beforehand, in order that we might not go astray after Isu when he came? And where is that (passage which says) that 'there is none that knoweth the Father save the Son '? And again, that which says that 'none of the princes of the world know him'? And if it be that because the Maker did know He announced them to us beforehand, did He not thereby really lead us astray so that we should think concerning Isu that he was from Him, when he announced these very things which He also had announced to us? But let us suppose that these things belong to ISU; can it be that he actually changed the prophets, and that they were then able to fulfil these commandments? And if he actually changed the prophets, how can he announce to us that we should accomplish them, when he has not yet changed our nature? In virtue of the fact that he incites us by 'Blessed are the humble in their spirit,' will he really change our nature? And if five hundred Beatitudes do not change our nature, if he utters (lit. gives) them we are not able to fulfil in this nature that which we are not able to fulfil in this nature without a change. Or is it because he cannot that he does not change it? Or because he does not wish ? If he cannot, how was he able to change the nature of the former ones? And if, though he was able, he really did not wish, how did he consent to change (that) of the former ones? And if he did not wish to change (them), why will he change us by means of laws which are strange to our nature? But if the laws are akin to our nature, and our nature to the laws, where is that 'Strangeness' of the Stranger? ...

That thou mayest know that these others also [agree] with these former ones which I have enumerated to thee [I will cite] the words of David, when he says, 'My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh is wasted for want of ointment,' and Job says ' Sackcloth have I girded on my skin, and I have 1sprinkled my head with dust.' And again David says, 'I have made sackcloth my raiment.' Who therefore remains to the Stranger?

. . . of those thing a which Isu commanded there is found in our Scriptures; so that if he preached mercy, it is found in David... mercy is more (?)pleasing to Him than fasting from bread (?), for he says, 'This is not the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord, that thou shouldst bend thy neck like a rush and spread out sackcloth and ashes for thyself, but this is the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord, that thou shouldst loose the bonds of iniquity, and give thy bread to the hungry, and bring the alien into thine house.' And, again, if fasting is pleasing to the Stranger, lo, Elijah and Elishah and the sons of the prophets (are examples thereof), and lo, John, who fasted in his own days (i.e. in the days of the Stranger)! If then these (persons) are pleasing (to the Just God], as also they are indeed pleasing to Him, why does He torment His friends here? Either there is something compassionate [in Him and gracious] to these who are here tormented; or if there is nothing [He is] very wicked, and they are wronged [by Him) on whose account they are here tormented! And how [is manifested] the Justice of the Just One?

[See] also, O Marcion, that [these] two Gods, namely the Maker and the Stranger, are both of them angry at the same thing, and take pleasure in the same thing, and are gratified by the same thing. For the Maker is angry at hateful things, and the Good (God) also is angry at hateful things~if it be right to admit that the Good (God) is angry with those who have committed no offence whatever against Him. And so also both of them are gratified by good things, for . . . it is evident that they are both angry at adultery and theft and other hateful things, and that they are both gratified by sackcloth and fasting and prayer. For what has happened to these two Gods that they should have one will? Is it not clear that either there is (only) One God, or that they are both One, for as one they both will with one will?

And that thou mightest know that this is so, the Maker sanctified Moses and sent him to Egypt, and since Moses wished to take his wife with him by force, He (i.e. the Maker) constrained him by means of an angel to send her back, that He might show how pleasing holiness is to Him. And the Stranger also acted likewise towards Simon (Peter), although he did not compel him; and (the fact) that he did not compel him, was it because it did not [become] Him to compel, not only because He is good but also because He is not our Creator? And again, when the People had been sanctified, He did not allow them to approach the holy mountain because they were turning again to married life; but the People were standing at a distance, and Moses the holy was speaking, and God was answering with a voice. And again, the disciples also were standing in silence, and Simon only was speaking. And perhaps thou wilt say, Was there not among them John, a virgin, and were not all his companions holy ? (But I reply, Nay-) for here (i.e. at Sinai) also were not the People holy in relation to the Maker? And Joshua was a virgin, and he (i.e. Moses) was brought in with Joshua only. Lo! here also it is found that Isu resembles the Maker; for the Maker sanctified the chief of His prophets, and Isu sanctified the chief of His apostles.

But if on account of the holiness which He preached, you think concerning Him that He is a Stranger, then (are we to suppose that) Elijah was caught up to the heavens of the Stranger? For He would not have taken up and made to ascend to His heavens one who by his holiness wished to be the opponent of the Creator, who wished that by means of marriage the creation should be fruitful and multiply. For by the case of Elijah, so to speak, all the creation of the Creator has been made void. But how could Elijah have been received (into the heavens) on account of that one thing . . For the priest was not allowed to enter the Tabernacle unless he was sanctified in his body. . . . But if that single [virgin] of the Maker had preceded those many [virgins] of the Stranger,it would be right that that Maker who had preceded (the Stranger) should be called . . . since there is no other who was before him, so as to enable us to say that he (i.e. the former) was the cause of him (i.e. of the latter), and that this one imitated him, since he was the latter and imitated the Maker. How is he the Stranger?

Since therefore we have found that the prophets are like to one another in humility, and John to all of them, and all of them to Isu, how then can the Stranger, who resembles them all, be strange to them all ? Or can it be that they give the name of 'Strangeness' to that which is similar ? Well, then, the prophets also, who resemble one another, are 'strange' to one another! And if thou sayest that thou wilt not compare creatures to God-for 'how (?) can creatures who have been humbled resemble a God who has been humbled? --(I ask) then, is it because Isu was humbled whereas the Maker was not humbled that strangeness arises ? Well, then, according to thy reasoning, because the Father of Isu is not humbled together with Isu who was humbled, the Stranger also, who was not humbled, is strange to His son who was humbled. And if the Stranger who was not humbled is not strange to His son who was humbled, then it is not because one was humbled and the other was not humbled that the Strangeness arises but because Strangeness consists in Strangeness to the nature (of some one). But if Isu

who was humbled resembles the Stranger who was not humbled, how much more will Isu who was humbled resemble the Maker who was humbled! For in what consists the fact that Isu was humbled ? Is it not in this that he was manifested to men and taught them to do what is good? If this is not also (found) in the case of the Maker, they (i.e. the Marcionites) speak truly. And if not even this was lacking to Him, why do they utter blasphemy by means of the Strangeness which they introduce ? Did He not enter into the abode of Abraham and eat? And if it was right that we should say that He ate and that He was manifested to Moses and to Elijah and to Isaiah and to Daniel and the rest of the prophets-and that thou mightest not say that He was manifested only to righteous men, whereas the Stranger (was manifested) to sinners---lo, He was manifested to the whole people without exception!

And if thou sayest that they were righteous, (I answer) Lo, on account of their iniquity they all fell in the wilderness and1 except in the case of two, they did not enter into the land of promise. We have thus compared Isu with the Maker, and it has been seen that the Maker was antecedent to Isu in humiliation. And if thou sayest that Isu was actually crucified, thou sayest that it seemed so (?), and not the truth. And if thou addest that He also went down to Sheol and ascended, thou sayest (it) without believing (it). For thou dost not confess the [coming to life of] the body. But inasmuch as (?) it is true that He was actually manifested, the Maker anticipated Him in manifestation. How therefore canst thou liken Isu to that Stranger, who is strange to Him in every respect And (why) dost thou wish, on the other hand, to account Him strange to the Maker when He resembles Him in every respect?

But if Marcion still persists in cavilling, let him be asked again as to whether he believes the word of the Stranger or not. If he believes it, what did He (i.e. the Stranger) testify concerning John ? That John forsooth was a liar, or a true man? Did He say concerning him that he was in error, or that he was an enlightener of such as are in error? If then John is a true man, and not a reed shaken by every wind,: why [therefore] is he shaken and does he think about Jesus that he [was] the Messiah of the law. And if [John knew] the word of Isu to be 'No', then Isu really lied in that he said concerning John that he (i.e. John) did send to him. But if in truth John was shaken and sent to Isu, the word of Isu was also a lie, when he testified concerning John that he was not a reed shaken by every wind.

Thus both of these assertions cannot stand. For either he was shaken, or he was not shaken. If he was shaken he was a reed, and why did he (i.e. Isu) say that he was not a reed ? And if he was not a reed, then he was not shaken. And can it be that he wrote (a letter) and dispatched it to him, and sent to him (saying), Art thou He that cometh?' But it is wonderful to hear that John believes in David's Son, and yet Isu bears witness in saying concerning him that he was not a reed and he has been found to be going astray after the Stranger, though the Messiah who is (mentioned) in the Law is strange to him (i.e. to the Stranger) in every respect. And were it not for the testimony of Isu, who said that he was not a reed, it would have been possible to say that because John was humble and happened (to live) in the days of Isu who preached humility, by reason of' his humility which resembled his (i.e. the humility of Isu) he ahandoned the exalted Son of David and loved the humble Isu; but that (passage) which says that he was not a reed does not permit us to hold this opinion concerning John.

But as for this John, who erred [in thinking that it was necessary] that he should send to Him, did he really know the time, or did he send to Him though he knew that it was not He? And what then compelled him to send to Him ? If (it was) that his disciples might learn from Isu . . .

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And if thou sayest that because He is kind He did not wish to [injure] John, then because He is kind will He not [condemn] the heathen and the [wicked] and [will] He bear witness to all the [false] teachings that they are true? . . . and, what is greater than all things which (consist) of dust and ashes (?), He caused them to attain to all this discernment; if He secretly punishes them for their grievous sins, He becomes an evil Being (?).

And if they say that the sole reason that Isu said concerning John "Blessed is he, if he is not offended in me" was in order that he might show that he did not communicate (lit. deliver over) to him that other (utterance) which he said concerning him, that he was not the reed -- why did he say it? But if the sole reason of his saying it was in order to show that John was true in his teaching, then he did not send to Isu, and Isu himself made him (i.e. the Evangelist) a liar who recorded that John sent to him, when (in reality) John did not send to him. And if what he said is true, namely that he sent to him, then is not John true? And if Isu had wished to send to him (saying) 'I am He,' would he not have been going astray after him? But he said 'Blessed is he if he is not offended in me.' Whom then do they call a stumbling-block ? Is it not he who turned back from (being) with him ? John therefore was one who believed in Isu, and on that account Isu sent (saying) 'Blessed is he if he remains stead-fast and is not offended in me.' Or can it be that by means of the beatitude he actually wished to deceive John? And was John deceived or not? If he was not deceived, then the bribe of the Stranger was lost.

And did not the Stranger know that his bribe would not be accepted by John? And if he knew, why did he allow his bribe to be lost, that is to say, the bribe of that praise of his?

But concerning Moses and Elijah who were found on the mountain in company with Isu, what do they (i.e. the Marcionites) say that they were doing in his presence? But they say that they were guardians there. And what, pray, were they guarding, since there was nothing on the mountain? And if there had been anything on it, the Maker would have had the Cherub and the point of the sword with which to surround the mountain? And if because Isu was a stranger to Him (i.e. to the Maker) they were guarding the mountain for Him, then, as between the mountain and the sanctuary, which of them was greater? to the Maker, that He should cease to guard His city and His sanctuary and send them (i.e. Moses and Elijah) to guard. mountain in which there was nothing? If He did not set forth some symbol there for us, let them tell us what such persons as Moses and Elijah were doing there. And if they say, 'You are asking us concerning your own (affairs) also,' then leave that (question) of ours as to what they were doing, and tell us (?) your own (opinion), namely on what account Isu went up thither. Was it in order to fight that he went up thither? . . . did he make war against the Maker or . . .?

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These [two, why] were they sent ? For the Maker had myriads of angels, if to make war [He desired] . . . Or were they with him to say to him (i.e. to Isu): "If thou art really buying, in order to buy mankind, what is the price of mankind? And if thou art taking mankind, why didst thou beforehand take the Twelve and the Seventy-two from the [flock] of another? . . . Or can it be that thou art taking mankind hence ? And art thou not, lo, he that said that before the foundation of the world thou knewest them ? Why then didst thou not take them before, when as yet [thou didst not intend to buy?]" . . . if again they returned and said to Him "[As for] mankind, because thou art about to buy them, if thou didst take them beforehand, nothing hinders (?): this mountain that thou hast gone up and why ? --was this mountain also really required for thee ? And if it is required for thee, give the price of it, seeing thou hast gone up; and if it is not intended by thee to buy the mountain, get down off it; why wilt thou stir up enmity for thyself with the Maker about nothing? But the price of mankind will not be found by thee to give to the Maker, for He has given no pledge. If such words were put forward (lit. were in the midst), and things similar to them, [then] it was for

war that they had come to him. But if Isu came to (wage) war, he was not a good Being, for he did not purchase . . it would not be right for a good Being to injure, much less those whom he had not yet even purchased !

And were it not that our Maker is good and there is no end to his kindness, He would surely not have trusted the Stranger so as to give him men to accompany him, when as yet he had not paid their price to Him. Or was there, forsooth, a bargain? And did Isu say to the Maker, 'Give me men, and I will not depart from Thy house, that is, Thy creation, until I pay Thee their price' ? And did not the Maker learn from the descent of Isu that he was also to ascend, so that as there was no one who perceived him when he came down, in like manner he would remove those whom he wished to purchase and carry (them) off without any one perceiving him? But perhaps the Maker said to him these very things, and Isu returned answer to Him and said to Him, 'If I carry (them) off, as Thou thinkest, in virtue of that which I did when coming down, those souls which I am purchasing from Thee, how can I take them up without Thy consent?

And that we may not explore too far into the perverse tale of Marcion, this pact that Moses, etc., agreed on with the Stranger in the mountain,--the glory moreover, which He shewed them in the mountain, for what purpose (was it shewn)? Can it be (that it was done) in order that He might shew them that what He gave was greater than what He received? Then also Moses, etc., sold themselves to Him there, on account of that surpassing glory which they saw. And perhaps Isu too showed them that glory on the mountain in order to incite Moses, etc., so that because Moses and Elijah were accustomed to that surpassing vision of the Maker Isu showed them that (his glory) surpassed that of the Maker, in order that they might desire it eagerly on account of its surpassing character. Well, then, in short, they made a bargain with him, because they had loved him.

And if thou sayest that neither for a sale nor for a bargain had Moses, etc., come to Him, then why had they come to Him ? Can it be that they had come to fight? And very likely it is that men would come to fight against God! And which of them is it who strikes (the blow), or which is it who is struck ? Or did he on this account take his Apostles with him and cause them to ascend (the mountain), in order that they might wage war with the Prophets ? And which of thc sides conquered there or lost? But that battle, what was it for'? Can it have been on account of the love of their Gods ? And why would not those Gods themselves contend for the love of mankind? For if the Gods are at peace, why do they contend about mankind? . . .

For if created things are from One, unadvisedly did Isu interpose, . . . If they say that in truth the Stranger went up to heaven, see how much the Maker despised him and against his disciples and against him [who said], 'This is my Son and my Beloved," [for] He had sent only two against them. But [if] they say, 'If . . . is it not clear that because he was very strong on that account he did not overcome [him? How] could two men [overcome] three ? [Were they just] two men and not [both] alive, but one alive and one dead--to fight [a God] ! Was the Maker then really afraid to come, and on that account indeed did not come? So that if He had come, He would have been killed!' Or can then a Divine Nature suffer pain, either the Maker's or the Stranger's ? And if they did not suffer, why did the Maker not come against him! Or can it he that He really knew that Moses, etc., would be sufficient to meet the attack of the Stranger, and therefore He did not come? For lo, even the Stranger did not contend with them, and it is clear that he really perceived that they were stronger than he, and on that account he remained quiet (and refrained) from engaging in battle. And as to his preparing battle with the Maker, if [his desires hankered] after men, why was he [Lo,] unable to create this?

And if to create men he was too weak, how much more was he too weak to wage war against God! Again, the Stranger who proclaimed there, This is my Son and my Beloved, whom did He wish to cause to hear (it)? Can it be that He was calling to Moses, etc., that He might make them His disciples? Or that He might warn them not to say anything to him (i.e. to Isu)? And from which heavens did He call? Was it from the heaven of the Maker? And why did He descend to it ? If, as it were, on account of the aforesaid Maker the Stranger descended to it, then He did not snatch away men only but also the heaven. Or can it be that the Stranger purchased the angels who were in the heaven together with the heaven? But if those who were above were not purchased by Him, why did He pass through their abodes? But if (the voice) came that it might be a witness to the Son, who had no witness on earth, lo! seeing that the voice came from the heaven of the Maker, who is to tell us that he is not the Son of the Maker, in a case where the voice which came was coming from the heaven of the Maker, especially when the mountain was the mountain of the Maker, and the cloud of Moses, etc., belonged to the Maker, and the prophets likewise who were on the mountain (were the prophets) of the Maker?

For if the voice had come from the heaven of the Stranger perhaps it would have been reasonable for us to think that in order that mankind might not be mistaken, owing to the mountain and the cloud and Moses, etc.,on that account the voice was coming to them from the heaven of the Stranger, so as to overthrow the opinion which they had concerning Isu. But if even the voice which came was from the heaven of the Maker, it did not by any means disown him (by asserting) that he was not the Son of the Maker, but it actually confirmed it that he is the Son of the Maker, and the servants of his Father's house, who had come to do him honour) were witnesses (thereto).

For if there had been a battle, the Maker would not have remained silent, He who even when there was another God did not refrain from (saying) I am God and there is none beside.' And if when there were idols, whose nature showed (he. answered) that they were not gods, He was proclaiming 'I am He and there is none beside,' (can we suppose that) in a case when a God was warring against a God the Creator went into a hiding-place, that the creation might go astray after the Stranger? For if in connection with idols He had been silent, (yet) here it would be right for Him to cry out. How much more when He was not silent even towards dead idols ! But seeing that the questions relating to a war have, as in a (real) war, overcome and silenced the question of purchase, now that the tale about a war has come to an end, let us turn to the question of purchase. Explain to us then, What is the purchase which the Stranger made, and from whom did He purchase it? And, moreover, by means of what did He purchase it? And that thing by means of which he purchased that which He purchased, of what nature was it Was that which He gave of the nature of the aforesaid Good Being, or did He really create (something) and give (it) ? And was not that which the Stranger created fairer than that which the Maker created for Himself? And if that which He (i.e. the Stranger) created for Himself was fairer, why did He sell unadvisedly and become a laughing-stock? And if that which He gave was something smaller, the weakness of the Stranger was seen in His creative action. And how was the wise Just Being persuaded to give to the Stranger something great in return for something small? . . Was it . . bodies that are from HULE [="matter"] that he bought, or souls? And if it was souls,

then why. [did he not buy] the bodies? . . . they say that because the souls had been polluted (lit.. had become turbid) He came to purify them. But if those souls were not polluted, then did not the Stranger who purchased them make a mistake about them? And even if the souls were polluted, on which account he came to buy them, [was he not alien to their nature?]

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And if they should say that 'He purifies the nature of the Souls' . . because 'a fire is kindled in mine anger and it will burn unto the lowest Sheol.' . If He is a nature from whom fire is kindled and it then consumes Him in His turn, (in the case of) everything else which is found to belong to that nature fire will therefore be kindled from it and will then consume it in its turn. For if thou bringest some of the water of the sea into a royal city bitterness is (still) in it. And so too the souls which (come) from the Maker are polluted as the source (lit. root) from which those souls came is polluted. For it is unlikely that they will say that the fruits are changed when the root of the fruits is not changed. And if they say that that root also is changed, then how did He (i.e. the Stranger) not exert Himself in the case of the root as in the case of the fruits, that the perfect goodness of the Stranger might be proclaimed? But the Apostle says, 'Eve shall live on account of her children then the Maker will have lived on account of the souls which (came) from Him. Or did the Maker not wish to live thus? And how did the souls which (came) from Him consent to live ? But if the nature of the souls is the same, their will also is the same. And if their will is different, their nature also is strange, and they are not from the Maker.

And let them tell us whence are those souls; for it is probable that they are not from the Maker. For He would not sell them (if they were really His), because He would not hate His own nature and love a nature which was not His own. And if He was selling His nature for something which was not akin to His nature, there is a great kinship between Him and the Stranger, for Lo! one affection is found in both of them; and moreover one will belongs to both of them, namely that the Just One should love the nature of the Stranger and sell some of His possessions to Him, and that the Stranger should love the nature of the Just One and, purchase from Him. And it will also be (considered) that that nature of the Just One, which is bought as being something precious, surpasses (the other) ; for if the nature of the Just One were not more excellent than that of the Stranger, the Stranger would not have actually purchased it. But what did the Stranger give to those whom He purchased? And if He gave them a kingdom, can it be that He gave them one greater than that of Elijah and Enoch?

And why then did He not bring with Him some of His good things hither also? Or (was it) because our domain is not worthy of them, (and) did He on that account not even introduce them into our domain? In that case they are greater than the aforesaid Isu, inasmuch as our domain is worthy of Isu and unworthy of His (i.e. the Stranger's) good things. And if (it was) in order that they might not be defiled, then he (i.e. Isu) was defiled when he entered our domain...

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END OF DISCOURSE AGAINST THE (FALSE) TEACHINGS

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Saint Ephraem:

AGAINST MARCION II.

St. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan.

(Williams and Norgate, 1912, 1921).

Translated by C.W. Mitchell, M.A.

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. . .about which Zechariah says, 'Lo! thy King cometh unto thee,' in order to show us (?) that he is a king. And that other (passage) which Daniel uttered, 'One like a son of men came, and to him He gave the kingdom.' And one (coming) was in humility, as all the Prophets bear witness about [it], and the other in [exalt]ation, as the Scriptures bear witness

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But just as, 0 Marcion, when David [mentioned] the Messiah who is (foretold) in the Law, our Lord proved from David that he (i.e. the Messiah) is not David's son--and the matter remained in doubt among the Scribes--in like manner, when John recognised our Lord. ...

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And when [he] explained that he is David's son that cometh, how being David's son is he the Lord of David, seeing that David testifies and our Lord confirms?

As Malachi testifies concerning John, 'Behold I send my messenger before thee,' and our Lord confirms it that John was Elijah, give me evidence from the other Scriptures that John is [the messenger] of whom Malachi spake.

Therefore according to the testimony of David and the confirmation of [our Lord], David's son, concerning this son of David [and] about this Lord of [David], are there then two Messiahs or two natures ? For [if in some respects he is the son of David] and in some respects the lord of David, is it not [clear that the two natures come together and] are mingled as one, and in relation to the manhood (he is) the Messiah and in relation to the Godhead [he is lord]. For why was a body required for God ?

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. . .so that if ye believe and do not doubt and "if there is in you belief," is it false belief, like (the belief) of that blind man or the belief of strangeness?

Because John was near to die, he sent his flock by the hand of two under-shepherds to the Lord of the flock: our Lord began to teach concerning him--' Did ye go out to see a great man on account of his raiment?'" This man, the meek and humble, and, if not, a trembling reed shaken by every wind, does he not thus go astray (a little), and is bent and beaten about by all manner of reports? Because he knew whose coming he announced (lit. before whom he announced), for the witness of the truth and the herald of the kingdom of the Lord of the kingdom is taught by the truth. If our Lord Isu, therefore, bore witness to John that he was meek, let us learn from this humility which of the Messiahs the humble herald resembles (lit. approaches), that Messiah (who is) the source of humility, or that one at whose side thousands fall. For it is necessary that the herald of the dispensation (lit. time) should be himself similar to the dispensation. But Malachi says, The messenger of the covenant, Lo! he cometh, and who endureth the day in which he cometh?' But if the herald is humble and meek, and he who is heralded is set on high and exalted, lo, in this also there is strangeness!

But (as for) our Lord who says, 'John is greater than all who are born of women,' not because he saw the greatness of the herald, as ye say, that it was great and splendid like that of him who was heralded, (it was not) on account of this that He said (it). Either give us the splendour of John which was eminently great as (befitted) that of the herald who (went) before the Pre-eminent One, or explain to us why our Lord called him great. For even as all the prophets were 'just,' like Him who sent them, so also this man, His herald, is like Him who is heralded. For if the greatness of him who is heralded is not shown in the announcement concerning him, who will believe that he is a great one? And if He performed signs, read (of them), and if He worked miracles, declare (them). For (with regard to) those messengers whom our Lord sends at the last and that token which appears before that terrible coming, is the sign thereof terrible and glorious like the thing itself, or can it be that it is alien to Him in His lowliness ?

But it was not Moses or one of the prophets who said concerning John "He is greater than all who are born of women." What is there about him that magnifies John? But can it be that the bonds of Herod magnify him, or that the head-asking of the daughter of Herodias exalts him, or that the executioner confirms for him (the application of) that (passage), 'Who can endure the day in which he cometh ?' A herald who was humbled and slain came before Him who comes on the clouds to destroy the slayers, and a lowly messenger who did not stand up for himself was sent before the King before whom no created beings can stand!

And he with whose head the girl played, who will believe that he was the apostle of that Stone which will cause all falsehood to pass away ? ... and let us bring forward the aspects of the two Messiahs, and let us look at the aspect of John and see which Messiah he resembles--that Stranger [in whose] days he came beforehand, or this (Messiah) who is in the Law, of whom as yet not even a rumour had been heard; for even from . . and proximity (?) it was possible to learn their true nature. Set therefore the two Messiahs over against one another, and set John between (them); with whom then does the slain herald agree, with the slayer or with the slain one? Whom does the meek and [despised] one resemble? Him who was humbled or the shatterer of all . . . ?

And if it was because John announced the coming of that Messiah (lit. announced before that Messiah) that he became great, it is still the same thing for he caused us to ascribe the majesty of that King to the herald and the messenger who preceded Him, as is also the custom of kings and their messengers. Or can it be that the majesty of him who was to come consisted in humility? For lo! [the majesty] of humility was also upon His herald, together with the rest (of His qualities). But because John was the messenger of the kingdom he was also wholly forgotten by them (?). When he comes, that Just One and the greater of the [two] Messiahs, does a herald or a messenger go before him? Or [will it be sudden], that terrible coming of His, and does no messenger and herald come before it? But if another herald does come before it, . . he is greater than John. For that majesty which was ascribed to John bears witness concerning this (Being) that He is greater than John. And is that messenger who comes before that subjugator of the nations thus subjected and humbled and persecuted as John was? If thus is his coming (?), the contest is ours, for if the messenger is thus humbled and scorned, how does the lowly announce the coming of the Mighty One, and the scorned (announce) the coming of the Exalted One? Who will believe that he is the Messenger of the Saviour in a case where he cannot stand up for himself, or does not show terrible signs and does not cast fear and trembling upon mankind? But if the messenger who comes is great and mighty, how necessary is it that He too should be great! For (He is) like the Sun, and the herald also is a ray that precedes Him. If therefore it is so--as indeed it is John, the humbled and lowly, announced the coming of Isu, who differs, by reason of his lowliness, from that high exalted King who is coming; and he is alien, by reason of his abasement, to that mighty messenger who is sent before the face of that Mighty One. But does the Messiah come to save Israel or to torment it ? If he comes to save it, his messenger therefore convicts of sins or preaches salvation. But if he is one who convicts, when they repent then they are saved. And if they do not wish to repent, does he preach to them ease or salvation? But if he preaches destruction to them, all those things which Israel expects are annulled. And if he preaches salvation to them, by his character of Saviour he offers them a foretaste of the great salvations which come after him, as Moses did in Egypt.

Let us see therefore what foretaste of salvation John offered to them; and, in the second place, lo, the Jews acknowledge all (manner of) prophets and righteous men, and this man, who is greater than all of them, they not only slew but do not even acknowledge! When therefore the Just and Upright One comes, whom this persecuted and slain one announced beforehand, will He avenge his ill-treatment and murder and the refusal to acknowledge him upon all the tribes of the Jews, who unto the last continually refuse to acknowledge him, or will He not?

If He does not avenge (him), where is the Just One who delivered even the observer of the Law (and) avenged him on the Gentiles? This man, who is greater than all the Prophets, He does not avenge! And if He executes vengeance on all these Tribes, who disbelieve in John and continue to do so, then He who comes is the destroyer of the Jews and not their Saviour. For those who slew His messenger slew Him Himself, and those who deny His herald are not able to acknowledge Him.

But if when all these sins are openly committed (lit. are in the midst) they are not punished, why was it necessary that John should come to baptize and absolve from transgressions, seeing that not one of the transgressions is punished?

But there is no one who is kinder than He who forgives all these transgressions; and how is it that this justice shows neglect, (this justice) which in no case neglected to punish? Has that grace which comes to Israel at the last compelled us to say that it is alien to that justice which wrote for Israel -- blow for blow'? But if sins are punished, that baptism which remits sins is necessary at the last; for lo, the baptism of John ceased (to exist) among the Jews thenceforward. Who therefore can bring it (back) and who can baptize, now that John is dead ?

And if it (i.e. baptism) is not necessary at the last, why was it formerly necessary ? Is it withheld by Grace or by Justice ?

But (thou wilt say), 'Lo, these very things by means of which thou judgest me, (by asking) why they are not found in connection with John, are the things by means of which thou too art judged as to why they are not found in connection with John. For lo, the prophet testifies and our Lord confirms that those things which are said concerning Elijah are fulfilled in him (i.e. in John).' But I say that the herald is like Him who is heralded, that as about Him terrible things are written and as if in this world He is doing them, but it is at the last He is ready to do them. But the roots (i.e. causes) of retribution, since they come from this quarter, prophecy takes up, in order to pluck the fruits from their roots, according to that (passage), 'Lo, the kingdom of God among you !' ---And they did not (then) see those good things and the pleasures of thc Kingdom, but because He is the root of the aforesaid pleasures He says 'Lo, the Kingdom!'

Because those words which John proclaimed [give an earnest of what is to comej he called things of Yonder things of Here, just as in the case of a murderer who is slain after twenty years, the hour in which he committed the murder has slain him, as (it befell) Adam.

And if thou sayest that they likewise teach that there is a proof (?) respecting these associates (I), then also the Messiah who is (mentioned) in the Law has two comings, one in which he deposited pledges, and another in which he redeems pledges. For from the actions of John I demonstrate (that he has) two comings, one to which the actions (?) of John bear witness that it was not a Lowly One who came to announce the advent of the Exalted One, and another (coming) promised by (lit. the promises of) Malachi in the passage "He cometh as a fiery furnace," that is to say, on account of the retribution which was hidden in the preaching of John, (the retribution) which is revealed at the last, as he said also concerning his Lord,

"Thousands shall fall at thy side' and "Peace at the last," and as that (passage says), 'The Lord God shall give him the throne of David his father.'

Now the Baptism at the hands of John was so alien that not even the angels and righteous men and prophets were aware of it; let that Strangeness, therefore, of which no one was aware, appear in the days of this Strangeness of Isu, of whom no one had been informed; but it was right that the Strangeness of our Lord should be bound together with the Strangeness of John by the conduct of our Lord, as John also was with the Law: Old Testament and New Testament (meet) in the new Baptism of John.

But nevertheless if our Lord was David's Son, as all the prophets bear witness, and if He was not David's Son, as David too testifies and our Lord also confirms, on your account then it was said that He is not David's Son, so that this very Strange-ness to which ye have recourse might be found within the Scriptures, in order that your error might be hampered from running (abroad) throughout the world.

END OF DISCOURSE AGAINST MARCION.

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Saint Ephraem:

AGAINST MARCION III.

St. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan.

(Williams and Norgate, 1912, 1921).

Translated by C.W. Mitchell, M.A.

ANOTHER DISCOURSE AGAINST MARCION.

IF the organs of the body suffice for the gifts of the Good (God), O Marcion, that is to say, the eye for His light, and the ear for His voice, why then does the body not live at the last? But if the body does not suffice for these good things at the last, no[thing] else in this world suffices for them. Therefore neither is the heart sufficient for knowledge of the Stranger, nor hearing for the study (lit. reading) of Him. Moreover, as to the fact that the souls do not sin in the Kingdom, is it because of their nature, which is good, that they do not sin? And how then did the evil body change the good nature? But if the Stranger changes them there, though they are evil, what sin did the body commit so as to be deprived of this desirable change ? But if the souls are good there, is it because they enter that region that they are good, or are they good from the point where they stripped off their bodies? If this desirable state be due to the place, let the body also enter into it, and likewise all men [in whom] are sins....

[And as] Fire is not [separa]ted from Heat, so Evil is not constituted apart from its power. But how and wherefore does that which is hot retain its natural heat, when that which is cold did not remain in its natural state ? If therefore it is an Existence and an Entity, they are [not] changed in nature. But if that creative power has made out of nothing something good, it [can] be changed in character. For this ye have learnt, (namely) that they are created from nothing, because a thing which is created from nothing can be changed into anything. And if it is not created, it is always 'bound' by its essential nature; for (in the case of) a thing which can be changed into anything, its change bears witness concerning it that it [does not come] from an unchangeable existence.

But if it is possible for the Souls to strip off their bodies, they (i.e. the souls) are purged of all evils. Why did he who came come? Was it to bring life to the body which [was] without life, or to come and change the soul which was (already) alive? . . . And henceforth they are dragged again from struggle to struggle, and therefore also weapons and crucifixion are necessary to them (?) in the Kingdom. And if not, for what reason are the souls which are very evil here not evil there? For if this is due to the place then also their Creator is able to bring them up to a place which is raised above and higher than HULE. And if they say that they (i.e. the souls) cannot conquer even there, (I reply that) if it be the fact that the Stranger constrains us to conquer in the region of Evil and (in) the body of Sin, how much more will the Maker give us the victory in a place which is raised above Evil and also above the body of Sin!

But if even thus it (the soul) cannot conquer, it is then unjust in the Stranger to demand of us victory in a region where there is no possibility of our being victorious. But if, when the souls have stripped off the body of Sin and are lifted up again to a region which is raised above Sin, the souls are still polluted even there, how do they say that in that region of the Good they are purged? And why then do they blame the body by asserting that it causes the soul to sin, when in reality, in all this interval of time, the nature of the soul is found to be evil? And how at the present time do the souls become good in the Kingdom? For if the Stranger creates a new mode of existence (lit. another creation) for them there, if He is able to change the mode of existence of the soul, it may be that He can change the soul's nature. But if the nature is changed by creative power, then the evil was not in the essence (of the soul) but in the creative power, and hence the Maker can change the nature according to His will, as also other created beings testify who serve according to the will of their Creator. And therefore when Isu came to us, He ought to have made use of creative power and not of preaching, for creative power changes nature, whereas preaching does not; and this is proved to thee by craftsmen, that is to say, even by potters and smiths.

But if when our Lord came He did not wish to change the natures, was it as a kind and wise Being that He did not wish to change the natures? Was it as a kind and wise Being that He did not wish to destroy that which was well adjusted? Or was it as an evil and envious Being that He did not wish to adjust that which was badly constructed? But if it was because our Lord saw it to be rightly fashioned that He did not even adjust any part of it, how do they say that the Maker repented of the work to which our Lord Himself testified that it was rightly fashioned? Or how again, when our Lord praises it, do they find fault with it? But know that by the fact that He praised the latter one it is seen that He agrees with the former one, and by the fact that they find fault they themselves are seen to disagree with the latter (and) also with the former. But in which (respect) is our Lord seen to have praised the work of the Maker? Is it not by the fact that [They find fault, but He was] one who repaired the normal arrangement? For it was not abnormal eyes, alien to nature, that our Lord gave to the blind man, but eyes in accordance with nature. [If He were] a Stranger, it would be reasonable that just as He gave us laws which were alien to the Maker in like manner He should give us also physical organs which are alien to the Maker. But if He changed laws but did not wish to change physical organs, it is seen that the organs are (works) of God, and our Lord, who changed the laws from generation to generation, did not change the organs in any generation.

But they say, 'The sole reason of His not changing (them) was that they might not think concerning Him that He was a Stranger, and (so) persecute Him.' The laws therefore which He changed, did He change them in order that they might think concerning him that He was not a Stranger ? In which of the two circumstances, then, was strangeness most powerfully to be seen, in the change of laws or in the change of organs? For even a feeble human being can change laws, but (only) a powerful Maker can change organ. Would that He had changed [the] mind and had not changed the law, so that [a man] might see its excellence and not its difficulty!

For when new creations came to pass [in] men more strangeness [would arise].

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For just as by the fact that He [changed] the laws He shewed strangeness, [so] by the fact that He did not change the bodily organs He annulled the strangeness. But if our Lord [made] the two of them one--for He gave to the hearers additional interpretations which were not in the Law, but He did not give to those who were to be healed additional organs which were not in nature, (it was) in order that when contumacious persons treat Him as a stranger because He abrogated laws they may be convicted of error by the fact that He maintained the normal arrangement of nature. Again, He gave new laws and maintained primeval nature, in order that when He is treated as a stranger on account of the new laws primeval nature may come forward and prove concerning Him that He is not the son of a stranger.

But if He is a stranger, as they assert concerning Him, then this thing which He did was exceeding foolish ; for He abrogated the former commandments and maintained the former nature. For, as I have already said, He ought, as a strange law-giver, to have created on that account a strange nature also, so that, just as His law was seen to be something more than the former law, in like manner His creation also might be seen to be something more than the creation of the Creator. But if "in His law our Lord was a stranger, but in His action one of the household," this is (a description of) the foolish Marcion, who is partly inside and partly outside. And they ought therefore, if they are lovers of true things, to remain in doubt; for if they called Him a stranger on account of the new sayings which He uttered, then because He did not create a strange creation the bold preaching ought to have been buried in silence (lit., confined within silence). For the Marcionites preach two things concerning our Lord which are at variance with each other, for "He abrogated the former laws and healed injured organs." But here this man, whoever he may be, is seen to be alien to the creation in virtue of his teaching and akin to it in virtue of his activity. But let us see which is the true 'strangeness,' that which consists in sayings or that which consists in deeds. If that which consist in sayings is true, their contentious doctrine is true, but if that which consists in deeds is true our faith has received the crown.

Let us know therefore who was a stranger to the world--He who instituted in it new laws, or He who created in it strange creatures ? For He who institutes in the world new laws is not a stranger to the world, since in that world new laws have been issued from generation to generation; but He who created strange creatures was perhaps considered to be a stranger, since no strange creature has (ever) appeared in the world. If therefore the Marcionites proclaim that our Lord gave eyes to the blind, it is a good thing that from their own mouth their condemnation is proclaimed. For instead of bestowing strange eyes, that it might be known that He was a stranger, He restored to health these former ones, that it might be known that He is that (Being) who existed in former times. But this thing, which they proclaim to others, is to themselves a thing unheard of; for their hearing is at variance with their tongue, just as their intention is at variance with their Maker. For the Creator and lawgiver abolished the former laws and gave other laws, but He did not abolish the former sun and create another sun; again He replaced the Old Covenant by a New Covenant, but He did not abolish the old heaven and create another heaven. With regard therefore to Him who creates natures and gives laws, just as it was easy for Him to change laws so it would have been easy for Him to change natures. But wherefore He who changed laws did not wish to change the creation thou mayest hear from us abundantly, if there is not with thee that contentiousness which is wont to resist abundant (proofs), which, though it is supposed that with its labour it really acquires them, does not [know] that it is driving away from beside itself an acquisition without labour. For the contention of the hearer is [an impediment to] the gifts that come forth from the mouth of the speaker.

Hear therefore why it was that He who abolished the former laws did not abolish the former creatures! He created the creatures in accordance with His own perfection, but He gave many laws in account of our imperfection. For if we had abided perfectly by the law which He has written on the heart--(the law) which was followed by Abel and by Enoch who did not taste death--laws varying from nation to nation would not even be required. Thus where the creatures (are concerned, permanence of species is due to) the perfection of the Creator, who in all respects is perfect; and where the creatures (are concerned, the diversity is due to) the imperfection of man, who in all respects is audacious. God, therefore, did not abolish the former creatures, lest we should think that He had actually received advice or had been taught to create creatures superior to the former creatures; but He gave many laws, that in many (ways) He might restrain the audacity which did not abide by the former law which was written on the heart.

But man, on account of his imperfection, when he does something, is taught by his experience of former things to do something more than (those) former things; whereas the Creator, since He is perfect in His Wisdom, even before He creates, each separate thing that He wishes to do is completely visible to Him. But perhaps thou wilt say, 'Lo, creatures were transformed in Egypt!' They were transformed in Egypt on account of the tyranny of Pharaoh, but they did not undergo transformation on account of . . .

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[For the Will that bound the course of Nature (is able to alter it) and we learn that He who relaxed the Laws was Himself the establisher of the Laws.] For a composite nature cannot remain in its composite state without the . . . power of its Creator, and a law cannot be annulled without the good will of its Maker; for where there is power to make there is also wisdom which directs the things that are made, and where there is Justice which punishes sins there is also Grace. . . . For consider that One who is good cannot shew mercy save to those who have transgressed His just law, for if He has compassion with regard to the law of another He has deflected from goodness and also ignored justice, so as to incline altogether towards iniquity. For that Stranger who becomes the pardoner of debtors necessarily wrongs the creditor. "But," it is said, "He paid our debt by His death." But know that we owed a real debt: if therefore He died in reality, He also paid our debt in reality; but if it was in appearance that He died, that debt of ours also was paid in by a fraud. Yet know that the Good One also was pleased by this deception, that He should come and pay our debt by a fraud. Yet He who is just and mighty is not mocked, for in virtue of His justice He does not act wrongly and in virtue of His might He is not mocked. For the Just One would not act wrongly so as to come, when our debt has been paid, and demand the paid debt afresh, nor again would the Mighty One be mocked, so to allow His real possessions to be snatched from Him, without receiving anything real in exchange for His real possessions. "But," it is said, "though the Just One is mighty, the Good One is nevertheless mightier than He." If therefore He overcame Him by might, how do they bring in the term 'purchase'? [Call] Him therefore a doer of violence and not a purchaser. But if He made a real purchase, as one who acted humbly, how was might involved in the affair ? For either let them choose for themselves that He purchased as a humble and true (Being), or else let them choose for themselves that He did violence, as one who is mighty and tyrannical.

But since the followers of Marcion were ashamed to be sponsors for the term 'violent robbery' (as applicable) in the case of the Stranger, they have used with reference to Him the term

'purchase in humble fashion,' and because they are refuted in the matter of the purchase, they have used with reference to Him the term 'Might,' so that when it is asserted against them that He did violence they say that He merely purchased, and when again it is asserted against them that the Maker did not wish to sell his possessions they say that He (i.e. the Stranger) is mightier than He (i.e., the Maker). Each of the (two) assertions therefore annuls the other. For if it is a 'purchase in humble fashion,' consent (lit., will) and not compulsion is involved, but if the purchaser overcomes by force he does not really purchase but seizes by violence. If therefore they introduce (the mention of) His might, which is a plausible term, (the notion of) violent robbery comes in with it . . .

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let them learn that it is a doctrine (artificially) constructed and . . ., which has no foundation (lit. root); for the poets likewise construct fables out of bare names, their fables being devoid of foundation, for the poets make use of names. . .

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On that account He gave that which is His own in order that He may take that which is not His own. And again, if there is no affinity between the purchaser and the seller, in their mutual action, they cannot give to one another or receive from one another. For that which they give is profitable to both, and again that which they receive is pleasing and profitable to both. But if they have heard only the word 'purchase' and hence have introduced the mention of 'strangeness' (lit., and from it have named strangeness), they ought to have made mention of 'strangeness' from the days of Isaiah onwards, who said "For nought have ye been sold," and thenceforward it would have been a purchase in reality, that the People was sold, that it should serve its masters. But if there is no strangeness in a real purchase, how can there be strangeness in a fraudulent purchase? But if they say that the Just One did not perceive the Good One, (I reply) 'And how was it that that Good and Humble One came to purchase something which its owner did not wish to sell --something which it did not even enter His mind to sell?' But if they say something that pleases them they must hear something that does not please them. For it pleases them to say this, that this Just One did not perceive that Good One; but it does not please them that some man should say concerning that Good One that He robs with violence. But this (statement) which does not please them is derived from that (statement) which pleases them. For if the Just One did not perceive the Good One, He therefore did not even contemplate the selling of His possessions to Him, for Lo, He did not even perceive that He (i.e. the Good One) existed!

But if He did not perceive Him and moreover did not contemplate the selling (of anything) to Him, it necessarily follows that if He sold (anything) He was compelled by force to sell that which He did not wish to sell. But perhaps they may say that even if the Good One compelled the Just One by force it was only for our salvation that He compelled Him by force. Know that in this respect He was on a level with all robbers. For he also who goes forth to take by robbery a possession that is not his own puts pressure on the possessor by reason of his love for the possession; and, in a word, all those who take away things from their owners, it is because of the love which they have for the things themselves that they grieve the heart of their possessors. But they say, "Even if the Good One put pressure on the Just One by snatching us from Him, He only took us to Himself in a loving manner." (But this is no argument), for what thief is there who will steal a precious pearl from his neighbour and will not keep it lovingly and carefully after taking it away? And on this supposition all evil-doers are found to be acting, not in an evil manner, but mercifully and kindly. For what robber is there who goes forth to take away or to filch something hateful and [undesirable] in his own eyes ? Why therefore have the Marcionites adorned with fair titles One who in His conduct is not different from evil-doers? But far be it from us to speak thus concerning our Lord! But it is only on account of them (i.e. the Marcionites) that we are obliged to say these things for their refutation, so that if they are convinced these things will not be reckoned to us to our detriment, on account of the advantage (which accrues) to them, and if they are not convinced they will pay the penalty for it, that their confusion (of mind) led us to use words that are not seemly. But even if we utter the blasphemy (only) with our lips, and not in our heart, nevertheless who is there who wishes to taste, even with his lips (only), the deadly poison? For as to that which is not seemly, would that it had never in our life (?) entered our mind!

But nevertheless let us return to our former subject, which we abandoned for a while on account of the pretext of 'purchase.' If therefore before the coming of Isu this [convention] existed, 0 Marcion, that is to say, that though laws were changed from generation to generation the order of nature was fixed and continued (lit., came) through all generations, we see that if our Lord came and diverged from this [convention] of the Maker it is evident that He was 'strange' to the Maker. But if He proceeded in accordance with this order it is manifest that this beseemed the Son that His steps should hasten in the footprints of Him that begat Him, for He also . . . But the Son also preserved by His healing the normal arrangement of the former body, that He might testify, as their Father did, that the creatures were created aright from the Beginning. Our Lord therefore is not found to resemble a destroyer, nor a stranger, for He did not injure healthy organs . . . nor, again, when He healed did He bestow abnormal organs, nor, again, did He [make it appear] to them by His creative power that He was alien to the Maker, but He preserved organs that were healthy, and cured organs that were hurt. But (?) He who preserves healthy organs, in order that they may not be hurt, plainly testifies concerning Him who created them that He is perfect and (that) it is not right that His arrangement should be hurt. But He who sets in order organs that have been hurt testifies concerning a creative power (shared) in common, (namely) that He is a fellow-workman to Him who set them in order from the Beginning; and it is evident that it was a love (shared) in common which constrains Him to set in order by a common mode of workmanship the common work. For when the work of a craftsman is injured it cannot be set right save by him who

made it, or by a fellow-workman to him who made it. These are two things from which the Marcionites have deflected, for they are not willing to call our Lord the Maker, nor (do they admit) that He was (sent) by the Maker. But His active power itself deprives those who deprive Him of active power, especially because that active power of His was repairing the work of the Creator. But it is clearly seen that this is a thing learnt from Him, (I mean) that primeval Teacher who is the Architect of the creation. But this active power was sent as to the first of creatures, in order that it might be known that by this same active power the creatures had been created. For the repair of a work can only be wrought by means of that workmanship which set it in order.

But when this perfect Disciple of that perfect Architect came, not that He was a learner, nor was His Teacher instructed, in virtue of that workmanship which (proceeded) from Himself (and) in which the normal arrangements were included from the Beginning---when He came, therefore, He ordered aright the hands which He had made, that they might give alms to those who lacked health, whereas He found them (such) that, instead of giving alms from that which was their own, they committed thefts from that which was not their own. But because the hands did not perform that service on account of which He created them He was empowered, as a just Maker, to command that the hands should wither up. But instead of this He commanded that hand which was withered to be stretched forth ; for He knew the effrontery of the Marcionites, that if when He was restoring and repairing the corruption of the natures they call Him 'strange' to Nature, if His deed had been contrary to Nature how much more would they have considered Him 'strange'? But because they are perverse, perhaps if our Lord had done contrary to Nature they would not have considered Him 'strange!' But even if they had been as it were able to learn perversely, yet for the upright Teacher it was not seemly that because of the perverse ones He also should teach perversity,

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a rent worse than the former one . . . 'unless' they were willing to learn. For if in the [straight] way the followers of Marcion are not [able to walk, in slippery places how] can they [direct] their goings ?

END OF DISCOURSE AGAINST MARCION.

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Pseudo-Origen :

The

DIALOGUES OF ADAMANTIUS

AGAINST THE MARCIONITES

(SECTION I)

Translated and Edited by Daniel Jon Mahar

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Preface

Along with Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* and Epiphanius' *Panarion*, the ancient work *Dialogues of Adamantius* has contributed to our knowledge of Marcionite ideas as they might have appeared in Marcion's lost work, *Antithesis*, as well as having provided possible readings from Marcion's New Testament, despite objections which have recently been made concerning *Dialogues*' problematic text (i.e., J.Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul*, Catholic Biblical Assoc., 1989; U. Schmid , *Paul und sein Apostolos*, Gruyter & Co., 1995). For whatever merits or weaknesses these recent studies might pose, no English translation to date had been done of *Dialogues*. It is hoped that this present endeavor, which presents excerpts of the first section, will serve to introduce English readers to this little known work. This translation may be best considered a "draft" and may be a bit clumsy in places, but it works.

The critical edition upon which this translation is based is *Der Dialog des Adamantius* (PERI THS EIS THEON OROHS PISTEWS) , edited by Dr.W.H.Van De Sande Bakhuyzen (Leipzig, 1901), which features the text in Greek, and the Latin text of Rufinius, the latter to which this translation adheres (with some of the Greek variants presented in brackets). Some chapters have been translated in full, while others are presented as excerpts. My main objective was to cover the Marcionite material, along with any scriptural citations that might pertain to his Bible, so as to provide readers a sense of the context in which these citations appear.

Brief Background Notes

The following are (very)short translated excerpts derived from the German introduction ("Einleitung") to *Der Dialog des Adamantius* by Dr.W.H.Van De Sande Bakhuyzen (pp.ix-xvi).

Contents: The author of the Dialogues intended this to combat two heresies, which had most shaken the Christian church in the early centuries: that of Marcion and Valentinus.

In the first section the disputation is between Adamantius, an adherent to orthodox teaching, and Megethius, a Marcionite, at an public gathering where an arbitrator is elected, the heathen Eutropius.

The topic of the disputation is the nature of God. Adamantius stated, that he believed in one God, the Creator, and that with him the Logos equal in nature, and with them a Holy Spirit.

Megethius taught, that there were three principals (archai), the Good God, the Demiurge and the evil god, respectively the God of the Christians, the god of the Jews, and the god of the heathen. Rather unmoved he passes over to a new topic and tries to establish, that only one Gospel was given and all others are false.

The place of Megethius is taken by another Marcionite, Markus (Section II)(p x.). Markus namely acknowledges no other scripture than the Evangelium and the Apostolikon of Marcion. At the close of this exposition follows that evidence disputed by Adamantius against Markus, that through Christ all have become new.

In the following sections of *Dialogues* (Section III, and IV, V) the doctrine of Valentinian is dealt with.

Author. As to who composed the *Dialogues*, is entirely uncertain. Already early on, the acceptance had circulated that the author was Origen.

(pXV.) That [the author] had a Marcionite Bible before him, I dare to question, although he repeatedly insured this (807,810,864). A rigid examination makes it most probable, that he never had such a Bible at hand, but may well have used older anti-marcionite writings. And it is this that makes the Dialogues for us so interesting. On the question pertaining to the sources however I cannot come close to entering here.

Date. (p [XVI].) Zahn sets the time of writing after 300 C.E. So it's possible that Dialogues was already composed before 300.

The persons of the *Dialogues*. The persons, that appear in the dialogues as orators, Megethius, Markus, Droserius, Marinus, Valens, are not historical personalities. A certain Droserius is referred to by Macarius Magnes, alone to us Droserius is, as Harnack remarked, only a literary figure. Both orators of the first sections are Marcionites.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ad. = Adamantius (a.k.a. Origen), representing the "Catholic" position

Meg. =Megathius , representing the Marcionite position.

Eutr. = Eutropius, the (supposed) Pagan judge.

All words appearing within brackets **[ ]** indicate additions or variants from the Greek text.

A series of dots **. . .** indicate sentences or sections passed over.

SECTION I

Chapter I

Ad. Whatever friends there are of truth and of an honorable character, they study the entirety of all things, whom in this world dwell by the light of day, desiring to establish the institution of an upright life, not otherwise being able to keep that which is good and perfect, unless they are continually strong and steadfast in their faith in God, from thither I hesitate not to contend moreover against those who are excessively curious, heeding a deceitful, fickle opinion to the proper faith, nay, rather with a profound folly they have corrupted, being more so an offense by the same which they are being professed, than the civilized veneration they offer to a God. Whence by myself is seen no small danger, if our faith, which is of God, to some degree incurs error. Inasmuch as the foundation and entire base of loyalty is from the Divine first, it is worthy, of seeing or believing. And if only on account of you this is being seen, O Megethius, it takes place at the beginning of this debate.

Meg. Preventing brother Adamantius, he has deceitfully depicted my opinion. Indeed you confess like ourselves concerning the faith and virtue of God, of the opinion of exhibiting all good things, if another one is good in a civilized matter. And therefore it is most beneficial that you, Eutropius, most excellent Judge, are seated in the midst of us, whom I commend as capable of setting forth our proper and true faith.(and whom I esteem as fittingly wise for this, and a highly educated man). For I may demonstrate that you, *Adamantius*, blaspheme more than you believe in God, when the true God, who is only good, you are unwilling to recognize, but *rather* another, certain one you submit in place of the good God, although the Lord Jesus Christ himself declared, "No one is good, except one, God the Father".

Eutr. Am I required to judge both parties?

Ad. Both.

Eutr. Will you so honor my sentence?

Meg. I shall honor and esteem your sentence.

Ad. Noble and educated men are they all, such as we discern in attendance at this audience. If therefore on account of them your proper judgement and sentence are seen , I shall also heed in accordance to which line of truth you should decide.

Chapter II

Meg. First, are you willing to let me set forth according to the scriptures?

Ad. Define first, Megathius, how (*the Marcionite*) believes, even at length the actual propositions, or bring forth from the completeness of the volumes of holy scriptures.

Meg. Define first, Adamantius (*the Catholic*), since you already furnished the introduction to this debate.

Eutr. It is reasonable that he who was at the start should pronounce their faith, who also offered the disputations at the beginning.

Ad. There is One God, Creator and Architect of everything, in whom I believe, and his Word, his essence, is even co-eternal. Whose Word in due season assumed human nature from the virgin Mary, was born a man, was crucified, and *was* also resurrected from the dead. Likewise moreover I believe in the Holy Spirit, who is everlasting Father and Son.

This is mine faith. Now it is your turn.

Meg. I declare there are three principles: One God, the Father of Christ, the Good - and another the Creator, and [another] the third, Evil. And indeed the Good God is neither the Creator or the Evil one, nor the dispensator, nor here is the founder of this world. An Alien in fact is he from all wickedness and all the creation. And thus I will show what he does hold.

Chapter III

Ad. You say there are three principles, and it is now necessary *that* you explain what you have promised. Inasmuch as the stated principle is to be shown to me concerning him who is in subjection to another principle and power, even as if *it was* the Lord who declares himself in place of another lord. So which among the three exercising principles is the principle which you speak of? Respond.

Meg. The Good [Principle] is *over* those *which* the God of Christ rules, and the second is the Creator of whom the Jews speak, but the third, is *over* those *who are* evil and wicked, the gentiles.

Ad. The three principles that you affirm - are they harmonious and unanimous among themselves, or is nothing shared mutually by them *of what* they possess?

Meg. *There* is nothing *in* common among them.

Ad. Did all three together, in one agreement, mold or fashion humanity ? Or does one from the others create mankind, to which the principle pertains ?

Meg. The three together did not create mankind, but *only* one.

Ad. Which *one* out of the three?

Meg. The Principle of the Jews.

Ad. If the God of the Jews created humanity, how - or rather for what cause does the Good God, or that other, evil *one*, hold power over humanity? For out of either of the two, the Creator is revealed to be good to a greater degree. Indeed if he concedes (his) will, to the power they hold among those which the Creator God himself made, he is shown to be the Good God which bestows his own property to the alien and extraneous Lord. If indeed they extort not unwillingly by force, the Good God such as you refer will be founded upon evil since it is he who is actually evil, instead of him whose property the Alien takes possession of violently.

Eutr. (If) the Father of Christ is said to be the Good God, and again the same Creator God who established the actual work, *and* it is mankind that he himself created, which is said to have been taken away *from him*, *then* the alien who seizes cannot be called good.

Meg. He did not *commit* rob*bery*, but taking pity he sent the Son *who being* good, *out of* goodness also liberated us.

Ad. This other *one* felt pity, was moved by his own compassion to affection. So *if* compassion is *that which* moves *those of* his own to the Good God, can it be towards an Stranger?

Meg. Towards the Stranger.

Ad. As goodness is compassionate, can it be just as evil?

Meg. Just as sinful.

Ad. Before mankind sinned, goodness was created by the Creator, so can it be evil? And *if* the Good God longed just as much for goodness, can it be just as evil? And inasmuch *the same way* as the evil also desired, the Good God shall be desirous of the evil. And in what manner shall the Good who desires be evil? If it is just as true that *if* the Good is lacking, the Creator God should be the author of goodness.

Meg. Neither to good, nor to evil does he purpose, but only by reason of compassion was he moved.

Eutr. This is what he purposes, Megethius has asserted, that is neither day nor night, but it is somewhat in the middle. Clearly explain what you say. If you say that mankind was neither created by good nor evil, what is this other medium between evil and good?

Chapter IV

Meg. These are philosophical arguments. For I show from the scriptures that there are three principals.

Ad. These three principals which you speak of : do you assert *that* they are equal, or do they differ from one another?

Meg. God forbid! They are not equal.

Ad. So which of them is superior?

Meg. The supreme Good God is by far the *most* eminent.

Ad. So the Supreme has subjected *those* beneath *him*, or not?

Meg. He has subjected *them*.

Ad. So the Will of the Supreme, *concerning those* who are beneath *him*, *is* to control *those* who control *others*?

Meg. It is not according to his Will that the evil *ones* devise. In fact, Christ came and conquered the devil, and he emptied the Creator's law in decrees and dogmas.

Ad. So do these *have their being* in accordance to the purpose of the Good God?

Meg. No.

Ad. (If they are actually contrary to his purpose, *why* does he not prevail to do away with them altogether?) Or is he himself ignorant of who they are ?

Meg. He is not ignorant.

Eutr. You assert that the Good God is powerful. [But] you also claim that they are not *in accordance* to his purpose. So what is gained consequentially? For if he himself is powerful and everything is not according to his will, they are in any event, according to your assertion, or he is willing the same even by which reason *things* are, or he cannot purpose to even do away with them, or it is because he is ignorant.

Chapter V

Meg. (These things are inferred out of *tricky* arguments. But I prefer to prove what I say from the scriptures of the Gospel) But first I *will* show that the gospels, that you read, are false.

Ad. From whence can this be proven?

Meg. I shall prove from out of these very gospels that they are false.

Ad. Then will you also permit me to prove from these same gospels that they are not false?

Meg. I shall permit it, if it can be exhibited *by* you. Still earlier it was proclaimed, of who composed the gospels.

Ad. The disciples of Christ are those who had written them, which are John, Matthew, Mark and Luke.

Meg. Christ never had Mark and Luke for disciples, and out of this itself they are proven to be false. For who were the disciples, which names are written in the Gospel,- were the gospels composed of these, but *by* others, who were unknown, who were not made disciples? Who is Luke, or who is Mark? Thus even upon these very names are your gospels clearly convicted of the verdict of falsehood.

Eutr. If Christ had disciples, it is certain that more of them should have composed gospels *to some* he had granted authority, to others of them who were not disciples. This to me does not seem sound. For it is proper that he should grant to his disciples the authority to have gathered for posterity.

Ad. And these are disciples of Christ.

Meg. Who are reckoned chosen of the Gospel and contrive such names among the disciples of Christ who have not written (a thing).

Eutr. Chosen of the gospel.

Ad. Only twelve disciples who were chosen are named, not indeed seventy-two.

Eutr. How many disciples did Christ have?

Ad. First, twelve, and afterwards, seventy-two, those sent to preach the Gospel. Mark and Luke were from among the seventy-two, who along with the apostle Paul preached the gospel.

Meg. It is impossible. Nobody esteemed that which they have seen of Paul.

Ad. Paul himself provides offered testimony on Mark and Luke.

Meg. Your deceitful codice is not trustworthy.

Ad. Bring forth your apostle's codice; let it be permitted from all sides, let them introduce concerning Mark and Luke , who were associates and supporters of Paul.

Meg. Let it be shown.

Ad. I choose the last part of the epistle of Paul to the Colossians **(Col. 4:10,11)**:

"Salutes you", it says, "Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner, and Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, concerning whom ye received orders that he comes to you. Receive with him. And Jesus called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only to me are fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who were to me a consolation". And the rest. And again (Col.4:14): "Salute you Luke and Demas".Out of this scripture *it* is made clear that the apostle Paul himself offers this testimony.

Eutr. From this commendation it is *made* evident.

Chapter VI

Meg. I show there to be a false gospel. For the apostle says there is one Gospel, but you say there are four.

Ad. There are four gospels, but it is one gospel...

Meg. (5) The Apostle doesn't say, "according to my gospels", but "according to my gospel". You see how he speaks of one. And a second time he says "if anyone should proclaim to you a different gospel, let him be accursed" (Gal.1:9?). How is it that you speak of four?

Ad. The Gospel which we speak is one, but there are four evangelists.

Meg. Neither are there four evangelists, for the Apostle says **(Gal.1:7)** : "which is not another [according to my gospel , *Gk.*], but there are some that trouble you and would divert (you) unto a different gospel of Christ."

Ad. Paul speaks of there being a plurality of evangelists, how is it that you say there is only one?

Meg. He does not speak of many evangelists.

Ad. There had to be many apostles, and I show that he himself says so in the epistle to the Galatians **(1:6)**:

"But even if we", it says, "or an angel from heaven a gospel evangelizes to you contrary to what we evangelized to you, let him be anathema". For if it says "to what I preached to you", of himself only he should designate. Yet now he says: "to what we evangelized", which indicates a plurality of evangelists (and the apostle says, **1Cor.9:14**): "In this too the Lord ordained those who announce the Gospel". And again **(1Tim.4:5)** , "do the work of an evangelist"

Eutr. Now it is entirely evident that there were many evangelists and not one.

Meg. But he does not speak of these, but concerning Silvanus and Timothy.

Eutr. First he says Paul was only one evangelist, but now he confesses there were others....

Chapter VII

Meg. The Gospel differs and it speaks of those becoming turned away, from which even a false <one> they are believing.

Ad. A different -even a different Christ they announce on which account they speak to disagree?

Meg. No, but they speak contrary, one against the other.

Ad. They define what they wish. He speaks of the spiritual as the sense of the scriptures - can it be plain, even historical, or to another extent intrinsically essential? He wishes only one to stand, to thus finally pose the series of questions that are proceeding.

Meg. Plainly I speak and that of what is only written you have nor anything other.

Ad. What then does it say of Christ who is the son of man? If he is the son of man, according to you he will not be your son of God.

Meg. He is God's son.

Ad. But explain the scriptures in such a way as to be intelligible, as the scriptures are. In what way is he the son of God, who declared himself the son of man?

Meg. He made use of a parable, in saying that he was the son of man.

Eutr. It was to be understood as a spiritual parable, -can that be historical?

Meg. Spiritual.

Eutr. In what way does he say that - is the scripture not spiritual? Thus it is spiritual, and not plain and historical.

Meg. A certain thing he intends as spiritual, while he may speak simply in another.

Eutr. This opinion seems inconsistent to me.

Meg. In places there are scriptures that are parables, those that are spiritual, others that are certainly historical.

Ad. Show then from the scriptures where the son of man is a "parable"? ...

Chapter VIII

Meg. I shall show that there is one gospel.

Ad. From whom can you appeal from scripture itself that confirms there is only one Gospel?

Meg. Christ.

Ad. Did Christ himself write of his crucifixion and resurrection from the dead after three days?

Meg. The Apostle Paul imparted this.

Ad. Do you mean to say that Paul was in attendance at the crucifixion of Christ?

Meg. He himself wrote the Gospel.

Ad. If so I shall demonstrate that not only was he not present let alone believing, even following his persecuting, that there existed Christians?

Meg. There were no Christians?

Ad. How did Christians exist, who, not even holding the name of Christ, manage to become worthy? If indeed I speak of no Christians, but of the Marcionites.

Meg. And you have spoken of the Catholics. Thus not being Christian.

Ad. If a man enjoys his vocabulary, speak well; if truly on behalf of him by whom all the world exists, on whose account the Catholic speaks, whom in accordance to your appellation is to be seen fault? Show to me if you may any man judged by name; but I show that not only bishops are bestowed the appellation of a surname, not in the least disciples, indeed, not in the least apostles. Which great one do you dwell in the house of - Marcion or Paul?

Meg. Paul.

Ad. Listen then, if you are able to see, what Paul, who was most excellent to Marcion , anticipated (1 Cor.1:11-13): "It's been indeed announced to me, about you by those who are of Chloe that there are contentions among you , for the one to you is saying: I am of Paul, but I of Apollos, but I of Cephas. Has Christ been divided? [+ *Gk*, Was Paul crucified for you? or to the name of Paul were you baptized?] ".

Meg. I am being spoken a Christian; but if you cast at me the name of a man, I can of you say that you are of Socrates.

Ad. I the name of Socrates refuse and deny.

Eutr. If you strike against the power of a name, necessary it is of either of yours that call on these names, which you set before, to refuse.

Ad. I am ignorant of who Socrates is; but I confess not such of Marcion.

Meg. Marcion was my bishop (episcopus).

Ad. Out of whom, Marcion having died, <proceeded> a great many bishops, or rather, false-bishops have they been among you. Why doesn't any of them make use of a name, but only Marcion's, who even brought about a schism in the one church?

. . .

Chapter IX

Meg. If it may be allowed me to speak, readily I shall show that there are three principles, and that the one is the God of the law, and the other is the Good <One>. Furthermore it can be shown from your scriptures so that one may consider.

Eutr. Earlier it was pointed out that there are three principles, that there are three natures, and then apparently every single diversity and work.

Ad. He will show that there are three principles, and then I will speak what I wish.

Meg. I show that one is the Creator who gave the law, and the other is Christ who is antithetical to it.

Ad. Consequently I am suspicious of him due to the diversity of the law,- for this reason should I now suppose another or a different God?

Meg. Absolutely! For no one at any time is contrary to himself, in such manner as the Gospel and the Law are contrary.

Ad. The Creator God, who called the Jews, is only One - can there be many others?

Meg. This is one, who handed down the Law,- the God of the Jews. [*Gk*, "One, who (is) of the Jews"].

Ad. I think (it is) absurd that you do not consider whether to also make use of certain similetudes, that makes these things which were spoken clearly intelligent.... (25) ....the Apostle Paul... at one time also promulgated the law to man, when he said **(1 Cor.3:1,2)** : "Milk I gave you to drink, not meat, for not yet are ye able, for still ye are carnal" . . . .

Eutr. (18)...Megethius: the same is the God who [gave the law], who is immutable...Or are there two? ...

Chapter X

Meg. The God of the Jews is one, [the demiurge], but the Other is not his son.

Ad. How has it been proven that Christ is not the son of the Creator?

Meg. That the Christ destroyed the law of the Creator, and showed that [it was destroyed].

Ad. Showed that it was destroyed.

Meg. The God who had spoken beforehand in Genesis which instructed Moses to escape from Egypt, says **(Exodus 12:11; 3:22; 11:2; 12:35)**: "Make ready to eat! with your loins girded and feet shod, and rod in hand",**(3:22)** and bags on their back and much gold (and) much silver of all the Egyptians that they can bear to carry.

But our Lord, whose nature is good [or, "who is the Good One", Gk] sent his disciples to the surrounding territories, saying **(Matt.10:9; Lk.9:3, 10:4)**: "Neither use shoes for your feet, nor bag, nor rod, neither having two tunics, nor money in your girdle".Consider how clearly it is made, of whom is the Good, those who observe [his] decrees...

Eutr. The same to me I observe even in the former: they perished and did not perish, and they offered sacrifice and did not offer, and accepted money and purse and did not accept. This therefore I ask, when the Creator instructed Abraham to slay his son, if another is in the law which prohibits murder, and another which instructed Abraham to slit the throat of his son. What do you say, Megethius? Is there one or two?

Meg. (15) Here at least it is one (god), but Christ is not his son.

. . . . .

Chapter XI

Meg. The prophets of their god, who reported the Law, elected as arms of their people, ascended to the summit of the mountain, and stretched forth their hands toward the god by whom many enemies were cast to the ground in war.

But our Lord, who is good, stretched forth his hands, not to destroy men, but to save. Which therefore is a simile - the one who extended his hands to destroy - or the one to save?

. . . .

Chapter XII

Meg. The god of the law says (?) : "Love him who loves you and hold hatred of your enemies".

But our Good Lord says **(Matt.5:44)**: "Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you".

. . . .

Chapter XIII

Meg. The Prophets of their god, who report in the Law, go before him, that they may slay many in war, brings about comfort not in the least to meet with death, always to those who slaughter their enemies.

But our Lord, who is good, says **(Eph.4:26)** "Let not the sun go down on your wrath".

. . . .

Meg. (6) It is not written in the Law to not let the sun set upon one's wrath.

. . .

Chapter XV

Meg. In the law it is written **(Ex.21:24; Lev.24:19; Deut.19:21)**: "An eye for an eye, [and] a tooth for a tooth".

But the Lord, who is good, says in the Gospel **(Mt.5:39;Lk.6:29)**: "If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, offer to him also the other".

. . .

Chapter XVI

Meg. The prophet of the [god of the] Law of old commanded a bear to go forth from the woods

and gnaw the children whom he opposed.

But the good Lord says **(Mt.10:33)** : "Permit the children to come to me; for such is the kingdom of heaven".

. . . .

Meg. (24) Which here is a simile? The prophets murder, but Christ saves. Nothing is altogether a simile.

. . . .

Chapter XVII

Meg. The creator god was ignorant of where Adam was. He said (Gen.3:9), "Adam, where art thou?"

But the Christ even knows the thoughts of men.

Ad. In which manner also Christ said to Lazarus (Jn.11:34): "Where have they laid him?"

Unless even here he was ignorant of where he was placed.

Meg. Such is not written in our Gospel, and you understand that it was promised that from our gospel you would speak to prove.

Ad. In such a manner you would not wish, in the case where Jesus interrogates the demon,"What is your name"? And he responded, "Legion". Which according to you he was ignorant and interrogated for this reason.

Meg. It is not a simile.

. . . .

Chapter XVIII

Meg. In such manner is it written in the law to steal garment after garment, but the good Lord says **(Lk.6:29; Mt.5:40)**: "[even] if anyone takes away your tunic, (would you) offer him even the cloak?"

. . .

Chapter XIX

Meg. [The prophets of] the creator god say (Isa.5:28;Deut.32:23): "My bow is stretched back and my arrows (are ready) to consume them", [but] the Apostle indeed says **(Eph.6:11,13,16)**: "Put on you the panoply of God, that [or, "for"] you may be able to extinguish the burning darts of the wicked one".

Ad. Good is not contrary to good, neither evil to evil, just as neither is the law to light (nor darkness to darkness), neither white to white, but white is contrary to black. How unmixed

theref ore is he who is contrary to that spoken by the prophets and the apostle? Or are you ignorant that the bow and sword and shield and arrows and all the armaments are instruments of warfare?

Eutr. The prophets - which are they, just or evil?

Meg. Just.

Ad. How then can the apostle malignantly speak of justice, (when) he says to extinguish the burning darts of the wicked one?

Eutr. It is all the same thing.

Chapter XX

Meg. The god of the Law, with blind Isaac, did not restore his sight.

But our Lord, who is good, opened the eyes of many who did not see.

Ad. You are ignorant of the dispensations of God.

. . . .

Chapter XXI

Meg. Even by reason of him there are always persecutions, being apparent to us who are destined to the other God, being contrary to the one who created the world and who hates us while we are in his world. Thus in short it is written, that "the king's heart is in the hand of God" (Prov.21:1), this in fact showing who is in charge over the king, even holding in his hand the heart of the king and inclining him to persecute us.

Ad. That indeed, if (of this one time) you can make comment, they might perhaps be seen to hold to some extent an appearance of truth, granted that such are yet easily absolved. But now vastly dissimilar is the head to which you bring forth objection (according to which rationale you speak of all kings, naturally whose heart is in the hand of their god, who is adversary to the Good God's family and favors those who belong to him, who entirely dedicates everything to persecuting Christians, nor at any time the other that came later, to whom you give thanks, is able to deliver the latter of the former. But now we see in respect to one hating those who existed before, and another loving those who exist now. For instance even Cyrus built the temple of God in Jerusalem, which another king, nonetheless, destroyed). How can this be? That it was one god with the former, and a different one with the latter? This is stupid! But not only we suffer persecution. Even the prophets themselves suffered, and many martyrs were brought forth from them, even three lads endured martyrdom, though God's power miraculously liberated them... But even the prophets [as also Paul] say **(Ps.43:22; Rom.8:36)**: "On account of you death afflicts us the whole day". But likewise even Christ's disciples, who followed the pattern of the prophets, endured the fierceness of persecution. We are one and the same, consequently, with the prophets, for being the cause of persecution.

Chapter XXII

Eutr. In what way does the apostle even make use of the words of the prophets? If indeed he speaks what the prophets have spoken before, certainly this is not in vain, but as it were, the same was used for what was good and lawful.

Meg. Absolutely no one from among the ancients used Paul's words.

Ad. I will show in many cases where the Ap ostle speaks and uses the scriptures of old. He says in the first epistle to the Corinthians **(1Cor.1:29-31)**: "To no glory is all flesh in the presence of him. From him are ye in Christ Jesus, who is made unto us wisdom by God and justice and sanctification and redemption. That, as it has been written, He that glories, in the Lord let him glory". And again I show from the same epistle, where he says **(1Cor.9:7-10)**: "Who grazes the herd and of the milk does not eat? Now according to man do I speak, or does not also the law say these things? In the law of Moses it has been written: You shall not bridle the mouth of the ox which treads the corn. Now concerning the oxen is there care with God? Or on account of us is this said? On account of us namely was it written because he who plows ought to in hope plow."

Meg. You know that he speaks of the law of Moses and not of God.

Eutr. But consider that, when he speaks, he immediately confirms the law from which consequently, he says, "Now concerning the oxen is there care with God? Or on account of us is this said? On account of us namely was it written" Consider thus that he confirms the God whose words and prophets he uses. For no one uses a law that is rejected.

Chapter XXIII

Meg. From the scriptures I show that one is the Father of Christ, but another is the creator, who spoke with Adam even as with the rest of those who reported the scriptures, which is even made obvious. But the Father of Christ no one recognized, as Christ himself announced, when he said **(Mt.11:27; Lk.10:22)**: "No one knows the Father except only the Son, neither the Son anyone knows except the Father"

. . .

Meg. (8) Thus how could Ezekiel say (Ez. 20:5): "And I made myself known to the fathers in the desert" ?

Ad. (14). . . But have you considered the magnificence of the figure of speech? The Lord himself who saves even speaks of those that sin **(Mt.7:23)** "Depart from me, those who work

iniquity, because I never knew you". Now he, who knows every heart, was he ignorant of them?

. . .

Chapter XXIV

Meg. I hold a most valid proposition, that proves that Christ is not the son of the just god , the creator, whose own Christ has not yet come. For if he had come, without (any) doubt that he was the one to fulfil that [spoken] by David (Ps.2:1,2), "Why do the nations rage and the people think vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers convene into one against the Lord and against his Christ".And again (Ps.2:8,9) , "Ask of me and I shall give to you the nations for your inheritance and you shall rule (over) them with a rod of iron". Thus, from this he approves here his own Christ, who comes, which is another , because neither does he rule, nor do rulers rise up against him, nor does he rule the nations with a rod of iron.

. . .

Chapter XXV

Meg. Daniel declared (Dan.2:34,35): "You have seen, even beheld a stone that is cut from a mountain without hands, and striking an image and its feet were as dust, which is blown in the wind" . But the stone shall be the kingdom of a glorious God, and the image indicates the kingdom [upon] the earth. From whence I show that it is the Christ announced by the law and the prophets, who has not yet come. For if he has arrived, by no means is there a different kingdom upon the earth, as Daniel indicated. But from him shall every kingdom of his enjoy safety, enduring but not fading - the kingdom of that Christ - who by the law and prophets was announced should come.

Ad. Which rightly in the holy scriptures is spoken, yet by no willingness rightly understood.

For the law and the prophets do not speak of the coming of two Christs, but declare one Christ with two advents, one in humiliation, the first, and the other in glory, the second.

Even of the first advent spoke Isaiah (53:2,3): "We shall see him, and there is no beauty nor splendor, but his splendor is despised and rejected above the sons of men"

. . . [Adamantius argues with further OT citations , Isa.52:14; Isa. 42:1-3; Zech.9:9] **. . .**

(23) Yet it is made apparent by that spoken by the prophets that his advents shall also be in glory and in humiliation. But even Paul the Apostle makes this evident, when he speaks of the second advent in glory **(1 Thess.4:16,17)**: "At God's command, at the archangel's voice, at the last trumpet he [*Gk.*, "the lord"] shall descend from heaven, and the dead shall be resurrected first. Then we who are alive, who are remaining in his advent, together with them we shall be raptured in clouds to meeting Christ in the air [*Gk.*, Then also we who remain unto his parousia together with them shall be caught away in clouds unto his gathering.]", even as before this Daniel said (Dan.7:13): "I beheld one like the son of man who came in the clouds". But even in the Gospel it is written **(Mt.24:27; Lk.17:24)** : "as the lightning exits from the east and appears even to the west, so shall be also the advent of the son of man".

. . .

Chapter XXVI

Meg. On the one hand, you exhibit examples which concern the Christ who was declared by the law and the prophets. Yet on the other hand, John (the Baptist) did not recognize him, being utterly impossible that a prophet of the law would be ignorant of his own Christ. **(Mt.11:3)**: "When he had heard in prison the works of Christ, he sent to of his disciples to ask him: Are you the one that should come, or do we expect another?"

. . .

Chapter XXVII

Meg. To such a degree was Christ an alien, to those whom he appeared, and again, Christ to the creator god, that Paul s aid **(Gal.3:13)**: "Christ purchased us". It is obvious that he was an alien, for nobody at any time purchases what is their own. But it says that those who were purchased by the alien, he desired to have as his own.

Ad. Your delivery to me seems utterly inconsequential. For if that which you suppose can be proven, rightly it should be brought forth; but if you have actually seized words for which you are unable to give account, then you do not deliver wisely. For if you assert that Christ is a purchaser, then tell us: Who is your seller? Or does he not sell to you the old proverb that "The seller and the purchaser are brothers"? If the wicked devil sold to the good Christ, then he is not wicked, but good, even he who from the beginning was jealous of man, (but) now, as you would say, he ceases to be jealous, if he handed over his rightful possession to the good Christ; from which was settled now his justice and goodness, whose possession the evil transferred to the good Lord (if in fact you deny that the devil is the seller, but the Creator God, yet which one do you declare as just, moreover which one in the midst of those shall justice be tested, if one becomes torn apart from the other? For if the good is someone that should be divided apart, justice should become slave to the good, the price received, acquired by the alien; if indeed the evil divides, likewise should injustice be (slave) to the evil, the price received, acquired by the evil alien.)

. . .

Ad. (27) The Lord himself echos the prophets, asserting what they say (Jn.8:34): "Every one who commits sin is a slave to sin".

Meg. From sin itself Christ purchased us.

Ad. Well then sin captivates you justly in our Lord.

Meg. I did not say that sin is our lord.

Eutr. This is absurd. For just as he says that no one purchases what is his own, so likewise does no one sell what is his own. Like that which was spoken, "Every one who commits sin is a slave to sin", it is shown clearly that sin is lord.

Ad. And further this is found apparent in the other Apostle who says **(Rom.6:20)**:

"But when ye were slaves of sin, ye were free from justice" - and besides clearly he says **(Rom.6:14)**: "Sin in us [Gk, "you"] shall no longer dominate").

Chapter XXVIII

Meg. Christ clearly said that **(Mt.6:24)** "No one can serve two lords". What other one from another do you speak?

Ad. How many lords do you believe he asserts?

Meg. Just as the Gospel declares **(Mt.7:18; Lk.6:43)**: "No evil tree can produce good fruit, neither (can) a good tree produce evil fruit". Behold how two lords become apparent.

Observe how there are two natures and two lords.

Ad. By which means it does not even pursue this association, but from this you assume to supposing that it will gain to you support? But I declare what the scripture says: "No one can", it says, "serve two lords; for either the one he will hold hate and love the other, or he will hold to the one, and hate the other. You cannot serve God and mammon".

Eutr. What is this "mammon" mentioned?

Ad. It refers to "money" in the gentile language. Even as it was commonly spoken, that (2 Pe.2:19) "whoever is slave to it is in bondage to it". And for that reason Christ warned not to strive for money, nor to become a slave for mammon, but to God only should he rely. "For all", it says, "who commit sin are servants to sin".

Eutr. If mammon is a particular nature, Megethius, and holds a particular principle, it is money, no longer should it be two or three principles, but many. For how much easier can you speak of even the sun having its own nature, and the moon and the stars and the winds and the waters. Thus do you speak of money having its own principle and its own nature?

Meg. I do not say that, but Christ said that "An evil tree cannot produce good fruit, nor a good tree produces evil fruit".

Ad. Of that which you refer even a pea brain would not discern natures, but it would be related of men. For if it should speak of nature, by no means would it have named fruit, because a ripened nature is impossible. And he shows from the Gospel concerning the children of men that judgement is that spoken and not of nat ure or principles. For he says **(Mt.7:15)**: "They come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves; from their fruits you shall recognize them". And again **(Lk.6:45; Mt.15:19)**: "A good man from (his) good treasure brings forth good, and an evil man from (his) evil treasure brings forth evil. For from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. For from the heart proceeds evil reasonings". You see that the Lord said that from the one nature of men proc eeds good and evil.

Meg. The Lord did not say this.

Eutr. And what other evidence should we require?

Ad. You say that nature is unchangeable; but in the Gospel it is written **(Mt.3:9)** that he is able to raise from stones sons of Abraham. Thereupon, tell me also this: formerly what kind of tree was the apostle Paul, good or evil? Respond.

Meg. This is not inquired from Paul.

Ad. He was formerly a persecutor, afterwards he was made an apostle. Thus how could an evil tree be made into that which is good? And as contrary as Judas, alongside is the apostle, if without doubt he is a good tree. Therefore how, was he made to bring forth, evil-bearing fruit?

Closing Narrative:

And at this, along with the shouting from all (the audience), defeated Megethius, amidst the commotion, withdraws in accordance to the (allotted) time.

The End of the First Disputation.

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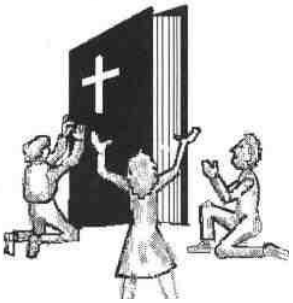
THE BOOK WE CALL HOLY



By Gerard R. Patchen

To question the holiness, infallibility, accuracy, and contents of the Bible should not be viewed as denying the existence of God or the Christian faith! To question its validity, focusing primarily on the New Testament, is doing nothing more than that which all of Christianity did prior to final canonization in 397 A.D.. Christianity existed and flourished without an agreed upon text prior to this time.

The Bible has proven to be a source of encouragement, strength, comfort and inspiration to its readers. This is not denied! However, there are parts of the Bible that it is hard to believe have brought about encouragement, strength, comfort and inspiration. On the other hand, men and organizations have used the Bible as a source of creating creeds and doctrines in order to obtain (1) a following (2) power (3) money (4) and fame (building their own Tower of Babel). To form creeds and doctrines and then impose them on other Christians is wrong - *very wrong*! Rather than uniting Christians, creeds and doctrines have a long history of separating Christians and even dividing families.

At last count there were over 33,800 denominations. At the rate of investigating one denomination per day an individual would have to spend over 93 years in order to investigate all of them.

Tucked ever so discreetly within the pages of the earliest acknowledged church history book, authored by Eusebius (260 A D. - 340 A.D.), *THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH* from Christ to Constantine, written between 303 A.D.- 327 A.D.), is the following much overlooked 2nd century admonition given by Apelles to Rhodo. Eusebius, not known as a proponent of Apelles' views, viewed this admonition, given almost two centuries prior by a so called heretic, of such important significance that he took time to insert it in his book on early church history from Christ to Constantine (Eusebius, *The History of the Church*, Book.V (13-15):

"The old man Apelles, in a discussion with me, was shown to be guilty of many erroneous statements. He therefore began to suggest that it was far better not to argue about doctrine at all, and for each man to stick to his own beliefs: those who placed their hopes in the Crucified would be saved, he declared, so long as they continued in good works."

The following verses seem to support his view:

"But the anointing which you have received from Him abides in you, and you do not need that anyone teach you" I John 2:27 NKJV

"But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things" St. John 14:26 NKJV

"And do not be called teachers, for One is your Teacher, the Christ" Matthew 23:10 NKJV

In his younger days Apelles had felt compelled to convert other Christians to his way of thinking. Time, increased knowledge and the influence of his close friend and associate, Marcion, had evidently caused him to change his mind. Historians agree that together, Apelles, Marcion and a multitude of other like-minded Christians presented the first major threat to the development of the Roman Catholic Church.

HOW RELIABLE IS OUR BIBLE?

Several years ago, while visiting in Los Angeles, California I was introduced to a Catholic professor. In one of our conversations the subject of the Bible came up. I mentioned to him that there appeared to be some errors in it. I didn't realize at the time but I had evidently touched upon a sensitive nerve.

Upon my return to Arizona I received a package in the mail from him. It contained a 6 cassette tape series on the Catholic teaching entitled "CAN YOU TRUST THE BIBLE" by Scott Hahn.

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING IN ITS ENTIRETY IF YOU HAVE A PROBLEM IN PLACING YOUR FULL TRUST IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR YOUR SPIRITUAL LIFE!

On the front cover of the package containing the 6 cassette tapes is printed the following:

CAN YOU TRUST THE BIBLE?

The Inerrancy of Scripture in Catholic Teaching by Scott Hahn

Many Catholics today are confused about what the Church really teaches about the reliability of Scripture. In this vitally important six-tape series, Catholic theologian and Bible scholar Scott Hahn explains the ancient teaching of the Church regarding "inerrancy" --that the Bible is free from all error--was reaffirmed by recent papal encyclicals as well as by Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (Dei Verbum). With his encyclopedic knowledge of both liberal and conservative scholars, Hahn explores many of the central issues confronting ordinary Catholics today - including theories of inspiration, the historical reliability of the Gospels, the Church's teaching on miracles and evolution, the origin of apostolic authority and much more. Learn why many top Bible scholars of all denominations are abandoning the old skeptical methods now so common among liberal Catholic theologians. Discover how new research has proven why Catholics can truly trust the Bible.

CAN YOU TRUST THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH?

No matter how you answer this question, the truth is, we all have trusted the Roman Catholic Church for the formation and preservation of the Bible!

"Irenaeus (c.130 - c.200) was bishop of Lyons (177/178-c.200), theologian and antiheretical writer. Claimed by both Roman Catholics and Protestants as their progenitor, Irenaeus framed the catholic concept of authority". (Encyclopedia On Religion - page 280)

"The Bible - The first beginnings of this process (canonization can be discerned as early as Irenaeus, c.180." (The Oxford Illustrated History of the Church - page 30)

Just how reliable is Irenaeus?

A) Irenaeus claimed to have been the student of Polycarp who had been a student of John. Historians have generally accepted his claim.

B) Irenaeus taught Jesus ministered for 20 years and He was over 50 when He died.

C) Irenaeus taught infant baptism.

D) Irenaeus taught the resurrection of the body.

E) Irenaeus wrote that Papias was a student of the Apostle John. Eusebius refutes this in his book "History of the Church". (300 A.D.)

F) Although there were many different Gospels circulating at the time, Irenaeus claimed the accepted number be limited to four. This was based upon his belief that there were only four winds.

G) Historians (Roman Catholic Church) bestowed on him the high honor of being called "Church Father".

1. Have you ever wondered why Jesus never left us any writings? He obviously could write! What was He doing until the age of 30?

2. Have you ever wondered why Jesus' disciples never felt the need to compile a book?

3. Have you ever wondered why none of the original 27 New Testament letters are extant? Other much older writings are! Not one word of any original New Testament letter has been discovered! To prove the validity of the New Testament might be compared to proving someone guilty of murder without a dead body. Yet, even more difficult! To try to prove the validity of each New Testament book leads to an even more complicated and impossible task of validating each and every verse.

4. Did you know that the person that is credited with the idea of forming a New Testament was branded a heretic (Marcion 70-150 A.D.) and believed that all of the New Testament writings were either bogus or had been tampered with? To focus on the negative statements made about Marcion is to give credibility to his enemies or those who just repeated what his enemies had said about him. For instance, Tertullian wrote five books against Marcion even though Tertullian did not know Marcion who had been dead for over 50 years at the time Tertullian wrote. During his lifetime Tertullian changed his position many times and it is also possible that he had a change of heart regarding Marcion before he died.

This can also be said of others, such as Origen and even Irenaeus, who wrote against Marcion.

5. However, since the question was raised on the validity and reliability of scripture prior to 140 A.D., the accuracy of every verse of every New Testament letter would have to be proven to exist prior to 140 A.D.. Yet, even if this could be done, -which it can't,- it is impossible to conclude Marcion wrong and a quoted scripture valid without the original autographs. The "shell game", a game of diversion, has been played upon the masses by the pro ponents of the infallibility of scripture by quoting someone after 140 A.D.

Another diversionary tactic is to quote an unverified scripture such as II Timothy 3:16, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God.....", to validate the rest of the unverified scriptures. At the time II Timothy was authored the New Testament letters had yet to be cannonized. If it could be validated, which it can't, II Timothy 3:16 at best pertained to only the Old Testament. II Peter 1:21 is yet another favorite scripture of the diversionists.

A few years ago I met with a local Greek Orthodox priest. During the course of our conversation he confessed church history was not his thing, nor had he had any past interest in knowing how the Bible developed. He further confessed that most likely his congregation believed he was well educated in both.

A short time later I was asked by an elderly lifelong dedicated Catholic to meet with a prominent Jesuit priest. This lifelong dedicated Catholic almost fell to the floor when she heard this Jesuit priest admit he did not have a clue on how the Bible had developed, was not a student of church history and could not recommend any local Catholic priest that was. (She died a short time later. I've wondered if this shocking revelation and disappointment had contributed to her demise.)

Is it expecting too much from those who impose creeds and doctrines, which are based on questionable scriptures, to prove that these scriptures existed in the original writings before they impose them?

From all indications 100% of all imposers are guilty of "placing the cart before the horse"!

Left unchecked, the blind and the leaders of the blind will continue their current course of imposing creeds and doctrines that result in the splitting up of families and the Body of Christ!

Years ago, when I was young, I placed my trust and confidence in others to do My homework. It has taken almost a lifetime to realize My big mistake!.....Who has done YOUR homework? Accept the responsibility and challenge now!.....Don't be a pawn, puppet, or parrot! Do your own homework CAREFULLY!

If I am wrong, PLEASE, show me the evidence!

P.S.- ON THE LIGHTER SIDE - Please do not respond by saying, "you have to have faith". Faith and ignorance were never meant to be defined the same. Then again, some people do not know the difference. All other responses are welcome.

ON THE MORE SERIOUS SIDE - Place your faith in God and not the Roman Catholic Church or any of its daughters. CONTINUE TO READ THE BIBLE AND BE BLESSED BY IT! However, please, do not impose your interpretation and understanding (creeds and doctrines) on other Christians.

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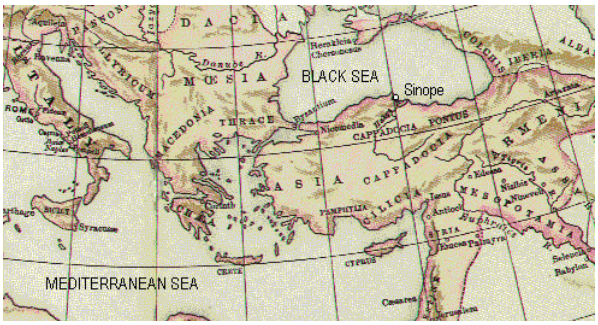
Sinope

Some Thoughts Concerning Marcion's Geographical World

Herein is presented some interesting information and profound reflections concerning the ancient port of Sinope, off the coast of the Black Sea, where Marcion is reported to have lived (prior to his alleged trip to Rome), as shared with me by a good friend and superb scholar, David Anderson, author of "The Two Ways of the First Century Church". I have included a few maps throughout, though I doubt that they're as detailed as the map which Dave used as he shared these things in his letters with me. Nonetheless, there is much compelling food for thought here, which may provide reason to question the way history has been usually interpreted, from the assertion that Marcionism began in Rome and spread to the east (being most likely the other way around, that it began in the east and spread west, where it ultimately receded), to what might have been one of the actual motives behind relocating the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium (Constantinople).



Subj: Sinope
Date: 97-11-13 09:14:28 EST
From: David Anderson

Dan: If the Black Sea was moved directly east about 1300 miles, Rome would be where Sinope is on the map. I never realized just how big the Black Sea is until this morning, from north to south it is about 400 miles high and from west to east about 800 miles wide. And the seaport city that dominated the commerce of the Black Sea was Sinope, one time home of shipping magnate Marcion "The Heretic". Sinope sits on the south shore of the Black Sea, almost exactly in the center of it and at the northernmost point of the south shoreline. So Marcion could look east 400 miles and see nothing but water. He could look west 400 miles and see nothing but water. He could look north 400 miles and see nothing but water. And if he looked south 400 miles, he would see nothing but mountains until he got to the north shore of the very eastern limit of the Mediterranean. If he looked south another 200 miles he would see Jerusalem. If he looked south west 600 miles he would see Ephesus, and if he wanted to go to Jerusalem he would first have to go to Ephesus and then head south east another 600 miles in his coast guard cutter to get there. But that would still be a far easier trip than to get to Rome- assuming he ever had any interest in going to Rome. My guess is he never even went there and his kissing the ass of the Roman Catholic Church is so much wishful thinking and propaganda of the likes of Tertullian, who probably wasn't even born yet when Marcion was on the scene.

Now, if Marcion had a Lear Jet, which to the best of my knowledge he didn't have, he could have flown the 1300 miles to Rome instead of having to sail probably twice that far to get there. But then his Lear Jet would have taken him due north to Moscow (1000 miles) or south east to Bagdad (800) in less time. So there you have the world of Marcion (plus or minus 50 miles here or there).

Next question, how did his ancestors get there and where did they come from? To get a historical slant on this question, assuming his ancestors were indiginous to the area, the authoritive book on the "steppe people" is "The Heartland", by a guy named Stewart (I forget his first name), which I was introduced to by an Armenian down in Memphis Tennessee that I worked for ten years or so ago. If Marcion's roots don't go back to the steppe people, he certainly dealt extensively with them because if Sinope could be considered as part of "Western Civilization" it certainly was on the extreme eastern margin of it.

If Marcion's ancestors were imports, their history goes back to 630 B.C., a date the ancient inhabitants assign to the founding of the city, supposedly founded by Autolycus, a companion of Hercules. My 1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica says it was founded "by the Ionians of Miletus, and ultimately became the most flourishing Greek Settlement on the Euxine (the Euxine Sea is the ancient name for the Black Sea), as it was the terminus of a great caravan route from the Euphrates, through Pteria, to the Black Sea, over which were brought the products of Central Asia and Cappadocia."

Now that I think about it, I wouldn't be surprised if the whole story about Marcion being in the shipping business was mere fabrication, a plausable bull **** story so the Catholic church could establish some reason (70 years or more after the fact) for Marcion to possibly have any ties to Rome- or even a way, or a reason, to get there. I think it's safe to accept that he came from Sinope because if they lied about this then people would think they were talking about the wrong guy and trying to defame him- you know, "Dan from Denver" is a real Heretic and people would say, "Wheoo, I'm glad they're not talking about our friend "Dan from Conneticut." I mean, if you're going to go to the trouble of defaming someone, you at least have to be sure that people know who you're trying to defame. And without Marcion having a shipping business, a rich "Fat Cat" coming to Rome to give them a big donation, why people would probably say, "What do you care about Marcion anyway?" Ah, but if they could cook up a story that he tried to bribe the whole of Christianity with his wealth by buying off a Pope of two, ah, now you have a cause celebré to promote for two thousand years!

Anyway, back to Sinope, the terminus of an ancient trade route from the east, not the west! The Greeks, long before the Romans had any say in anything, established a colony to their eastern extremedy, to get the goodies from the East into their commerce. Interestingly enough, at the turn of this last century, the population consisted of 5,000 Moslems and 4,000 Christians, chiefly Greeks and Armenians, encl. Brit. says. It goes on to say that Mithradates VI was born there, that Julius Caesar (102 B.C.-44 B.C.) tried to set up a Roman colony there but that by this time Sinope was already declining with the diversion of traffic to Ephesus (the port for Rome). Seems that Sinope had it's hay day at the time when all things went to Athens rather than Rome.

It is important to note that the Persian Empire never was in the least dominated by Rome and so trade with them probably was not a very big ticket item with Rome. The fact that Antoich was the "Rome East" of the Roman Empire makes it likely that any trade from the east came by caravan to Antioch. In other words, if you're in India, China, Iran, Iraq,etc and trying to get to Rome or the Roman Empire with your stuff, it's an entirely different proposition than if you're trying to get to Athens and the Greek Empire. It appears that Sinope was the gateway to the Greek Empire but not to the Roman Empire. So just what the hell would Tertullian know about Sinope or it's people, or their way of thinking, anyway?

Well Dan, it's been a delightful way to spend the first three hours of my day today looking at maps of the ancient east, reading about Sinope, and trying to picture what Marcion must have seen and lived. I wonder if there are any Sinopian Christians on the Internet, and if so, I wonder what language they speak. Sure would like to go there some day and hang out for a few months and then retrace the caravan route to the Euphrates- but that would probably have to be on horseback and so I'd better continue my education on horses so I can find a good one in Sinope to take me to Babylon.

By the way, what does the Eastern Text say at II Peter 5:13? (i.e. was Peter really writing from Babylon or from Rome?) Finally, when Jesus said to the disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations" I wonder if the disciples understood that to mean "but stay within the Roman Empire!" Somehow, I doubt it, although most people I know would probably figure he did mean that.

Best wishes,

Dave

Date: 97-11-14 05:32:42 EST
From: David Anderson

Dan: about 100 miles south east of Sinope is the ancient capital of the kingdom of Pontus, a city today called Amasya. It was the birthplace of Strabo, Greek geographer of about 63 B.C. About 20 miles south of Amasya is the town of Zile, where, in 47 B.C. Caesar defeated Pharnaces, King of Pontus, and coined his famous phrase, "Veni, vidi, vici"- "I came, I saw, I conquered." (Hmm, he must have seen a very fair land indeed!)

Young's Concordance has this to say about Pontus: "The N.E. province of Asia Minor, having the Euxine Sea on the N., Cappadocia on the S., Colhis on the E., and Paphlagonia and Galatia on the W. It was originally a part of Cappadocia, and a satrapy of the Persian Empire; in 480 B.C. it was given to Artabazes; in 112-110 Mithridates the Great greatly enlarged it, and assisted the Greeks against the Scythians, and in 108-105 he formed connections as far W. as the Danube; in 89-85 he lost Bithynia, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia; in 84-81 he was still losing, and in 75-64 Pontus became a Roman province.

Acts 2:9 tells us that people from Pontus came to the feast of Pentecost, Acts 18:2 tells us that Aquila was born in Pontus, and I Pet.1:1 tells us that Peter was writing to the dwellers in Pontus and that area (an interesting fact, particularly if he was in Babylon and not Rome when writing- in fact seems this verse could be used as some kind of evidence that he was in Babylon since the trade route from Babylon to Sinope would have provided easy access for messages to be sent, and letters, between the two. It's hard to imagine Peter in Rome saying to himself, "I think I'll drop a line to the folks in Pontus today. Let's see, who can I get to deliver it. Hey Mark, how'd you like to take a few thousand mile trip to deliver this letter?" On the other hand, if he was in Babylon, all he'd have to do is to say, "hey Mark, how about dropping this off down at the peer to my friend Caravan Joe, he's headed back up the Euphrates and on up to Sinope tomorrow and I'm sure he won't mind dropping this off at the local church when he gets there).

Anyway, Ankara, the current capital of Turkey, is just 180 miles south west of Sinope and it was the ruling city of Galatia in ancient times. Looks from the map that it's a fairly straight shot to get between the two towns.

And now for the biggie. All day it has been haunting me just why Constantine moved the seat of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople (or Istanbul, or Byzantium as it was variously called at different ages) in 330 A.D.. Strategically, the Bosporus Straight is the choke point for all trade coming ang going from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea and so it would only make sense economically for him to move if he had lost economic control throughout Europe, France, Spain, Egypt, etc. (and unfortunately I don't know enough Roman History of that period- ie. when Attilla the Hun sacked Rome, or Alaric, et al.) Either that or the commerce around the Black Sea was far greater than we brainwashed westerners ever imagined. But, try this on for size. The Marcionite Church was so strong, and such a threat to the Papists by this time that the western church cut a deal with Constantine to turn over the church to him if he would move to Byzantium and rename it Constantinople, and put down the Marcionites! Interestingly enough, the little town of Nicea lies inland in Turkey only about a hundred miles from Constantinople as the crow flies and just five years before Constantine moved, don't ya know the Council of Nicea produced the Nicene Creed (Father Son and Holy Ghost, whoever gets there first gets the most)

I've got this great big map (about 4 feet by 3 feet) called "Lands of the Bible Today" published back in 1967 by National Georaphic, and it is just loaded with notes all over the place where various historical events took place. The most interesting thing about it is that the western edge of the map includes Greece but does not include Italy! But it does include Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, most of the Persian Gulf, most of the Caspian Sea, and it looks like Turkey could hold a hundred or more nations the size of Israel. Hmm, I guess National Geographic at least thinks the Bible is an Eastern Book! And so, everyone for 1800 years has called Marcion a Heretic- everyone that is that has lived in places not on the Bible Lands map!...

Best Wishes,

Dave

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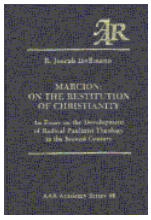
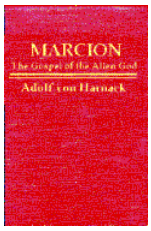
Recommended Books

MARCION: ON THE RESTITUTION OF CHRISTIANITY - ***An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century***, by R.Joseph Hoffmann (Scholars Press, 1984). This is one of the best works on Marcion currently in print. Hoffmann presents an in-depth discussion on Marcionite theology and the various influences which may have led to its formation, and in the process, calls into question the testimony of the church fathers and the traditional dating of Marcion's life and career, proposing that Marcion occupied a much earlier period of time in christian history - almost a generation earlier - than has been commonly supposed. In addition, Hoffmann's superb comprehensive bibliography provides many leads for those interested in pursuing further research on Marcion. I highly recommend this work! Some chapter headings: *The Hellenistic Matrix of Marcion's Religious Thought; The Gnostic Trajectory of Marcion's Theology; The Morphology of Marcion's Dualism; The Reclamation of Paul: the Orthodox Critique of Marcion's Paulinism; the Marcionite Error in the Pastoral Epistles.*



MARCION:The Gospel of the Alien God by Adolf von Harnack. Translated by John E. Steely and Lyle D. Bierma (Labyrinth Press). Harnack's monumental work on Marcion (originally published in German in 1924) would and should be at the top of this list - if not for the fact that the English translation (first pub.1984) has apparantly already gone out of print! Nonetheless, Amazon still has it listed, and it would be worth placing a special order with Amazon to locate any new or used copies which might be available. This is THE work on Marcion to have! There is one drawback to the English version: Harnack's extensive appendixes of the 1924 German edition(about 400 pages) - containing his reconstruction of Marcion's canon - were not included! Despite this, Harnack's monograph is invaluable with much to offer. Chapter headings: *Marcion's Life and Career; The Critic and Restorer: Marcion's Bible; Marcion's Antithesis; Marcion's Christianity and his Preaching; The History of the Marcionite Church. It's Theological Schools and the Sect of Apelles; Marcion's Historical Position and His Historical Significance for the Emergence of the Catholic Church; Marcion's Christianity in Light of Church History and the Philosophy of Religion.*

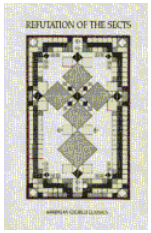


THE GOSPEL OF THE LORD, Marcion of Sinope by James Hamlyn Hill. A "hard copy" of Marcion's gospel featured at this site, with an informative introduction by James Hill.

MARCION AND SEIN APOSTOLOS: Rekonstruktion und Historische Einordnung der Marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe (Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen textes vol 25) by Ulrich Schmid. The most recent reconstruction (in Greek) of Marcion's Apostolikon in circulation. A bit pricey for 366 pages - $142 - and presented in headache-inducing German at that. The major difference with this reconstruction from the past efforts of Zahn and Harnack is that Schmid refrained from using material from *The Dialogues of Adamantius*, for which many doubts have been raised (by John Clabeaux - see below) regarding its reliability as a source for quotations from Marcion's bible. The great body of the work is devoted to the reassessment of source material used for reconstructing Marcion's Pauline canon, while the reconstruction of the text comprises the appendices (p.313ff): *Beilage I: Der Text des marcionitischen Apostolikon; Beilage II: Die sicheren Lesarten des marcionitischen Textes* - containing the sigla to other ancient NT manuscripts with which to compare marcionite readings.

A LOST EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF PAUL: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion by John J. Clabeaux. Not much offered here in the way of Marcion's theology, nor even a full reconstruction along the lines of efforts by Zahn, Harnack and Schmid. Clabeaux gives an immensely detailed treatment and review of Marcionite readings, setting forth the hypothesis that Marcion's canon was not the earliest canon of Paul. Impressively executed, but Clabeaux's proposition suffers from one major oversight (in my opinion) - he fails to either mention or take into consideration Hoffmann's earlier dating for Marcion's life and career, and does not even offer a date for Marcion's activity - which does not exactly lend weight to the conjecture of a "Pre-Marcionite" canon, if indeed Marcion lived much earlier than where traditional dating has placed him. Nevertheless, his work containing extensive appendices evaluating lists of "Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings","Probable Pre-Marcionite Readings", and an "Evaluation of Passages from Dial.5, Significant Problems" makes for interesting reading and source reference.

REFUTATION OF THE SECTS, A Retelling of Yeznik Koghbatsi's Apology, translated by Thomas Samuelian (Armenian Church Classics). An English translation of the refutation of the Armenian Yeznik (or "Eznik"), who lived from 387-450 CE. Book IV is his "Refutation of the Heretic Marcion", which contains the later marcionite myth of creation. Contents: *Book I - The Nature of God; Book II -Refutation of Zurvanism (an offshoot of Zoroastrianism); Book III - Refutation of the Greek Philosophers.*



MARCION AND THE NEW TESTAMENT by John Knox (published 1942). A most compelling work! Did Marcion actually erase passages from his canon, as accused by his opponents - or did the proto-orthodoxy expand their canon, laced with anti-marcionite polemic to boot? Amazon lists this work as "out of stock", but it would be worthwhile ordering if Amazon can track down a copy.

MARCION: A Study of a Second Century Heretic by Robert S.Wilson. A classic 1933 work, still available through Amazon via special order.

MARCION AND HIS INFLUENCE by E.C.Blackman. A detailed exposition, challenging Harnack's conclusions concerning the significance of Marcion for christian history. "Out of stock" at the moment according to Amazon.

MARCION, MUHAMMAD AND THE MAHATMA: Exegetical Perspectives on the Encounter of Cultures and Faiths by Heikki Raisanen (1997). Not yet reviewed.
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THE PANARION OF EPIPHANIUS, BOOK I (Sects 1-46), translated by Frank Williams (1987). An English translation of Epiphanius' nasty rantings against the marcionites and various other gnostic movements. A major source for readings from Marcion's canon. Be forewarned -an expensive volume - but Amazon offers the best price.

THE PANARION OF EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP OF SALAMIS: Selected Passages, translated by Philip R. Amidon. The "poor man"'s alternative to the volume above. However, I have not had opportunity to review this yet, and am uncertain how much on Marcion this volume contains.

HERETICS:THE OTHER SIDE OF CHRISTIANITY by Gerd Ludemann. "Gerd Ludemann argues that it is impossible to overlook the historical distance between every possible theology today and the primitive Christian period. The gulf between the history of Jesus and the varied picture of him in the New Testament makes it impossible to argue for the Bible's inspiration. Gerd Ludemann argues that the time from the first Christian communities to the end of the second century was not a period of great harmony, but was defined by struggles by various groups for doctrinal authority. Drawing on a wealth of data, he asserts that the losers in the struggle actually represented Christiani ty in its more authentic, original form. Since Orthodoxy has been defined by the victors in this struggle, it is the silenced alternative views that have been labeled "heretical".Ludemann's findings are important as well as liberating for understanding both Christianity and the Bible. Readers will gain a new understanding of Jesus and the early church from this compelling and controversial book".

THE ORTHODOX CORRUPTION OF SCRIPTURE:The Effect of Early Christological Controversieson the Text of the New Testament by Bart Ehrman. "Exploring the close relationship between the social history of early Christianity and the textual tradition of the emerging New Testament, Bart Ehrman examines how early struggles between Christian "heresy" and "orthodoxy" affected the transmission of the documents over which, in part,the debates were waged. In the process, he provides a valuable analysis of significant textual problems that continue to puzzle New Testament scholars. Ehrman argues that scribes of the second and third centuries occasionally altered their sacred texts for polemical reasons. In order to make them support established christological doctrine, scribes imported orthodox motions into passages, or modified texts that might have lent support to heretical views. Closely examining three such heresies, Ehrman identifies how the proto-orthodox response affected the evolving texts of scripture, devoting a chapter to adoptionists like the Ebionites, who claimed that Christ was a man but not God; one to docetists like Marcion, who claimed that Christ was God but not a man; and another to Gnostics like the Ptolemaeans, who claimed that Christ was two beings, one divine and one human. The first full-length work to evaluate textual data with reference to specific controversies between orthodoxy and heresies, Ehrman's thorough and incisive analysis makes a vital contribution to our understanding of the social and intellectual history of early Christianity. In addition, it raises intriguing questions about the relationship of readers to their texts - especially in an age when scribes could transform the documents they reproduced to make them say what they were already thought to mean, effecting thereby the orthodox corruption of Scripture".

ALL IN ALL : The Goal of the Universe by A.E.Knoch. Does the salvation of Christ extend to the entire human race? An upbeat thesis making the case for "universal conciliation" for all with God. Not a marcionite thesis, but at least a greater alternative to traditional Christendom's "hell, fire and brimstone", and more befitting of a Supreme Being.

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Links

RADIKALKRITIK
Dr.Hermann Detering's superb, new website, offering many invaluable materials relating to the subject of Marcion and the field of textual criticism. Also features a Greek reconstruction of Marcion's text of Galatians -highly recommended!
THE JEFFERSON BIBLE
Jefferson and Marcion were probally worlds apart in many respects (particularly in their opinions of Paul), but their views concerning a beneficient God, and perhaps their methods of approach toward editing their gospels (if Harnack's portrait of Marcion is correct)share many things in common.
THE JOURNAL OF HIGHER CRITICISM
Highly, highly recommended!
THE GNOSIS ARCHIVE
An invaluable resource for the study of gnosticisms and ancient gnostic texts.
PATROLOGIA: LA LITERATURE CHRISTIANA ANTIGUA Website of the *Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile*, offering studies on the subject of early Christian literature and history in Spanish.
LIGHT OF THE WORD MINISTRY
Another excellent site on the Aramaic language by a superb scholar.
AVESTA: ZOROASTRIAN ARCHIVES
Many years ago (pre-internet times), I personally expended much time trying to locate translations of Zoroastrian writings -now, here they all are, at the click of a mouse! Zoroastrianism extended a great influence upon Judaisms/Christianities.
SINOP WEBSITE
An great site which includes a work on ancient Sinope!
THE COSMIC MYSTERIES OF MITHRA
Fresh interpretations concerning the Mithraic religion, a rival to the early Christian movements - apparently even a source for parallels that may be seen in the "cosmic" language of the apostle Paul, such as those encountered in the epistles of *Ephesians* and *Colossians*.
THE SECULAR WEB
Very thought-provoking articles, especially on the historicity of Jesus.
GNOSTIC FRIENDS NETWORK
A fun website, with many mind-blowing articles and graphics!
LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE ARCHIVE
EARLY CHURCH FATHERS
WORDS (LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY)
An indispensable aid for translating Latin.
FONTS IN CYBERSPACE
A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO HIEROGLYPHS

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DE OMNIBUS DUBITANDUM
RADIKALKRITIK
Beiträge zur historischen Kritik der frühchristlichen Geschichte

BUDDHISMUS / GNOSIS

Wichtiger Nachtrag zu „Amatoria carmina studiose discunt“

Veröffentlicht am September 22, 2018 von HDetering

Zu meinem Aufsatz „Amatoria carmina studiose discunt – Basilides und die Oden Salomos“ gibt es nun einen wichtigen Nachtrag, auf den ich auf diesem Wege aufmerksam machen möchte. An einer mir bisher unbekannten Stelle im Brief des Hieronymus an seinen Rivalen Vigilantius (c. 6) bezieht sich der Kirchenvater ausdrücklich auf ein (gefälschtes) „Zeugnis Salomos“, das Vigilantius dem „schon sehr alten Ketzers Basilides und einer sehr unverständigen Wissenschaft“ Basilides, verdanken soll:

> *...weil du an dem Fuße der Pyrenäen in der Nähe Spaniens wohnst [könntest du] die unglaublichen Namensungeheuer (portenda = eigentlich Fiktionen] des schon sehr alten Ketzers Basilides und einer sehr unverständigen Wissenschaft aufwärmen und ausstellen, was das Ansehen des ganzen Erdkreises verdammt. Denn in deinem kleinen Kommentare führst du ein Zeugnis von Salomo, als ob es für dich spräche, an, welches aber Salomo gar nicht geschrieben hat, so daß du , wie du einen andern Esdras, so auch einen andern Salomo hast.*

Die Passage, die ein weiteres entscheidendes Argument für die im Aufsatz vertretene These darstellt, wird im Nachtrag besprochen. Zugleich wird meine These, Basilides als (alleiniger) Autor der Oden Salomos, jedoch noch etwas relativiert.

→WEITERLESEN

BUDDHISMUS / GNOSIS

Traces of Indian Philosophy in Basilides 1-2

Veröffentlicht am September 7, 2018 von HDetering

Seit der ersten Veröffentlichung ist meine Aufsatzreihe über die *Spuren indischer Philosophie bei Basilides* auf rege Resonanz gestoßen. Es ist mir eine besondere Ehre mitzuteilen zu dürfen, dass Dr. Michael Lockwood, ein ausgewiesener Kenner indischer Kultur und Philosophie, inzwischen beide Texte ins Englische übersetzt und somit einer breiteren Leserschaft zugänglich gemacht hat. Dafür ganz herzlichen Dank!

- Traces of Indian Philosophy in Basilides – Part 1: Basilides References to Sāṃkhya
- Traces of Indian Philosophy by Basilides – Part 2: Religious Historical Intersections

Ich werde oft nach den Gründen für die große Aufmerksamkeit, die ich dem alexandrinischen Häretiker seit geraumer Zeit entgegenbringe, gefragt. Die Antwort ist einfach: Basilides ist ein entscheidendes Verbindungsglied zwischen einer (indisch-buddhistisch gefärbten) Gnosis und dem (daraus hervorgegangenen) frühen Christentum. Daran, dass indischer „spirit" den Anstoß für die Entstehung der frühchristlichen Religion und auch für die Gestaltung des neutestamentlichen Jesusbildes gegeben hat, habe ich, ebenso wie Dr. Lockwood, Dr. Zacharias P. Thundy oder Dr. Christian Lindtner, inzwischen nicht mehr den geringsten Zweifel. Insofern ist das Christentum auch für mich im weitesten Sinne eine mit jüdischen Bildern und Symbolen illustrierte „Sonderform" indischer Spiritualität. In der (älteren) Gnosis sind die Verbindungen deutlicher als bei den Kirchenschriftstellern. Altes Testament oder auch klassische Literatur sind sozusagen nur das neue „Gewand", worin sich dieser „spirit" gekleidet hat. Von Gnostikern wie Basilides oder Valentin führt eine unmittelbare Linie zu einigen frühen neutestamentlichen Texten, die, wie z.B. das von beiden Häretikern bezeugte *Johannesevangelium*, bud dhistische Färbung und Handschrift aufweisen (so auch Eugen Drewermann). Auch die sogenannten „Kinderevangelien", deren buddhistischer Hintergrund seit langem diskutiert wird, sind offenbar durch Gnostiker wie Basilides oder Markus ins frühe Christentum gelangt. Ich hoffe den Nachweis dafür, in meinem nächsten Buch führen zu können.

Bruno Bauer, dessen 209. Geburtstag gestern begangen wurde, schrieb einst:

> *„Das Gemüt des neuen Gebildes (= Christentum) kam vom Westen, das Knochengerüst lieferte das Iudentum."*

In der Abwandlung dieses Satzes möchte ich sagen:

> *„Das Gemüt des neuen Gebildes (= Christentum) kam vom Osten, das Knochengerüst lieferte das Iudentum."*

PAULUS / RADIKALKRITIK

Die Gegner des Paulus – Judaistenthese 2. Jahrhundert

Veröffentlicht am Juli 4, 2018 von HDetering

Meine Untersuchung über die Gegner des Paulus entstand zwischen 2005 und 2006. Damals lebte mein Lehrer Walter Schmithals noch und ich setzte mich gerade intensiv mit dessen Thesen zum Verhältnis Neues Testament/Paulus und Gnosis auseinander. Das erklärt, warum in manchen Abschnitten das Augenmerk sehr stark darauf und auch auf die von Schmithals verwendete, etwas veraltete Literatur fokussiert ist. Aus heutiger Sicht gelten die Thesen von Schmithals, die damals viel Furore machten, freilich inzwischen als weithin widerlegt und insofern als anachronistisch. Gleichwohl hat sich bei der Beschäftigung mit ihnen gezeigt, dass eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen hilfreich sein kann, zumal Schmithals immer einen sehr scharfen Blick für die Schwächen seiner Gegner hatte und seine kritischen Bemerkungen vielfach immer noch aktuell sind.

Die Untersuchung ist ein Fragment. Der Römerbrief wurde nicht mehr berücksichtigt. Ich hatte vor, ihn später hinzuzufügen und das Ganze noch einmal gründlich zu überarbeiten und zu korrigieren. Nun ist es nicht mehr dazu gekommen, die Zeit drängt. Ich stelle die Untersuchung, unfertig und vermutlich hier und da fehlerhaft, wie sie ist, dennoch ins Netz, in der Hoffnung, dass der eine oder andere, vielleicht davon profitieren kann.

Die These, die ich vertrete, ist neu. Ich versuche den Nachweis zu erbringen, dass der/die Verfasser der Paulusbriefe sich nicht gegen Judaisten des 1., sondern des 2. Jahrhunderts richten, woraus erneut die Unechtheit der paulinischen Literatur folgt.

Die Gegner des Paulus – Judaistenthese 2. Jahrhundert

EVANGELIEN / HISTORISCHER JESUS

Tschechische Übersetzung von: Die synoptische Apokalypse (Mk 13par) – ein Dokument aus der Bar Kokhba-Zeit, Berlin 2000

Veröffentlicht am Juni 16, 2018 von HDetering

Herr Aleš Pořízka teilte mir soeben mit, dass der meinen Aufsatz über die Datierung der Synoptischen Apokalypse ins Tschechische übersetzt und auf seine Webseite gestellt hat. Vielen Dank! Interessenten finden sie hier.

BUDDHISMUS / GNOSIS / THEOLOGIE

Spuren indischer Philosophie bei Basilides – 2. Teil: Religionsgeschichtliche Schnittmengen

Veröffentlicht am Mai 28, 2018 von HDetering

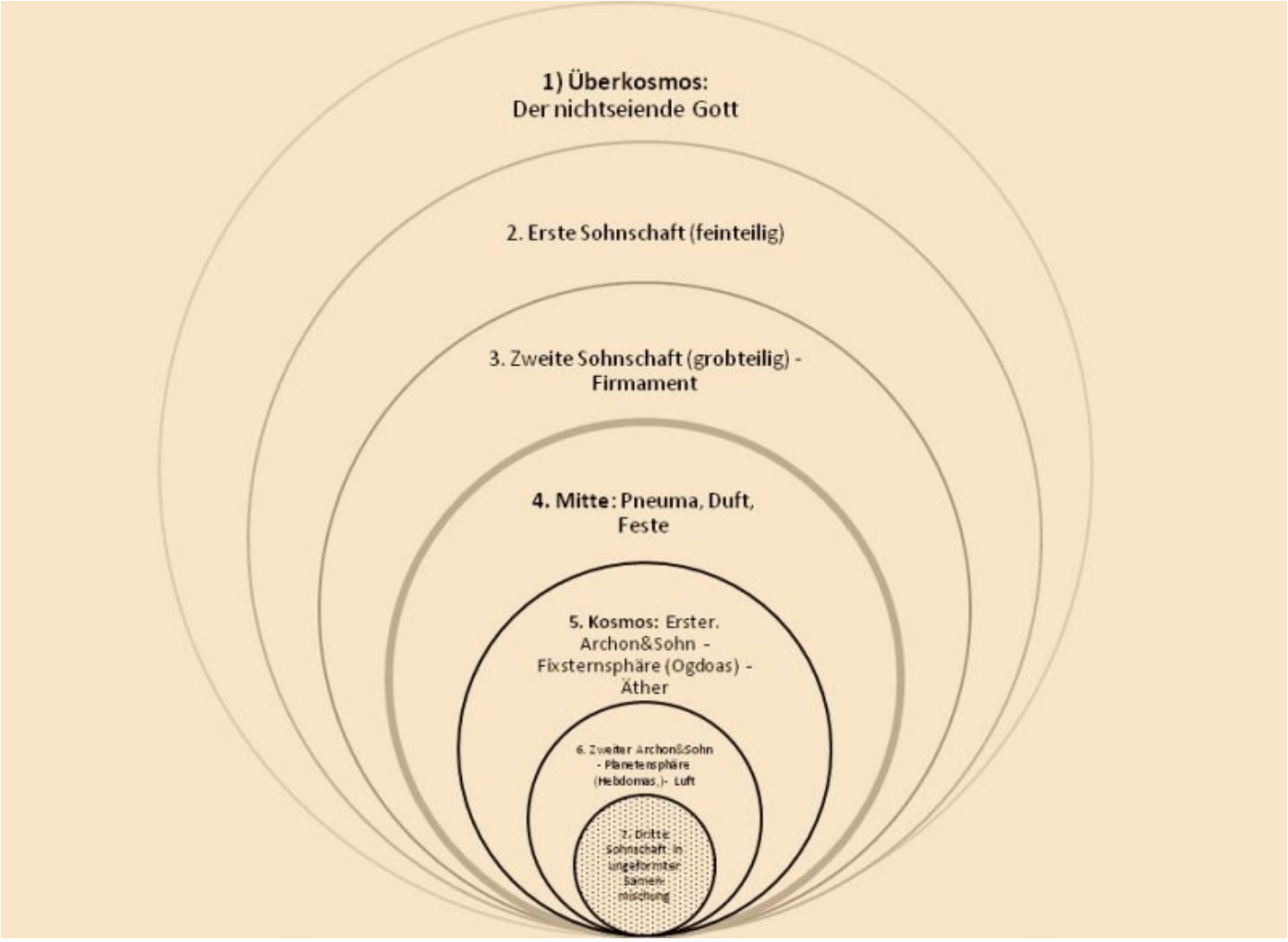


Abb. : Das kosmologische System des Basilides

1. Platonischer Hintergrund?

Als Ergebnis des ersten Teils dieser Untersuchung konnten wir feststellen, dass Basilides zweifellos über Kenntnisse der indischen Philosophie, insonderheit des Sāṃkhya, verfügte. Selbstverständlich soll damit noch nicht behauptet werden, dass auch seine eigene Theologie davon beeinflusst wurde. Deren DNA wird heute immer noch unter fast vollständiger Ausblendung dieser Möglichkeit bestimmt, wohl weil sie, aus Gründen, die schon genannt wurden, als „unmögliche Möglichkeit“ betrachtet wird. Wie schon im ersten Teil angedeutet, gibt es für die meisten Wissenschaftler auf die Frage nach der Herkunft der von Basilides verwendeten Traditionen in der Regel nur eine einzige Antwort und die lautet: Plato!

Weiterlesen

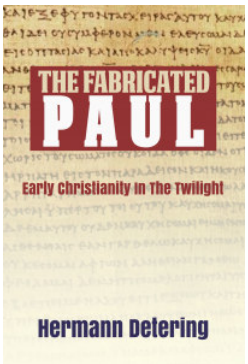
NEUE BÜCHER / PAULUS / RADIKALKRITIK

Neue Taschenbuchausgabe des „Gefälschten Paulus“

Veröffentlicht am Mai 25, 2018 von HDetering

Zu meiner Freude steht „Der Gefälschte Paulus“ (Kindle-Ausgabe) seit ein paar Wochen auf Platz Eins bzw. Zwei (mal so, mal so) der amazon-Bestsellerliste „Bibelarbeit, Kommentare & Auslegungen“.

Ich erhielt in diesem Zusammenhang oft Anfragen, ob das Buch auch in nicht-elektronischer Form erhältlich sei. War es nicht (mehr). Deswegen habe ich kurzerhand eine leicht überarbeitete Paperback-Ausgabe daraus gemacht. Die ist hier erhältlich.

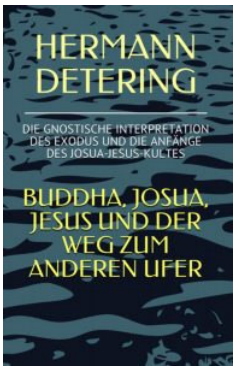


The Fabricated Paul. Paperback Edition 2018.
English Translation by Prof. Darrell Daughty†, 2003.

BUDDHISMUS / CHRISTUSMYTHOS / GNOSIS / REZENSION

Buddha, Josua, Jesus und der Weg zum anderen Ufer

Veröffentlicht am April 12, 2018 von HDetering



René Salm (Verfasser von „The Myth of Nazareth“ und „Nazareth Gate: Quack Archeology, Holy Hoaxes, and the Invented Town of Jesus“) hat damit begonnen, einen mehrteiligen Kommentar über meine Studie zur gnostischen Interpretation des Exodus zu verfassen (jetzt als Buch unter dem Titel: *Buddha, Josua, Jesus und der Weg zum anderen Ufer*).

Die Kommentar-Reihe von René Salm lässt sich hier abrufen. Bisher sind 2 Teile erschienen.

NEUE BÜCHER / PAULUS / PSEUDEPIGRAPHIE / RADIKALKRITIK

Inszenierte Fälschungen – Die Paulusbriefe in der holländischen Radikalkritik

Veröffentlicht am Februar 16, 2018 von HDetering

Das Buch basiert auf meiner 1992 bei *Peter Lang* in der Reihe *Kontexte* erschienenen Dissertation: *Paulusbriefe ohne Paulus? Die Paulusbriefe in der holländischen Radikalkritik*. Für die Neuausgabe wurde der Text gründlich korrigiert, überarbeitet, außerdem teilweise gekürzt und der neuen Rechtschreibung angepasst.

Auf die seit 1992 veränderte Forschungslage bin ich nur sporadisch eingegangen, sonst hätte das letzte Kapitel neu geschrieben werden müssen. Lediglich dort, wo sich radikalkritische und heutige Forschungspositionen wieder eng berühren (Ignatiusbriefe, 1. Clemensbrief), wurden Hinweise auf die moderne Literatur eingestreut.
→ WEITERLESEN

BUDDHISMUS / GNOSIS

Spuren indischer Philosophie bei Basilides – Basilides referiert Sāṃkhya

Veröffentlicht am Februar 10, 2018 von HDetering

Dass der frühchristliche Häretiker Basilides durch indische Philosophie beeinflusst worden sein könnte, wurde bereits im 19. Jahrhundert von einigen Wissenschaftlern vermutet. Meist waren es Indologen, die die These vertraten, nur wenige Theologen, wie z.B. Justus L. Jacobi, schlossen sich ihnen an. In dem Gnosis-Artikel der zweiten Auflage der *Protestantischen Realenzyklopädie* – eine bemerkenswert klare, bis heute lesenswerte Darstellung des *basilidianischen Systems – geht Jacobi der Herkunft der Bezeichnung Gottes als des „Nichtseienden" bei Basilides nach. Einen Zusammenhang mit Philo will Jacobi nicht ausschließen, aber noch wahrscheinlicher erscheint ihm, „dass die buddhistische Idee des Nirwana von ihm aufgenommen ist … Von der Verbindung Indiens mit Ägypten und Vorderasien finden wir im 2. u. 3. Jahrhundert so viele Spuren, dass der Einfluss des Buddhismus ohne historische Schwierigkeiten angenommen werden darf.*"

Die These wurde auch von Helena Blavatsky und ihrer theosophischen Gesellschaft aufgegriffen. Blavatsky sah darin eine Bestätigung für ihre Theorie einer indischen Beeinflussung der frühchristlichen Gnosis. WEITERLESEN

CHRISTUSMYTHOS / FALSCHE ZEUGEN / RADIKALKRITIK

„Wir brauchen eine poetische Betrachtungsweise der Bibel"

Veröffentlicht am Dezember 10, 2017 von HDetering

The Nativity, von John Singleton Copley, 1777

Interview mit Herrn Dr. Hermann Detering

Dieter Wiergowski:

Ein Hauptargument der Kirche ist ja, dass es außerchristliche Autoren gibt, die über Jesus berichten. Das sind Folgende:

1. *Das zweifache Zeugnis des jüdischen Historikers Flavius Josephus (Ant 20,200 und Ant 18, 63-64, sogenanntes Testimonium Flavianum)*
2. *Das Zeugnis des römischen Historikers Tatitus über den Brand von Rom und die neronische Christenverfolgung (Ann 15,44)*
3. *Der Bericht des römischen Statthalters Plinius d.J.in einem Brief an den Kaiser Trajan und dessen Antwort (ep 10,96 bis 97)*
4. *Zwei Stellen aus dem Werk des römischen Geschichtsschreibers Sueton (Suet. Claud. 25,4; Suet.Nero 16,2)*
5. *Ein erst neuerlich ins Spiel gebrachter Brief des Syrers Mara bar Serapion an seinen Sohn Serapion, der irgendwann nach 72 n. Chr. geschrieben sein soll*
6. *Und eine ominöse Passage aus dem verloren gegangenen und nur bei Julius Africanus und Georgius Synkellos in Auszügen erhaltenen Geschichtswerk des Thallus (nach 50 n. Chr.)*

Also: Gibt es einen einzigen außerchristlichen hundertprozentigen Beweis, dass Jesus wirklich existiert hat?

Dr. Hermann Detering:

Nach meiner Ansicht keinen einzigen. Sie haben die sechs entscheidenden außerchristlichen Zeugen genannt. Man sah darin unabhängige Quellen. In Wahrheit wurden sie christlich überarbeitet – was angesichts der antiken und mittelalterlichen Methode der handschriftlichen Überlieferung nicht weiter verwundert. Für einen christlichen Kopisten war es ein Leichtes, den vorliegenden Text in seinem Sinne zu verbessern oder zu „ergänzen“. → WEITERLESEN

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THE

Jefferson Bible

The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth
Extracted Textually from the Gospels

Compiled by Thomas Jefferson

Edited by Eyler Robert Coates, Sr.

. . . Thomas Jefferson believed that the ethical system of Jesus was the finest the world has ever seen. In compiling what has come to be called "The Jefferson Bible," he sought to separate those ethical teachings from the religious dogma and other supernatural elements that are intermixed in the account provided by the four Gospels. He presented these teachings, along with the essential events of the life of Jesus, in one continuous narrative.

This presentation of The Jefferson Bible offers the text as selected and arranged by Jefferson in two separate editions: one edition uses a revised King James Version of the biblical texts, corrected in accordance with the findings of modern scholarship; the second edition uses the original unrevised KJV. The actual verses of the Bible used for both editions are those chosen by Jefferson. Visitors should find the revised KJV text much easier to read and understand. Those seeking the precise English version Mr. Jefferson used when making his compilation can click on "Unrevised KJV text."

The Jefferson Bible is now available in Spanish:
La Biblia de Jefferson
And in German:
Die Jefferson-Bibel

INTRODUCTION

- Mr. Jefferson's Compilation
- Jefferson's Syllabus Comparing Jesus and Other Philosophers

Through Women's Eyes: An American History

Using primary source documents in a U.S. history class is a fairly standard practice these days, both in high school and college courses. In most cases, textbook publishers create a separate, slim volume of sources, called a "reader", as a supplemental text. The problem with this approach is twofold. On a pragmatic level, the students are forced to spend more money on the U.S. history textbook. On the other hand, students view documents as somehow separate from history and not integrated and you can supplement your knowledge with the list of famous women in world history. *Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents* by Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil tackles both issues and does so with depth and meaning, creating not just a women's history textbook but a U.S. history text that is enjoyable for non-students as well.

Women's History Textbook

Over the past decade a variety of women's history textbooks have hit the shelves, tackling U.S., western Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia and integrating women into the story. The problem with many of these selections is that the integration is more "and women did it too!" than "and women happened to do it." *Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents* bridges the two approaches, never pretending to somehow fix the historiography that left women out of so many of history's narratives, but instead presenting the reader with a chronological textbook that presents the history of the United States, and major historical themes, through the lens of women via primary documents.

As the authors note in the introduction, "Initially, women's history emphasized the rise and fall of the system of separate gender spheres....In organizing Through Women's Eyes, we employ another framework, one that emphasizes three major themes that shaped the diversity of women's lives in American history: work, politics, and family and personal life." (xxix)

Primary Documents on Women

The book is not a simple primary source reader. Each chapter includes authored text that presents the period's paradigms and discusses how women were affected by these themes. Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents opens with "'New World' Women to 1750", examining the role of native women in what would become the United States.

The chapter begins with 40 pages of text written by the authors, a general history overview, and then settles into the primary documents on women, incorporating images of pottery, figurings, drawings, paintings, and text-based documents on the period. At the end of various sections DuBois and Dumenil interject discussion questions designed to help the reader analyze the material and cross-reference and compare documents.

U.S. Women's History and Sources

Later chapters in *Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents* pack the strongest punch, as the authors draw on rich selections of newspapers, magazines, photographs, legal documents, songs, poetry, and more to examine U.S. women's history and sources. Chapter 7, "Power and Politics: Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920" is particularly compelling, as the authored text examines the convergence of a well-educated middle class female population, leisure time and WWI and the impact of the Progressive Movement on such topics as birth control and family planning, voting rights, and populism.

The primary sources section at the end of Chapter 7 uses government posters from WWI, food ration posters, documents from the Great Migration, the Chicago Commission on Race

Relations report, and personal letters from archives to illustrate not just the history of white, educated middle class women. One of the sharpest critiques of women's history, especially on women of royalty, has been its focus on this small sliver of women, but DuBois has worked on multiculturalism in women's history for decades, and *Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents* continues her work, incorporating women from different classes, education levels, races, and immigrant populations to create as complete a picture as possible of the overall experience of women in U.S. history.

Chapter 8, "Change and Continuity: Women in Prosperity, Depression and War, 1920-1945" best illustrates the multicultural approach in the documents. Sources include pictures of Mexican-American garment workers in Texas, African American women working in defense factories, African American female domestic servants, Mexican women in agricultural work, and popular advertisements from women's magazines showing stereotypes of white and black women.

This women's history textbook could easily be used simply as a U.S. history textbook. While the focus on women's history is significant, the overall approach to American history is so well-written that professors could use this book in any standard U.S. course. If the point of women's history as a subfield is to make itself obsolete by being integrated into the whole of just "U.S. history" then *Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents* is a significant step in that direction.
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DuBois, Ellen Carol and Lynn Dumenil, Through Women's Eyes: An American History With Documents, 2nd ed., Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008. ISBN: 978-0312468873

THE LIFE AND MORALS OF JESUS

1. Early Years and Ministry [Unrevised KJV text]
   Joseph and Mary go to Bethlehem, where Jesus is born; He is circumcised and named and they return to Nazareth. At 12 years of age, he accompanies his parents to Jerusalem and returns. John baptises in Jordan. Jesus is baptised at 30 years of age. He drives the traders out of the temple. He baptises but retires into Galilee on the death of John. He teaches in the Synagogue, explains the Sabbath. Call of his disciples.
2. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   The sermon on the mount.
3. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   The sermon on the mount (continued).
4. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   Exhortations. A woman anointeth him. Precepts. Parable of the rich man.
5. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   Precepts. Parable of the Sower. Parable of the Tares.
6. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   Precepts. Parable of new wine in old bottles. A prophet hath no honor in his own country. Mission, instruction, and return of apostles.
7. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   Precepts. Parable of the wicked servant. Mission of the Seventy. The feast of the tabernacles.
8. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   The woman taken in adultery. To be born blind is no proof of sin. The good shepherd. Love God and thy neighbor. Parable of the Samaritan. Form of prayer.
9. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
   The Sabbath. The bidden to a feast. Precepts. Parables of the lost sheep and the Prodigal son.
10. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
    Parable of the unjust steward. Parable of Lazarus. Precepts: to be always ready. Parables of the widow and judge, the Pharisee and Publican. Precepts.
11. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
    Precepts. Parable of the laborers in the vineyard. Zaccheus, and the parable of the talents.
12. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
    Goes to Jerusalem and Bethany. The traders cast out from the temple. Parable of the two sons. Parable of the vineyard and husbandmen. Parable of the king and the wedding feast. On tribute, marriage, and resurrection. The two greatest commandments.
13. Teachings and Parables [Unrevised KJV text]
    Precepts: pride, hypocrisy, swearing. The widow's mite. Jerusalem and the day of judgment. The faithful and wise servant.
14. The End Times [Unrevised KJV text]
    Parable of the ten virgins. The parable of the talents. The day of judgment.
15. The Betrayal [Unrevised KJV text]
    A woman anointeth him. Judas undertakes to point out Jesus. Precepts to his disciples. Washes their feet. Troubled of mind, and prayer.
16. Arrest and Condemnation [Unrevised KJV text]
    Judas conducts the officers to Jesus. He is arrested and carried before Caiaphas the High Priest and is condemned. He is then carried to Pilate, who sends him to Herod.
17. Crucifixion, Death and Burial [Unrevised KJV text]
    Pilate receives him back, scourges and delivers him to execution. His crucifixion, death and burial.

Bookmark the URL below for a different portion of The Jefferson Bible presented every day. The entire work is covered in thirty days. Be sure bookmark is to the jdaily.html file, not the final destination (which changes every day).

http://www.angelfire.com/co/JeffersonBible/jdaily.html

APPENDIX

- Table of Texts Employed
- La Biblia de Jefferson The Jefferson Bible in Spanish.
- Die Jefferson-Bibel The Jefferson Bible in German.
- Conversations on Morality and the Jefferson Bible Discussions on the History of Conscience and Ethics
- Some Background Information on the Jefferson Bible
- The Basic Text of the Jefferson Bible is also available in a single 292 Kbyte .doc file, suitable for saving to your hard drive. It should be possible to read this file on any word processor in existence. The Jefferson Bible is also available in a 161 Kbyte plain text .txt file, which can easily be read in any format that accepts large ASCII text files (such as Wordpad in Windows).
- The Rocket eBook version of the Jefferson Bible may be downloaded to your hard drive, here if using MS Internet Explorer, or here as a ZIP file for IE or Netscape .
- How to Purchase a Print Copy of The Jefferson Bible Editions available from Amazon.com.
- Jefferson FAQ Hundreds of questions and answers related to Thomas Jefferson and his writings.
- Conversations on Thomas Jefferson and Jeffersonian Politics An Open Forum for discussions on any topic related to Thomas Jefferson or his political principles. No registration is required. The discussion here is moderated but not censored. Only improper or unrelated comment will be excluded.

Recently Published

- New Book Completely Discredits the Case for a Jefferson-Hemings Relationship
◆◆ Click here to read more.

For some great political thoughts, visit:

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Over 2,700 excerpts from Jefferson's writings describe the founding principles of American self- government.

For an engaging biography of Jefferson, visit:

Rayner's *Life of Thomas Jefferson*
B. L. Rayner's lively and interesting biography, published in 1834, emphasizes the role of republican principles in Jefferson's life and thought.

And for some extended comments on Jefferson's ideas:

The Jeffersonian Perspective
Commentary on today's social and political issues based on the writings of Thomas Jefferson.

Send comments, questions, and suggestions to the following email address:

Eyler Robert Coates, Sr.
Jeff.Bible@att.net

Web Sites with Links to The Jefferson Bible:

The Internet Public Library | **The Ethical Spectacle** | **Centre for Applied Ethics** | **American Religion Links** | **Interpreting Thomas Jefferson**

Cited in BRITANNICA *Online*

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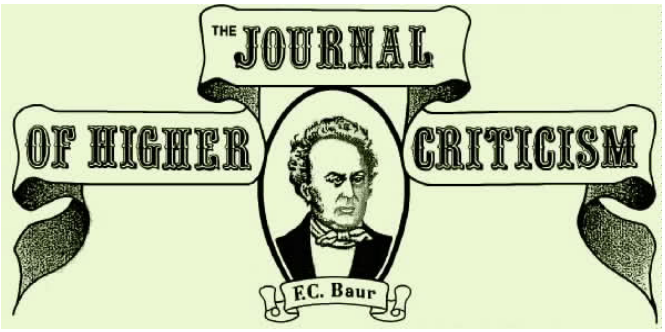
Installed Dec. 15, 1996.



This Publication May be Hazardous to Your Cherished Assumptions!

The Journal of Higher Criticism was initiated in 1994 as a forthright attempt - in a time of scholarly neo-conservatism - to hark back to the bold historical hypotheses and critical interpretations associated with the great names of F. C. Baur and Tübingen. We presented articles dealing with historical, literary, and history-of-religion issues from the perspective of higher criticism. The **Higher Critical Review**, appearing in each issue of the Journal, featured detailed review essays on important new works relating to historical criticism. The Journal of Higher Criticism was published semi-annually, Spring and Fall. The Editor was Robert M. Price; The Associate Editor was Darrell J. Doughty. The final issue of the Journal (Volume 10, No. 2) appeared in fall, 2003.

Introducing the Journal of Higher Criticism
Robert M. Price

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Related Websites

Peter Kirby's Early Christian Writings Site
Earl Doherty's "Was there a Historical Jesus?" Site (Great Site!)
Center for Marcionite Research
Hermann Detering's Radical Criticism Site (mostly in German)
Westar Institute Jesus Seminar

TOP

Talk to us! We appreciate your comments

This amazing site has now been enjoyed by visitors.

THE GNOSIS ARCHIVE

gnosis.org

What is Gnosticism?

Many visitors have requested some basic introductory material explaining Gnosticism. To meet this need we offer these "places to start": two short articles, The Gnostic World View: A Brief Summary of Gnosticism and What is a Gnostic?; and an audio lectures (mp3 format) on the Gnostic concept of Christ: The Misunderstood Redeemer. A reading of the Overview of the Gnostic Society Library collection will also give a useful brief introduction to the history and textual legacy of the Gnostic tradition.

For more in-depth reading suggestions visit the Gnostic Society Bookstore—you will find offered there a selection of the best introductory and advanced books on Gnosticism, along with brief reviews of recommended books. And of course just "surfing" The Gnosis Archive will lead to a wealth of information. Blessings on your journey!

Meditations

Take a moment to reflect on a brief meditation and reading from the Gnostic scriptures, selected from this week's Gnostic liturgy. Consider the Sophianic aspect of divinity expressed in the meditation and readings from this month's Sophia liturgy.

Sunday homilies delivered by the Most Rev. Stephan A. Hoeller at the Diocesan center are now available in high-quality internet video. Visit the *Ecclesia Gnostica* YouTube channel for a collection of homilies and lectures (this resource is updated weekly).

The Gnostic Society Library

Visit the Gnostic Society Library, a comprehensive library of Gnostic scriptures, which includes the complete **Nag Hammadi library** of Gnostic texts and other ancient writings and documents relating to Gnostic tradition. Since 1995 the Gnostic Society Library has been the principal internet resource on Gnosticism and Gnostic traditions.

Simply reading our Overview of the Library Collection will give one both a fair introduction to the nature and history of Gnostic tradition and to the breadth of this library collection. Also visit the Gnostic Society Bookstore, which features the best current publications on Gnosis and Gnosticism.

Documentary films:

The Lost Gospels—a ninety minute long BBC documentary (first released in 2008). This is an entertaining and educational— even if somewhat superficial—introduction to the Gnostic Gospels; it is both well researched and nicely produced, with extensive location filming in Egypt. The story centers on the personal quest of Anglican priest Pete Owen Jones to understand the many ancient Christian texts that didn't make it into the New Testament. The focus is principally on the Gnostic texts found at Nag Hammadi.

Two additional fine documentaries are also presented: *The Secrets of Mary Magdalene,* produced for the Discovery Channel; and the *Gnostics*, produced by Border TV (UK) and first broadcast 1987.

Nag Hammadi Library collection updated:

The Nag Hammadi Library collection received a major update in May 2015. Several prominent scholars have contributed editions of their authoritative translations to our library collection. Over twenty of these new translations have now been added to the online collection. We are especially grateful for the assistance and contributions of Dr. Willis Barnstone, Dr. John Turner, Dr. Stevan Davies, and the late Dr. Marvin Meyer. This resource in the Gnostic Society library receives a few million unique visits each year and is referenced by many academic courses which survey the Gnostic tradition, as well as by readers from all over the world. In supplement to the above work, the Gospel of Thomas Collection has been expanded and updated.

Gnosis and C. G. Jung:

"C.G. Jung and the Red Book," a collection of eighteen lectures by Dr. Lance Owens, is available free

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The Gnosis Archive, gnosis.org, offers a vast collection of primary texts and resources relating to Gnosticism and the Gnostic Tradition, both ancient and modern.

This public service site is maintained by Lance Owens MD, to whom you may address any comments or suggestions.

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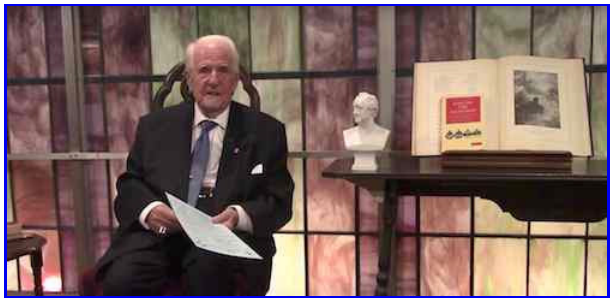
online. Now also available online are Dr. Owens' seminar series on "Sophia, Gnosis and Psychology", and the lectures he delivered at the C.G. Jung Institute Zurich on "C.G. Jung and the Tradition of Gnosis."

A catalog of other online presentations by Dr. Lance Owens is available here.

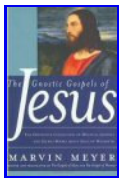
The Gnosis of C. G. Jung: This is an extended excerpt from Stephan Hoeller's classic study of Jung and Gnosticism, *The Gnostic Jung and the Seven Sermons to the Dead*

Video Lectures from the Gnostic Society

Lectures recently presented by Dr. Stephan Hoeller at the Gnostic Society in Los Angeles are now available in video format on YouTube. Visit our page on YouTube to view the currently available presentations. Go to the Gnostic Society page for a schedule of both current and upcoming lectures.



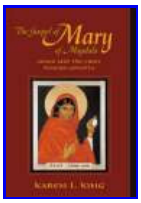
Recent Recommendations from the Bookstore



The Gnostic Gospels of Jesus edited by Marvin Meyer.

This is our top recommendation for readers beginning their exploration of the Gnostic scriptures. Over the last three decades the late Dr. Marvin Meyer distinguished himself as a singularly talented translator and commentator on Gnostic traditions. In this collection—the best of several that he has now published—Meyer presents twelve key Gnostic "gospels" in succinct, accurate and highly readable new translations. The book's subtitle claims it to be: "The definitive collection of mystical gospels and secret books about Jesus of Nazareth." Though perhaps not "definitive", we agree this is the best introductory collection available.

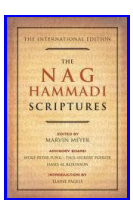
Meyer states his goal in these translations is to be "as accurate as possible" while still presenting the texts in "felicitous English." At this he succeeds beautifully. Readers who have labored with the sometimes tortured translations and editorial conventions presented in the original editions of the Nag Hammadi Library published thirty years ago will be amazed at the graceful intelligibility of Meyer's translations. Meyer adds to the collection an overview of our evolving understanding of Christian Gnosticism, and prefaces each of the selected text with an excellent introductory essay. *Get the book*



The Gospel of Mary Magdalene is one the most surprising and delightful of the rediscovered Gnostic texts.

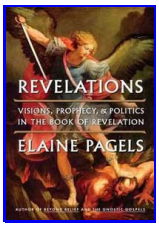
This excellent new print edition of the Gospel of Mary of Magdala by the widely respected scholar Karen King is the best authoritative edition available. It incorporates translations of the ancient Coptic Gospel of Mary discovered in 1896, along with the two small third-century Greek fragments of the text found at Oxyrhynchus. Included is a superb introduction along with extensive commentary on the text and its implications for modern understandings of early Christianity. Highly Recommended. Visit the Gnostic Society Bookstore for more information. Also visit our Gospel of Mary Magdalene page, where we have more information on the Gospel of Mary and a preview excerpt from Dr. King's introduction to her book.

The Nag Hammadi Scriptures edited by Marvin Meyer, introduction by Elaine Pagels.



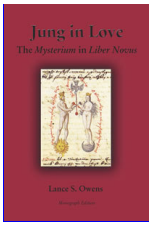
This is the epochal 2007 edition of the entire Nag Hammadi library. Dr. Marvin Meyer has done a masterful job in producing a volume that will serve for many decades as the standard source. Scholarly understanding of the Gnostic texts found at Nag Hammadi has vastly matured since their original publication as the *Nag Hammadi Library* in 1977. This new edition fully reflects that refinement in "the scholarly ear" for both the forgotten ancient tongue and the spiritual tradition preserved in the Gnostic Coptic texts. In every possible way, publication of *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures* represents a milestone in modern understanding of Gnostic tradition. Elaine Pagels, the author and professor who introduced a generation of readers to the Gnostic Gospels, appropriately

pens the introduction to this landmark edition. Every student of Gnosticism will want to own this book, but before jumping into the big volume, we still highly recommend a study of some of the briefer introductory readings listed in the Bookstore. *Get the book*



Revelations: Visions, Prophecy, And Politics In The Book Of Revelation by Elaine Pagels.

Dr. Pagels gives us another fine study of early Christianity, focusing on the most controversial New Testament text, the Book of Revelation. In her critique of the Book of Revelation, she opens a discussion of the other revelatory texts, the Gnostic texts, that were excluded from the Christian canon. Dr. Pagels looks at the sociology and politics and dogmatics of the age, but it is her discussion of the message of the many alternative Christian texts - the Gnostic texts - that we find most valuable. Listen to the interview with Dr. Pagels on NPR for a fine discussion of what Dr. Pagels was trying to explore in her new work. *Get the book*



Jung in Love: The Mysterium in Liber Novus by Lance S. Owens

Love was the great mystery in C. G. Jung's life. His confrontation with love for a woman and a feminine soul animated the composition of Jung's great *Red Book*, the book he formally titled *Liber Novus*.

C. G. Jung's relationships with women during these central years of life have generated several commentaries and critiques. But the power and depth of love has figured little in most of the romances about this period patched together by biographers, dramatists, and psychoanalysts. In consequence, a crux experience of Jung's life has been miscast and little understood.

Three decades after the events chronicled in his *Red Book*, C. G. Jung turned to writing a commentary on the still hidden records. In *Jung in Love*, Lance Owens illustrates how Jung's four last books—his "last quartet" of major works published after 1945—are summary statements about his experiences during the years he labored with *Liber Novus*.

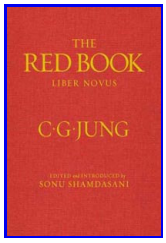
Owens illustrates how in the first volume of this "last quartet"—*The Psychology of the Transference*, published in 1946—Jung employed a sixteenth-century alchemical text to provide context for what is in fact a statement about his own experience with love recounted both in his private journals and in *Liber Novus*.

Based on long-sequestered documentary sources, *Jung in Love* offers a balanced and historically contextualized account of Jung's relationships with four women during the years that led him into the visionary experiences recorded in the *Red Book*: Emma Jung-Rauschenbach, Sabina Spielrein, Maria Moltzer and Toni Wolff.

Jung in Love - The Mysterium in Liber Novus was originally published as a chapter in *Das Rote Buch – C. G. Jungs Reise zum anderen Pol der Welt*, ed. Thomas Arzt (Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, 2015). This German edition is available at amazon.co.uk and amazon.de

The monograph English edition of *Jung in Love* is now also available at amazon.com.

C. G Jung's *Red Book: Liber Novus* - Vision, Psychology and Gnosis

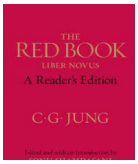


This is the book many of us have awaited for decades, and its importance cannot be overstated.

During WWI, Jung entered an extended visionary experience that he called his “confrontation with the unconscious.” Based on these visions, he subsequently developed his principal theories of the collective unconscious, the archetypes, psychological types and the process of individuation. Jung focused on transforming psychotherapy from a practice concerned with the treatment of pathology into a means for reconnection with the soul and the recovery of meaning in life. At the heart of this endeavor was his legendary Red Book, a large, leather bound, illuminated volume that he created between 1914 and 1930, which contained the substance of his visions and became the nucleus of his later works. While Jung considered the *Red Book*, or *Liber Novus* (" The New Book") to be the central work in his oeuvre, it remained unpublished, and unavailable for study and unseen by the public at large until 2009.

The Red Book is best described as a visionary and prophetic work, and not simply as an imaginative literary or scientific document. It is possibly the most influential unpublished work in the history of psychology. Its publication is a watershed that inaugurates a new era in the understanding of Jung’s life and work; it fully reveals the experiential, Gnostic roots of Jung's psychology. *Buy the Book*

The Red Book: Reader's Edition - No Illustrations



In December 2012 the "Reader's Edition" of The Red Book was released - and this edition does NOT contain any of the facsimile images of the original book. There is none of the artwork here, just

Jung's translated text, along with Dr. Shamdasani's introduction and notes. So, why purchase a "Reader's Edition"? Because the text of *Liber Novus* (as Jung formally titled his "Red Book") is really more important than the art. And the size of the facsimile edition makes it physically very difficult to hold in hand and read. See our full review for more information. If you are ready to read *Liber Novus*, this is the edition to use. But of course, you will want the big book with the images, too!

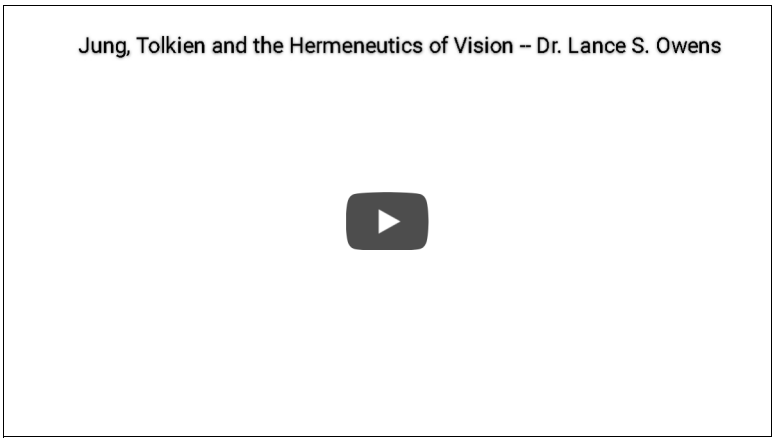
You will also enjoy viewing the video about the digital reproduction of the Red Book (available on YouTube). Visit our C. G. Jung and Gnostic Tradition: *Gnosis, Gnosticism and Jungian Psychology* section for more information.

Tolkien, Jung and the Hermeneutics of Vision – A Lecture by Dr. Lance Owens

Beginning in the years around the First World War, two extraordinary men were called to take an exceedingly difficult journey of exploration. It was a voyage of discovery, a passage into the world of imagination. For the rest of their lives both men – J. R. R. Tolkien and C. G. Jung – affirmed that their mythopoetic fantasies had led them to something intrinsically real. The figures they encountered in vision spoke with autonomous voices, and the tales they told were entwined with history and human destiny at the perilous threshold of a new age.

Jung and Tolkien each struggled in solitude with the hermeneutic challenge of recording their experiences. How does one recount in word and image the tale of a venture into vision? And how does one then interpret this record of an imaginal fact?

In this lecture delivered at the California Institute of Integral studies, Dr. Owens examines the private accounts that both Jung and Tolkien scribed about their imaginative experiences – personal writings that remained mostly hidden for several decades after their deaths. What did they "think" they were doing? How did they understand "vision"? What was their "hermeneutics of vision?" And what interpretive approach will we now take to the strange tales of wayfarers who wander in the imaginal world? (Click here for additional information on this lecture, and Dr. Owens' lecture series on Tolkien.)



C. G. Jung: *The Red Book*, Gnosis and the Gnostic Traditions

With publication of the Red Book, irrefutable evidence is presented of Jung's deep relationship to the visionary and experiential tradition of Gnosis. Throughout his life, Jung publicly and privately affirmed his affinity to Gnostic tradition. We consider it quite possible that future generations will understand Jung as a seminal, prophetic figure heralding a new Sophianic age and a resurgent understanding the timeless traditions of the Gnosis.

Gnosis is not a "dead ancient philosophy", but instead a lived and living fact of human experience with ancient roots and a transformative potential for the future development of human consciousness. Jung provides signal evidence of this fact.

We have added a section to the Gnosis Archive dedicated to **C. G. Jung and Gnostic Tradition: Gnosis, Gnosticism and Jungian Psychology**. You will find here a wide range of material to help center your understanding of C. G. Jung and Gnosis.

Recently Added -- Photographs of Jung's "Gnostic Ring" – From the late-1920s until the end of his life, C. G. Jung wore on his left hand a ring with a large engraved gem stone with a coiled serpent. This was commonly referred to as Jung's "Gnostic ring." When he acquired the stone and had it mounted into a ring is not clear. However, most photos taken after 1930 show the ring on Jung's hand. Two rare photographs of the ring, front and back, are included. **See Jung's Gnostic Ring.**

We also offer two audio collections of lectures on the Red Book by Dr. Lance Owens; visit the **C.G. Jung and the**

Red Book collection for information on these audio recordings. Dr. Owens' lectures delivered at the C. G. Jung Institute Zurich on "**C.G. Jung and the Tradition of Gnosis**" are also now online.

The Gnostic Viewpoint: Essays on Contemporary Gnosticism

The Gnostic Viewpoint section offers a series of short articles examining Gnosis from a modern perspective selected from past volumes of Gnosis: A Journal of Western Inner Experience. These essays offer an excellent introduction to the wide scope of modern Gnostic interests. A sample of some of the titles: *Valentinus: A Gnostic for All Seasons* -- *What is a Gnostic?* -- *The Gnosis of the Eucharist* -- *Hermes and Hermeticism Throughout the Ages* -- and many others.

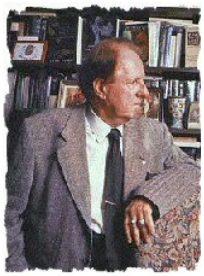
Genesis and Gnosis

The popular PBS television special "Genesis: A Living Conversation", hosted by Bill Moyers, directed wide attention to the many interpretations of the Book of Genesis. One of the vital readings of Genesis -- the Gnostic reading -- was, however, completely ignored. Explore this balancing perspective in The Genesis Factor, an essay by Dr. Stephan Hoeller.

Lectures from the Gnostic Society

For over twenty-five years Bryan Campbell (a professional Hollywood recording engineer) has been archiving recordings of Dr. Hoeller's weekly lectures. A huge selection from this collection is available by for immediate download (or for shipping on CD albums) at bcrecordings.net. We are now also providing video recordings of current lectures on our YouTube channel.

Free Lectures (available at BC Recordings):



Gnosticism: New Light on the Ancient Tradition of Inner Knowing
Dr. Hoeller introduces the subject of his latest book of the same title. An excellent brief introduction to the Gnostic Tradition. (This lecture introduces not only our 10-lecture album "The Wisdom of the Gnostics", but all of our recordings on Gnosticism by Stephan A. Hoeller) Running Time 47:25.

The Greatest Treasures of Nag Hammadi
"Thomas and Philip: Gospels of the Gnostic Christ" is a free, full-length presentation introducing the ten part set of lectures on the most popular and valued writings from the Nag Hammadi Library, the Gnostic writings found in Egypt in 1945.
Running Time 79:52.

An Introduction to The Gospel of Judas
Dr. Hoeller regards "The Gospel of Judas" as an important and very Gnostic document, and gives his preliminary evaluation in this brief talk. A series in four parts on the "Gospel of Judas" was delivered Summer 2006, and is available in disk and in download formats. Running Time 39:11

Altered States Ancient and Modern
Aids to consciousness have so much history it takes 13 titles in this set to cover this controversial subject. This brief lecture lays a foundation for a Gnostic understanding of this topic. Running Time 53:01.

Tolkien and "The Lord of the Rings"
Gnosis and Creativity merged in this great work by J.R.R. Tolkien. A 7 part set on it is introduced by this brief presentation.
Running Time 74:04.

The Battle about God: Where do Gnostics stand?
Christopher Hitchens' "God is Not Great" and Richard Dawkins' "The God Delusion", Mother Theresa's Doubts and the timeless Gnostic answers to the issues they raise in this full-length presentation. Running time 80:08.

We also offer several lecture series presented Dr. Lance Owens:

J.R.R. Tolkien: An Imaginative Life. This series of the three lectures examines the broad span of Tolkien's life and work, with special focus on Tolkien's experience of his imaginative gift. The lectures are available on line in illustrated format, or for download as mp3 audio files.

C.G. Jung and the Red Book. Two series of lectures (sixteen lectures in total) by Dr. Lance Owens that discuss the creative genesis and content of the Red Book, and explain its central place in the life and work of C. G. Jung. **C.G. Jung and the Tradition of Gnosis**, a series of lecture delivered in Zurich by Dr. Owens, is also now available.

Search the Gnosis Archive

You can search the entire Gnosis Archive for keywords, scriptural phrases, and subjects using our advanced search functions. The Archive contains well over a thousand documents specific to Gnostic studies, including translations all the classical Gnostic scriptures and patristic documents relevant to early Gnostic movements. The search function on the Archive is a major resource for students and researchers.

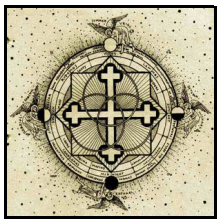
Gnostic Studies on the Web

This section contains a wide selection of current Sites and Documents dealing with Gnosticism, ancient and modern, available on the Web.

Ecclesia Gnostica

A selection of thoughts and writings from the Ecclesia Gnostica, as well as a schedule of services for the parishes in Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle.

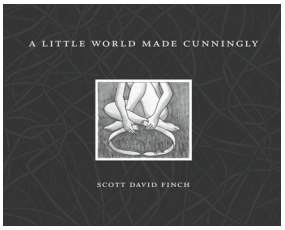
The Gnostic Society



The Gnosis Archive is maintained in association with The Gnostic Society. Dr. Stephan Hoeller lectures every Friday in Los Angeles. For more information, visit the Gnostic Society page, which has the current "Friday Lecture Series" schedule.

Note that we are now providing free many of the weekly lectures given by Dr. Stephan Hoeller at the Gnostic Society in Los Angeles in mp3 audio. All of the other weekly lecture are available for purchase. Visit our Web Lecture page for more information.

The Studio



Over the years, we have used "the Studio" to share visionary art that in some fashion strikes us as representative of Gnostic creativity. The present show in the Studio is a remarkable and evocative graphic novel by Scott D. Finch: ***A Little World Made Cunningly.*** The Studio is now open. Come in, and take a look around...

The fine art print edition of Scott's graphic novel is available at amazon.com. You will also want to see his other short graphic novel, ***Form and Deed***, also available at amazon.com.

Cabildo Interdisciplinar

VIERNES 08 DE NOVIEMBRE

Invitamos a estudiantes, administrativos y académicos de las Facultades de Teología, Historia, Agronomía, Sociología y la Escuela de Gobierno UC con el objetivo de reflexionar y proponer - como Comunidad Universitaria- sobre la crisis social que se vive en nuestro

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Cabildo Interdisciplinario: Si cambió el país, ¿Cambia también la universidad? (/es/noticias/cabildo-interdisciplinario-si-cambio-el-pais-cambia-tambien-la-universidad.html)

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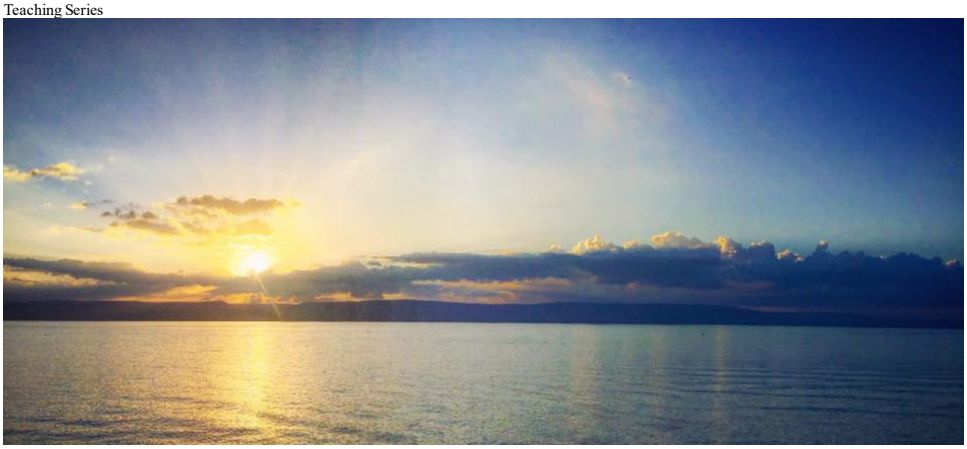

(http://lightofword.org/index.php/teachings/teaching-series)

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- The Promises of God are Yes and Amen (/index.php/teachings/audio-teachings/137-our-walk/329-the-promises-of-god-are-yes-and-amen)
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- My Anchor Holds (/index.php/teachings/audio-teachings/137-our-walk/327-my-anchor-holds)
- Esther: Trust in the Storm (/index.php/teachings/audio-teachings/135-old-testament/326-esther-trust-in-the-storm)
- Author Page on Amazon (/index.php/audio-teachings/55-news/latest-news-sp-683/325-author-page-on-amazon)
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- Shepherd and Sheepfold (/index.php/articles/everyday-life-in-the-holy-land/210-shepherd-and-sheepfold)
- Jeremiah: The Calling of a Prophet (/index.php/articles/articles-by-jan-magiera/230-jeremiah-the-calling-of-a-prophet-sp-1084532930)
- Allegory; or, Continued Metaphor and Hypocatastasis by E.W. Bullinger (/index.php/articles/figures-of-speech/97-allegory-or-continued-metaphor-and-hypocatastasis-by-ew-bullinger)
- Animal Kingdom (/index.php/articles/bible-customs/100-animal-kingdom)

Janet Magiera is an ordained minister and the founder of Light of the Word Ministry

Our ministry is dedicated to teaching and making known the understanding of the Aramaic language, figures of speech and customs of the Bible. For over 38 years, she has taught in Bible fellowships and churches in the United States and other countries. In 1990, Jan began compiling a database of the Aramaic Peshitta New Testament. It has been developed as a software module by BibleWorks and is also available online at www.aramaicdb.lightofword.org. In 2006 she published The Aramaic Peshitta New Testament Translation, the first book of a complete Aramaic Peshitta New Testament Library. The library includes an interlinear, lexicon, concordance, Messianic version and parallel translations. Jan has also authored topical books on Biblical subjects including giving, ministries, the armor of God and Hebrew and Aramaic word pictures.

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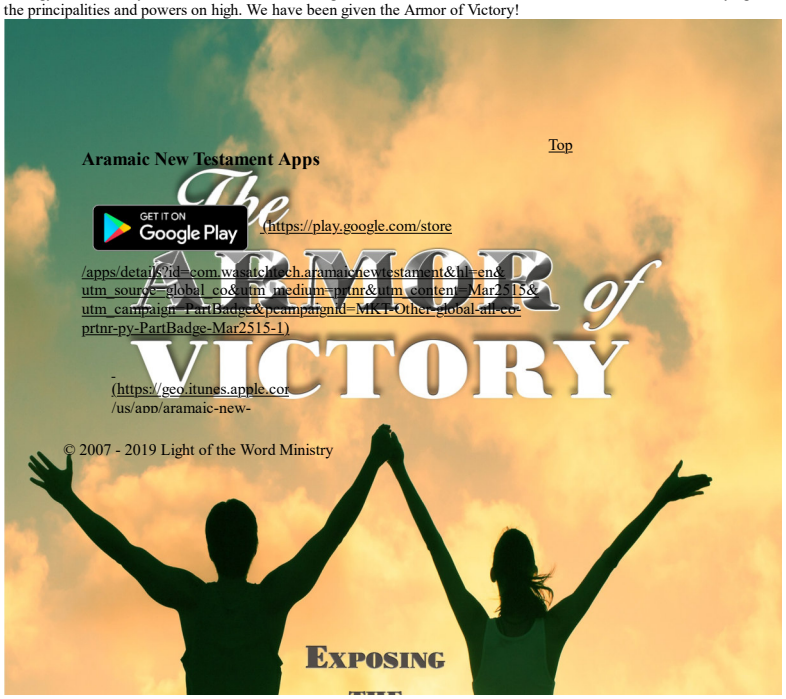

Avesta ~ Zoroastrian Archives

Today is month Adar, day Vohuman, year AY 1388

"Zoroastrianism is the oldest of the revealed world-religions, and it has probably had more influence on mankind, directly and indirectly, than any other single faith." - Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 1979, p. 1.

"Zoroaster was thus the first to teach the doctrines of an individual judgment, Heaven and Hell, the future resurrection of the body, the general Last Judgment, and life everlasting for the reunited soul and body. These doctrines were to become familiar articles of faith to much of mankind, through borrowings by Judaism, Christianity and Islam; yet it is in Zoroastrianism itself that they have their fullest logical coherence...." - Boyce, *op. cit.* p. 29.

WZSE – Weekly Scripture

We provide the complete text of the extant ***Avesta***, the most ancient scriptures of Zoroastrianism, as well as many Pahlavi scriptures. It also includes information about the Avestan language, and other useful information for students of Zoroastrian religion. Most of the texts in these archives are extremely rare.

NOTE: Spelling of Zoroastrian technical terms has been normalized in these archives to facilitate searches.

FEZANA published a Nawruz prayer book: *Hama-Anjuman Prayers for Naurooz In English, Farsi and Gujarati*. This is a humble effort to bring all our Zarathushti Groups together in a common prayer environment. If you need a copy, please contact: Soli P. Dastur at: dastur [at] comcast [dot] net. Donations for printing and postage are encouraged.

AVESTA

(Ancient scriptures of Zoroastrianism)

YASNA: Sacred Liturgy and Gathas/Hymns of Zarathushtra...

- Index...
- *Gâthâ-bâ-maâni: transliterated and translated into English* by K. E. Kanga. Scanned by Soli Dastur. Used with permission.
- *The Hymns of Atharvan Zarathushtra* by Jatindra Mohan Chatterji. Chatterji's translation of the Gathas, kindly contributed by the Calcutta Parsi Anjuman and Sohrabji Panthaky, and scanned by Soli Dastur.

KHORDA AVESTA: Book of Common Prayer...

- Index...
- *Khorda Avesta* (English) edited by K. E. Kanga, kindly contributed and scanned by Soli Dastur. Also available as an EPUB.
- *Khorda Avesta* (Gujarati) edited by K. E. Kanga, kindly contributed and scanned by Soli Dastur.
- *Khorda Avesta* (Persian) with text, translation, and commentary by Mobed Azargoshasp (3rd ed. 1354).
- *Yasht-bâ-maâni: transliterated and translated into English* by K. E. Kanga. Scanned by Soli Dastur. Used with permission.

VISPERAD: Extensions to the Liturgy...

VENDIDAD: Myths, code of purification, religious observances...

- Index...
- Vendidad-Baa-Nirang: Vendidad ceremony with Vendidad, Yasna and Visperad prayers and accompanying rituals performed during an actual Vendidad ceremony. Kindly contributed by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky. NEW
- Vendidad Saadeh: Only 22 Fargarads (chapters) of Vendidad. Kindly contributed by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky. NEW

FRAGMENTS...

MIDDLE PERSIAN ("Pahlavi")

(Sacred literature preserved in the middle-Persian language)

- Arda Viraf: visit to Heaven & Hell
- Bundahishn Zoroastrian cosmology...
- Greater Bundahishn
- Chidag Andarz i Poryotkeshan: (Catechism)
- Counsels of Adarbad Mahraspandan: Advice on living a good life
- Dadestan-i Denig ("Religious Decisions")...
- Denkard: A Ninth Century compendium of Zoroastrian wisdom...
- Epistles of Manushchihr (A.D. 881)
- Menog-i Khrad ("The Spirit of Wisdom")...
- Pazand Texts...
- Rivayat of Adur-Farnbag
- Rivayat of Farnbag-Srosh
- Sayings of Adarbad Mahraspandan: More advice on living a good life
- Selections of Zadspram, a summary of Zoroastrian legend and beliefs...
- Shayest Ne-Shayest ("Proper and Improper")...
- Shkand-gumanig Vizar ("Doubt-dispelling Exposition"), a Zoroastrian apologetic...
- Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, A Zoroastrian Apocalypse...

- About the Style of Letter Writing
- Ahriman's Utterance to the Divs (Drayishn-i Ahriman o Divan)
- Explanation of Chess and arrangement of Vin-Artakhshir
- Gatha Hymns recited for the departed (Gasan awar vitartakan Khvanend)
- Kârnâmag î Ardashîr î Babagân Epic adventures of Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian Dynasty
- Kartir's inscription on the Kabah of Zartusht, 3rd century royal inscription
- Kartir's inscription at Naqsh-i Rajab
- The Nature and Wisdom of a Fortunate Man
- Yavisht i Friyan: a Pahlavi retelling of an ancient tale
- Pahlavi Vendidad (excerpts)
- The Yatkar-i-Zariran or Memoirs of Zarir
- The Day Khordâd of the Month Farvardin, Commonly Called Khordad-sal

Index Locorum

OTHER

- Antia, Dr. Kersey: *Argument for Acceptance* and other articles
- Dabestan-e Madaheb ("School of religious doctrines"): 17th century description of religions and occult practices of India
- Articles by Soli Dastur
- Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* (1938), part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5, part 6, part 7
- Dhalla, *Saga of a Soul -- An Autobiography*, part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5
- Drower, *Peacock Angel* (1941)
- Dinshaw J. Irani, *Understanding the Gathas*. Also available as an [EPUB].
- Kerr, Sam: Books and articles
- Life of Zarathushtra told in pictures
- Meherjirana: The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests, courtesy of Ervad Noshir Hormuzdiar.
- J.J. Modi's My Travels Outside Bombay: Iran, Azerbaijan, Baku translated and kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.
- J.J. Modi's *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (Bombay, 1922)
- Old Persian Texts *(Complete)* ("Ahura Mazda came to my aid")
- Pazand Book of Jamaspi: Prophecies of the last Millennium
- Persian Rivayats (15th to 18th century epistles)...
- Pithawalla, Maneckji Bejanji: *Steps to Prophet Zoroaster, with a book of daily Zoroastrian prayers*
- Qissa-i Sanjan History of emigration of Zoroastrians to India
- Sad Dar ("a hundred subjects")...
- Kersi B. Shroff: "Ancient Sogdiana: A 'Zoroastrian stronghold'" (2016)
- Kersi B. Shroff and Galina Woodova: "Journey to the Land of Ancient Fires, Azerbaijan" (2019)
- `Ulema-i Islam
- The Woodcutter and his Fortune (Mushkel Aasan) [HTML] [PDF]
- Poems
- Zartusht nameh ("Story of Zarathushtra")[HTML] [PDF]

Information on Zoroastrianism

- **Brief overview and Frequently Asked Questions**
- Recommended Reading
- Religious timeline, by Dr. Pallan Ichaporia
- Fire in Avesta. Ervad Gustad Panthaki (Used with permission)
- Atash Neyayesh. Ervad Brigadier Behram Maneckshah Panthaki (Used with

Resources

- **The Zoroastrian Shop**
- FEZANA Zoroastrian Shop
- **Sudrehs, Daglis, and more by Golab Momenkhani** (USA)
- D. Shamji & Co.: Daglis, Safras, Jamas, Topis, and

Rituals

- The Kusti ritual: A Zoroastrian's most basic daily observance
- The Kusti ritual: per Qadimi tradition
- Afrinagan: a ceremony of blessing...
- Baj, Dron, and ritual power
- Baresman -- its consecration and ceremony

permission)
- Upcoming events
- Glossary of Zoroastrian terms
- Angels in Zoroastrianism
- Religious calendar, see also
  - Zoroastrian calendar calculator (Shahanshai, Kadmi, and Fasli dates for any calendar year. Kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.
  - 2019 religious calendar (Fasli i.e. adjusted for seasons) (2020)
  - Shahaneshahi calendar: 2018-2019, courtesy of Sarosh Manekshaw.
  - Festival of Mihragan
  - Festival of Tiragan
  - Festival of Sadeh
- S. H. Taqizadeh: *Old Iranian Calendars*
- Ancient Zoroastrian millenium prophecies: comet to destroy earth
- Farohar or Fravashi: What is it?

other tradional religious attire (Mumbai)
- **Phetas and pagdis**
- Other suppliers of religious supplies
- **Names**: Avestan, Old Persian, Irani, and Parsi
- Zoroastrian associations and organizations
- Journal of The Research & Historical Preservation Committee of FEZANA
- Periodicals
- Books and tapes... and Forthcoming

- Birth
- Funeral ceremonies
- The Gist of the Jashan celebration.
- Jashan (Festival): a photo
- "Khushaali Nu" Jashan Prayers for Celebrations Occasions with English translations by Ervad Soli Dastur.
- Marriage
- The Navjote ritual: (Sudre-Pooshi) Initiation
- The Padyab and Nahn rituals of purification
- Ritual Implements
- Vendidad service book, compiled by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky (2016). Used with permission. NEW
- Farokhshi ritual
- Farokhshi service book Compiled by Jal Panthaky, used with permission. NEW
- The Wedding ceremony

Information on Avestan language

Teach Yourself Avesta Language by Dr. Ervad Ramiyar Parvez Karanjia (2005)

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- Overview of the Avestan language
- Pronunciation and writing
- Fonts
- Vocabulary
- Bharucha: *Lessons in Avesta* (1907)
- Indo-European language tree
- Dictionary...
- Avestan cognates and mnemonics
- Weapons in the Avesta

"May your mind be master of its vow; may your soul be master of its vow; and may you live on in the joy of your soul all the nights of your life."

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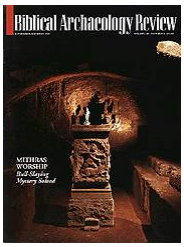
MITHRAISM

The Cosmic Mysteries of Mithras

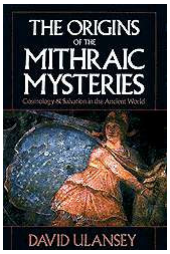
(Illustration: Mithras with stars beneath his cape.
Detail of fresco from Mithraic temple in Marino, Italy.
Second century A.D. Photograph by Luther Martin.)

by David Ulansey
author of
The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries
(Oxford University Press, 1991)



The following essay is adapted from my article,
"Solving the Mithraic Mysteries"
Biblical Archaeology Review
(vol. 20, #5 [September/October 1994] pp. 40-53)

This article is a summary of my book on Mithraism,
The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries
(Oxford University Press, revised paperback, 1991)



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The Cosmic Mysteries of Mithras

(Note: complete documentation for the following essay can be found in my book on Mithraism, **The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries**, and in my articles listed at the bottom of this page.)

The ancient Roman religion known as the Mithraic mysteries has captivated the imaginations of scholars for generations. There are two reasons for this fascination. First, like the other ancient "mystery religions," such as the Eleusinian mysteries and the mysteries of Isis, Mithraism maintained strict secrecy about its teachings and practices, revealing them only to initiates. As a result, reconstructing the beliefs of the Mithraic devotees has posed an enormously intriguing challenge to scholarly ingenuity. Second, Mithraism arose in the Mediterranean world at exactly the same time as did Christianity, and thus the study of the cult holds the promise of shedding vital light on the cultural dynamics that led to the rise of Christianity.

Owing to the cult's secrecy, we possess almost no literary evidence about the beliefs of Mithraism. The few texts that do refer to the cult come not from Mithraic devotees themselves, but rather from outsiders such as early Church fathers, who mentioned Mithraism in order to attack it, and Platonic philosophers, who attempted to find support in Mithraic symbolism for their own philosophical ideas. However, although our literary sources for Mithraism are extremely sparse, an abundance of material evidence for the cult exists in the many Mithraic temples and artifacts that archaeologists have found scattered throughout the Roman empire, from England in the north and west to Palestine in the south and east. The temples, called mithraea by scholars, were usually built underground in imitation of caves. These subterranean temples were filled with an extremely elaborate iconography: carved reliefs, statues, and paintings, depicting a variety of enigmatic figures and scenes. This iconography is our primary source of knowledge about Mithraic beliefs, but because we do not have any written accounts of its meaning the ideas that it expresses have proven extraordinarily difficult to decipher.

Underground Mithraic temple in Rome

The typical mithraeum was a small rectangular subterranean chamber, on the order of 75 feet by 30 feet with a vaulted ceiling. An aisle usually ran lengthwise down the center of the temple, with a stone bench on either side two or three feet high on which the cult's members would recline during their meetings. On average a mithraeum could hold perhaps twenty to thirty people at a time. At the back of the mithraeum at the end of the aisle was always found a representation-- usually a carved relief but sometimes a statue or painting-- of the central icon of Mithraism: the so-called tauroctony or "bull-slaying scene" in which the god of the cult, Mithras, accompanied by a dog, a snake, a raven, and a scorpion, is shown in the act of killing a bull. Other parts of the temple were decorated with various scenes and figures. There were many hundreds-- perhaps thousands-- of Mithraic temples in the Roman empire. The greatest concentrations have been found in the city of Rome itself, and in those places in the empire (often in the most distant frontiers) where Roman soldiers-- who made up a major segment of the cult's membership-- were stationed.

Mithraeum in Capua, Italy

Our earliest evidence for the Mithraic mysteries places their appearance in the middle of the first century B.C.: the historian Plutarch says that in 67 B.C. a large band of pirates based in Cilicia (a province on the southeastern coast of Asia Minor) were practicing "secret rites" of Mithras. The earliest physical remains of the cult date from around the end of the first century A.D., and Mithraism reached its height of popularity in the third century. In addition to soldiers, the cult's membership included significant numbers of bureaucrats and merchants. Women were excluded. Mithraism declined with the rise to power of Christianity, until the beginning of the fifth century, when Christianity became strong enough to exterminate by force rival religions such as Mithraism.

For most of the twentieth century it has been assumed that Mithraism was imported from Iran, and that Mithraic iconography must therefore represent ideas drawn from ancient Iranian mythology. The reason for this is that the name of the god worshipped in the cult, Mithras, is a Greek and Latin form of the name of an ancient Iranian god, Mithra; in addition, Roman authors themselves expressed a belief that the cult was Iranian in origin. At the end of the nineteenth century Franz Cumont, the great Belgian historian of ancient religion, published a magisterial two- volume work on the Mithraic mysteries based on the assumption of the Iranian origins of the cult. Cumont's work immediately became accepted as the definitive study of the cult, and remained virtually unchallenged for over seventy years.

There were, however, a number of serious problems with Cumont's assumption that the Mithraic mysteries derived from ancient Iranian religion. Most significant among these is that there is no parallel in ancient Iran to the iconography which is the primary fact of the Roman Mithraic cult. For example, as already mentioned, by far the most important icon in the Roman cult was the tauroctony. This scene shows Mithras in the act of killing a bull, accompanied by a dog, a snake, a raven, and a scorpion; the scene is depicted as taking place inside a cave like the mithraeum itself. This icon was located in the most important place in every mithraeum, and therefore must have been an expression of the central myth of the Roman cult. Thus, if the god Mithras of the Roman religion was actually the Iranian god Mithra, we should expect to find in Iranian mythology a story in which Mithra kills a bull. However, the fact is that no such Iranian myth exists: in no known Iranian text does Mithra have anything to do with killing a bull.

Mithras killing bull

Franz Cumont had responded to this problem by focusing on an ancient Iranian text in which a bull is indeed killed, but in which the bull-slayer is not Mithra but rather Ahriman, the force of cosmic evil in Iranian religion. Cumont argued that there must have existed a variant of this myth-- a variant for which there was, however, no actual evidence-- in which the bull-slayer had been transformed from Ahriman to Mithra. It was this purely hypothetical variant on the myth of Ahriman's killing of a bull that according to Cumont lay behind the tauroctony icon of the Roman cult of Mithras.

In the absence of any convincing alternative, Cumont's explanation satisfied scholars for more than seventy years. However, in 1971 the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies was held in Manchester England, and in the course of this Congress Cumont's theories came under concerted attack. Was it not possible, scholars at the Congress asked, that the Roman cult of Mithras was actually a new religion, and had simply borrowed the name of an Iranian god in order to give itself an exotic oriental flavor? If such a scenario seemed plausible, these scholars argued, one could no longer assume without question that the proper way to interpret Mithraism was to find parallels to its elements in ancient Iranian religion. In particular, Franz Cumont's interpretation of the tauroctony as representing an Iranian myth was now no longer unquestionable. Thus from 1971 on, the meaning of the Mithraic tauroctony suddenly became a mystery: if this bull-slaying icon did not represent an ancient Iranian myth, what did it represent?

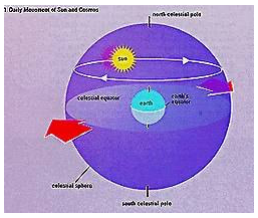
Within a few years after the 1971 Congress, a radically different approach to explaining the tauroctony began to be pursued by a number of scholars. It is not an exaggeration to say that this approach has in just the past few years succeeded in completely revolutionizing the study of the Mithraic mysteries. According to the proponents of this interpretation, the tauroctony is not, as Cumont and his followers claimed, a pictorial representation of an Iranian myth, but is rather something utterly different: namely, an astronomical star map!

This remarkable explanation of the tauroctony is based on two facts. First, every figure found in the standard tauroctony has a parallel among a group of constellations located along a continuous band in the sky: the bull is paralleled by Taurus, the dog by Canis Minor, the snake by Hydra, the raven by Corvus, and the scorpion by Scorpio. Second, Mithraic iconography in general is pervaded by explicit astronomical imagery: the zodiac, planets, sun, moon, and stars are often portrayed in Mithraic art (note for example the stars around the head of Mithras in the carving of the tauroctony illustrated above); in addition, numerous ancient authors speak about astronomical subjects in connection with Mithraism. In the writings of the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry, for example, we find recorded a tradition that the cave which is depicted in the tauroctony and which the underground Mithraic temples were designed to imitate was intended to be "an image of the cosmos." Given the general presence of astronomical motifs in Mithraic art and ideology, the parallel noted above between the tauroctony-figures and constellations is unlikely to be coincidence.

Tauroctony encircled by zodiac

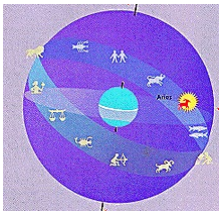
My own research over the past decade has been devoted to discovering why these particular constellations might have been seen as especially important, and how an icon representing them could have come to form the core of a powerful religious movement in the Roman Empire.

In order to answer these questions, we must first have in mind a few facts about ancient cosmology. Today we know that the earth rotates on its axis once a day, and revolves around the sun once a year. However, Greco-Roman astronomy at the time of the Mithraic mysteries was based on a so-called "geocentric" cosmology, according to which the earth was fixed and immovable at the center of the universe and everything went around it. In this cosmology the universe itself was imagined as being bounded by a great sphere to which the stars, arranged in the various constellations, were attached. So, while we today understand that the earth rotates on its axis once every day, in antiquity it was believed instead that once a day the great sphere of the stars rotated around the earth, spinning on an axis that ran from the sphere's north pole to its south pole. As it spun, the cosmic sphere was believed to carry the sun along with it, resulting in the apparent movment of the sun around the earth once a day.



This diagram shows the daily rotation of the cosmic sphere around the earth according to the "geocentric" cosmology. As shown here, the sun is carried along by the cosmic sphere around the earth once a day. However, as explained below, in the "geocentric" cosmology the sun was also believed to possess a second movement beyond its daily rotation with the cosmic sphere: namely, its yearly revolution along the circle of the "zodiac."

In addition to this daily rotation of the cosmic sphere carrying the sun along with it, the ancients also attributed a second, slower motion to the sun. While today we know that the earth revolves around the sun once a year, in antiquity it was believed instead that once a year the sun-- which was understood as being closer to the earth than the sphere of the stars-- traveled around the earth, tracing a great circle in the sky against the background of the constellations. This circle traced by the sun during the course of the year was known as the "zodiac"-- a word meaning "living figures," which was a reference to the fact that as the sun moved along the circle of the zodiac it passed in front of twelve different constellations which were represented as having various animal and human forms.



Zodiac (circle of 12 figures) with sun in Aries. In the "geocentric" cosmology the sun was believed to move along this circle around the earth once a year. The other cosmic circle shown here, parallel to the earth's equator, is called the "celestial equator."

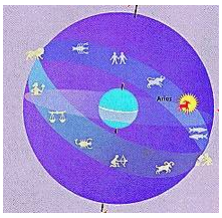
Because the ancients believed in the real existence of the great sphere of the stars, its various parts-- such as its axis and poles-- played a central role in the cosmology of the time. In particular, one important attribute of the sphere of the stars was much better known in antiquity than it is today: namely, its equator, known as the "celestial equator." Just as the earth's equator is defined as a circle around the earth equidistant from the north and south poles, so the celestial equator was understood as a circle around the sphere of the stars equidistant from the sphere's poles. The circle of the celestial equator was seen as having a particularly special importance because of the two points where it crosses the circle of the zodiac: for these two points are the equinoxes, that is, the places where the sun, in its movement along the zodiac, appears to be on the first day of spring and the first day of autumn. Thus the celestial equator was responsible for defining the seasons, and hence had a very concrete significance in addition to its abstract astronomical meaning.

As a result, the celestial equator was often described in ancient popular literature about the stars. Plato, for example, in his dialogue Timaeus said that when the creator of the universe first formed the cosmos, he shaped its substance in the form of the letter X, representing the intersection of the two celestial circles of the zodiac and the celestial equator. This cross-shaped symbol was often depicted in ancient art to indicate the cosmic sphere. In fact, one of the most famous examples of this motif is a Mithraic stone carving showing the so-called "lion-headed god," whose image is often found in Mithraic temples, standing on a globe that is marked with the cross representing the two circles of the zodiac and the celestial equator.

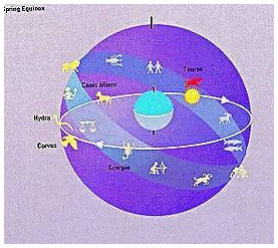
Lion-headed god standing on globe with crossed circles

One final fact about the celestial equator is crucial: namely, that it does not remain fixed, but rather possesses a slow movement known as the "precession of the equinoxes." This movement, we know today, is caused by a wobble in the earth's rotation on its axis. As a result of this wobble, the celestial equator appears to change its position over the course of thousands of years. This movement is known as the precession of the equinoxes because its most easily observable effect is a change in the positions of the equinoxes, the places where the celestial equator crosses the zodiac. In particular, the precession results in the equinoxes moving slowly backward along the zodiac, passing through one zodiacal constellation every 2,160 years and through the entire zodiac every 25,920 years. Thus, for example, today the spring equinox is in the constellation of Pisces, but in a few hundred years it will be moving into Aquarius (the so-called "dawning of the Age of Aquarius"). More to our point here, in Greco-Roman times the spring equinox was in the constellation Aries, which it had entered around 2,000 B.C.

It is this phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes that provides the key to unlocking the secret of the astronomical symbolism of the Mithraic tauroctony. For the constellations pictured in the standard tauroctony have one thing in common: namely, they all lay on the celestial equator as it was positioned during the epoch immediately preceeding the Greco-Roman "Age of Aries." During that earlier age, which we may call the "Age of Taurus," lasting from around 4,000 to 2,000 B.C., the celestial equator passed through Taurus the Bull (the spring equinox of that epoch), Canis Minor the Dog, Hydra the Snake, Corvus the Raven, and Scorpio the Scorpion (the autumn equinox): that is, precisely the constellations represented in the Mithraic tauroctony.



In the above diagram the celestial equator intersects the zodiac in Aries. This was the situation during the "Age of Aries." The sun is here pictured (in Aries) as it was located on the day of the spring equinox in that age.



Here the cosmic axis has wobbled, so that the celestial equator intersects the zodiac in Taurus-- the situation during the "Age of Taurus." The sun is here pictured (in Taurus) as it was located on the day of the spring equinox in that age. In this "Age of Taurus" the celestial equator passed through Taurus, Canis Minor, Hydra, Corvus, and Scorpio: precisely the constellations pictured in the Mithraic bull-slaying icon.

In fact, we may even go one step further. For during the Age of Taurus, when the equinoxes were in Taurus and Scorpio, the two solstices-- which are also shifted by the precession--

were in Leo the Lion and Aquarius the Waterbearer. (In the above diagram of the "Age of Taurus," Leo and Aquarius are the northernmost and southernmost constellations of the zodiacal circle respectively-- these were the positions of the summer and winter solstices in that age.) It is thus of great interest to note that in certain regions of the Roman empire a pair of symbols was sometimes added to the tauroctony: namely, a lion and a cup. These symbols must represent the constellations Leo and Aquarius, the locations of the solstices during the Age of Taurus. Thus all of the figures found in the tauroctony represent constellations that had a special position in the sky during the Age of Taurus.

The Mithraic tauroctony, then, was apparently designed as a symbolic representation of the astronomical situation that obtained during the Age of Taurus. But what religious significance could this have had, so that the tauroctony could have come to form the central icon of a powerful cult? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes was unknown throughout most of antiquity: it was discovered for the first time around 128 B.C. by the great Greek astronomer Hipparchus. Today we know that the precession is caused by a wobble in the earth's rotation on its axis. However, for Hipparchus-- because he held to the ancient geocentric cosmology in which the earth was believed to be immovable-- what we today know to be a movement of the earth could only be understood as a movement of the entire cosmic sphere. In other words, Hipparchus's discovery amounted to the discovery that the entire universe was moving in a way that no one had ever been aware of before!

At the time Hipparchus made his discovery, Mediterranean intellectual and religious life was pervaded by astrological beliefs. It was widely believed that the stars and planets were living gods, and that their movements controlled all aspects of human existence. In addition, at this time most people believed in what scholars call "astral immortality": that is, the idea that after death the human soul ascends up through the heavenly spheres to an afterlife in the pure and eternal world of the stars. In time, the celestial ascent of the soul came to be seen as a difficult voyage, requiring secret passwords to be recited at each level of the journey. In such circumstances, Hipparchus's discovery would have had profound religious implications. A new force had been detected capable of shifting the cosmic sphere: was it not likely that this new force was a sign of the activity of a new god, a god so powerful that he was capable of moving the entire universe?

Hipparchus's discovery of the precession made it clear that before the Greco-Roman period, in which the spring equinox was in the constellation of Aries the Ram, the spring equinox had last been in Taurus the Bull. Thus, an obvious symbol for the phenomenon of the precession would have been the death of a bull, symbolizing the end of the "Age of Taurus" brought about by the precession. And if the precession was believed to be caused by a new god, then that god would naturally become the agent of the death of the bull: hence, the "bull-slayer."

This, I propose, is the origin and nature of Mithras the cosmic bull-slayer. His killing of the bull symbolizes his supreme power: namely, the power to move the entire universe, which he had demonstrated by shifting the cosmic sphere in such a way that the spring equinox had moved out of Taurus the Bull.

Given the pervasive influence in the Greco-Roman period of astrology and "astral immortality," a god possessing such a literally world-shaking power would clearly have been eminently worthy of worship: since he had control over the cosmos, he would automatically have power over the astrological forces determining life on earth, and would also possess the ability to guarantee the soul a safe journey through the celestial spheres after death.

That Mithras was believed to possess precisely such a cosmic power is in fact proven by a number of Mithraic artworks depicting Mithras in various ways as having control over the universe. For example, one scene shows a youthful Mithras holding the cosmic sphere in one hand while with his other hand he rotates the circle of the zodiac.

Mithras holding cosmic sphere and rotating zodiac

Another image shows Mithras in the role of the god Atlas, supporting on his shoulder the great sphere of the universe, as Atlas traditionally does.

Mithras as Atlas

A further example is provided by a number of tauroctonies that symbolize Mithras's cosmic power by showing him with the starry sky contained beneath his flying cape (**see illustration at beginning of article**).

If Mithras was in fact believed to be capable of moving the entire universe, then he must have been understood as in some sense residing outside of the cosmos. This idea may help us to understand another very common Mithraic iconographical motif: namely, the so-called "rock-birth" of Mithras. This scene shows Mithras emerging from the top of a roughly spherical or egg-shaped rock, which is usually depicted with a snake entwined around it.

Rock-Birth of Mithras

As I mentioned previously, the tauroctony depicts the bull-slaying as taking place inside a cave, and the Mithraic temples were built in imitation of caves. But caves are precisely hollows within the rocky earth, which suggests that the rock from which Mithras is born is meant to represent the Mithraic cave as seen from the outside. Now as we saw earlier, the

ancient author Porphyry records the tradition that the Mithraic cave was intended to be "an image of the cosmos." Of course, the hollow cave would have to be an image of the cosmos as seen from the inside, looking out at the enclosing, cave-like sphere of the stars. But if the cave symbolizes the cosmos as seen from the inside, it follows that the rock out of which Mithras is born must ultimately be a symbol for the cosmos as seen from the outside. This idea is not as abstract as might first appear, for artistic representations of the cosmos as seen from the outside were in fact very common in antiquity. A famous example is the "Atlas Farnese" statue, showing Atlas bearing on his shoulder the cosmic globe, on which are depicted the constellations as they would appear from an imaginary vantage point outside of the universe.

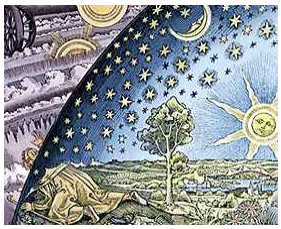
Atlas Farnese statue, 2nd century A.D.

That the rock from which Mithras is born does indeed represent the cosmos is proven by the snake that entwines it: for this image evokes unmistakeably the famous Orphic myth of the snake-entwined "cosmic egg" out of which the universe was formed when the creator-god Phanes emerged from it at the beginning of time. Indeed, the Mithraists themselves explicitly identified Mithras with Phanes, as we know from an inscription found in Rome and from the iconography of a Mithraic monument located in England.

The birth of Mithras from the rock, therefore, would appear to represent the idea that he is in some sense greater than the cosmos. Capable of moving the entire universe, he cannot be contained within the cosmic sphere, and is therefore depicted in the rock-birth as bursting out of the enclosing cave of the universe, and establishing his presence in the transcendent space beyond the cosmos.

This imaginary "place beyond the universe" had been described vividly by Plato several centuries before the origins of Mithraism. In his dialogue Phaedrus (247B-C) Plato envisions a journey by a soul to the outermost boundary of the cosmos, and then gives us a glimpse of what the soul would see if for a brief moment it were able to "look upon the regions without." "Of that place beyond the heavens," says Plato,

> none of our earthly poets has yet sung, and none shall sing worthily. But this is the manner of it, for assuredly we must be bold to speak what is true, above all when our discourse is upon truth. It is there that true being dwells, without colour or shape, that cannot be touched; reason alone, the soul's pilot, can behold it, and all true knowledge is knowledge thereof.



Beyond the heavens

I would suggest that the awe-inspiring quality of Plato's vision of what is beyond the outermost boundary of the cosmos also lies behind the appeal of Mithras as a divine being whose proper domain is outside of the universe. As the text from Plato shows, the establishment by ancient astronomers of the sphere of the stars as the absolute boundary of the cosmos only encouraged the human imagination to project itself beyond that boundary in an exhilarating leap into an infinite mystery. There beyond the cosmos dwelled the ultimate divine forces, and Mithras's ability to move the entire universe made him one with those forces.

Here in the end we may sense a profound kinship between Mithraism and Christianity. For early Christianity also contained at its core an ideology of cosmic transcendence. Nowhere is this better expressed than in the opening of the earliest gospel, Mark. There, at the beginning of the foundation story of Christianity, we find Jesus, at the moment of his baptism, having a vision of "the heavens torn open." Just as Mithras is revealed as a being from beyond the universe capable of altering the cosmic spheres, so here we find Jesus linked with a rupture of the heavens, an opening into the numinous realms beyond the furthest cosmic boundaries. Perhaps, then, the figures of Jesus and Mithras are to some extent both manifestations of a single deep longing in the human spirit for a sense of contact with the ultimate mystery.

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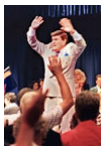

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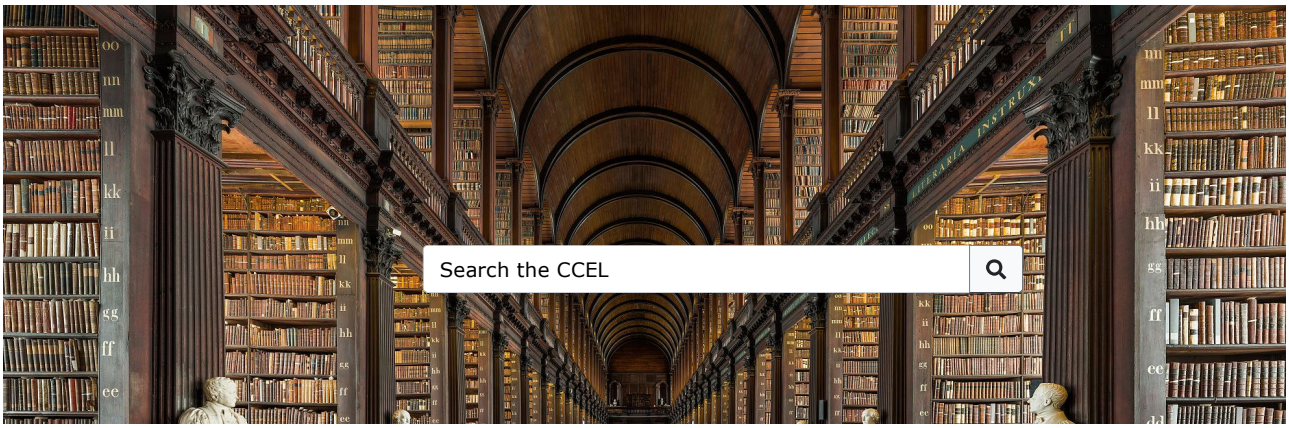

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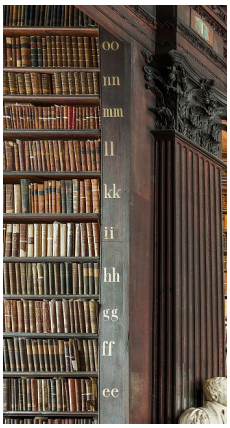

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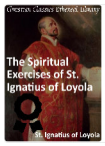

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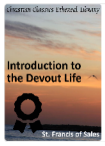

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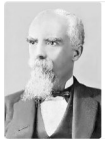

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